World News In a Nutshell

Pittsburgh Courier Pittsburgh Pa

By TREZZVANT W. ANDERSON

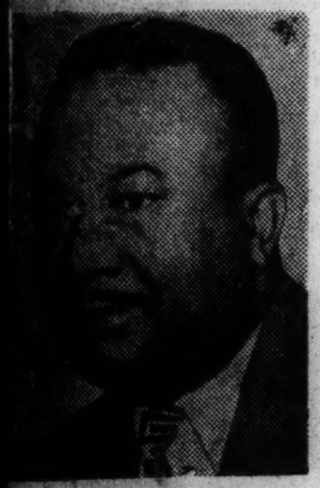
(Courier Staff Writer)

Sat. 3-12-49

Good Luck, Charles W. Anderson . . . For Judge!

Kentuckians will have a chance in August to elect former State Representative Charles W. Anderson Jr. to a municipal judgeship in their Thirtieth Judicial District . . . on the Republican ticket. He held the State Legislature post for three terms . . . and is now assistant Commonwealth's attorney out there . . . still a Republican. I am not personally acquainted with this young leader, but I want to tell you a true story about him which shows the stuff he's made of (and there should be more Negroes like him). Here's the true story:

This writer was campaign manager for Woods Morgan of Charlotte, N. C., candidate for the North Carolina Legislature in the Democratic primary held May 30, 1942 . . . It was a spirited affair, and from Louisville came a letter from Representative Anderson's chief aide . . . In that letter was an offer that Representative Anderson would come down from Kentucky at his expense . . . Mind you, he was a Republican . . . to help us try to elect the first Negro in the South, other than himself, to seek a high State elective office since late Reconstruction Days, on a regular party ticket . . . And a Democrat at that! . . . It showed that Mr. Anderson's concern over the advancement of his race's welfare transcended party lines . . . Brethren, that speaks volumes! . . . Surely the people of Kentucky need a man with the broad, unfettered liberality of Charles W. Anderson Jr. on their judiciary . . . And they will make a mistake if they don't elect him! . . . Negro Democrats and Republicans alike should join to put him in office and thereby bring another "first" for the South!



Mr. Anderson

Sat. 3-12-49

*

WHILE ON THE SUBJECT, here's a hint to Negro politicians who have primary election campaigns slated for the next few months: Use the "single-shot" . . . We didn't elect Morgan in North Carolina in 1942 because we didn't have enough Negro voters in the rural areas to offset the heavy white farm vote . . . Most of our Negroes wanted to be city folk . . . But we did carry most of the bigger boxes in the city precincts . . . Here's how it was done:

About 3 P. M. on election day, May 30, 1942, I took every cent left in our campaign fund, and armed with an entirely new sample ballot for our poll workers, got into a car and went around to each voting spot . . . What I told our poll workers was simply this: "Folks, we have carried our white friends (they had helped make up our campaign pot) from 6 this morning until now . . . that's nine hours . . . that's enough . . . From here on in until the polls close at 6 P. M. let's shoot our bolt for our own race . . . Here's the new sample ballot for the voters" . . . I'd give 'em the new ballot on which only ONE "X" was marked—that opposite Morgan's name . . . We handed out our cash and waited for the counting that evening.

Sat. 3-12-49

I'LL NEVER FORGET the looks on the faces of the counting clerks when they began reading off: "Morgan, that's all" . . . "Morgan" . . . That was "single-shot" voting . . . voting for just one person . . . and our count ran heavy . . . I stood at the counting places when they opened the locked boxes and felt good . . . The same thing worked for Attv. Oliver Hill in his successful bid for a seat on the City Council of Richmond, Va. last year . . . So, boys, try it this year and shoot an arrow for your own race.

P. S.: I realize this has been a bit off the beaten trail for "World News" . . . but with the primaries looming ahead it is worth while to get the idea over, especially since we can speak with authority through having worked it ourselves.

New Coalition Bid

Birmingham Ala Post Herald

BY FRED TAYLOR

A new bid is being made for coalition of conservative forces in the South and North to combat centralization of government in Washington.

Rock-ribbed Republicans of New York State recently began making overtures to States' Rights Democratic leaders of Alabama and elsewhere in the South for mobilization of the two groups. Tues 1-11-49

TAYLOR

A page from the Congressional Record headed "From the North to the South" has been sent out in the form of a letter to States' Righters here. It was sent in franked envelopes by New York Republican Rep. W. Sterling Cole.

The Congressional Record enclosure contains an extension of remarks by Congr. Cole made during the second session of the 80th Congress.

Birmingham Ala

NO MERGER OF PARTIES — The Northern movement, which Dixiecrats feel is closely akin to the States' Rights campaign, does not envisage merger of the Republican and Democratic parties.

A resolution adopted by a group of New Yorkers does not even ask that Democrats vote Republican or that GOPers of that state vote Democratic.

What they are driving at, as explained by Rep. Cole, is to establish "some pattern of cooperative understanding and action between the conservative Republicans of the North and the real Democrats of the South."

* * *

DEPLORES CLEAVAGE—In the outset of his remarks, Cole pointed out that "one of the great tragedies of our life as a nation is the political cleavage caused by the Civil War nearly 100 years ago which has divided the people of the North and the South in two political parties, although, in political thought, the vast majority are on common ground.

"This has become increasingly evident in recent years, and no serious effort has been made to reform our political parties in such a way as to heal this ancient breach and make possible the unity of the people of the North and the South who think alike in matters of politics and government so that they can assert their attitudes by action under a single political banner."

* * *

LAUDS SOUTH'S EFFORTS—The enclosure contains a resolution endorsed by many prominent New York GOP leaders. Robert V. Morse, Ithaca, N. Y., is listed as the resolution's author.

Morse's name and Ithaca address are stamped on the franked envelope. George D. Sulzby, Birmingham business man and active in the States' Rights movement, said he had received another letter from Morse outlining plans for an early meeting of representatives of the two groups in New York.

The resolution quotes at length from Thomas Jefferson with regard to threats of federal government usurpation of rights reserved to the states.

And it lauds the South for strides it has made in reducing mob violence.

Tues 1-11-49

CRACKS DEMAGOGUES—"We abhor the demagogues who inflame strife to prey on the ignorant," the resolution stated in part.

"We commend the law-enforcement officers of your Southern states who have so courageously reduced mob violence almost to the vanishing point, even when aroused by vicious crimes.

"We wish that an honest workman in the North could be equally protected against mob violence when going to work."

The resolution went on to add:

"We deplore the lack of mutual understanding between the good people of the North and South, which by dividing our strength has played into the hands of groups who would weaken and destroy our nation.

"Foreign intrigue has no place in our political system, and our public servants should cease to be sensitive to special pressure groups if and when the great body of our nation speaks its mind without the division of traditional parties, a division which so exaggerates the influences of pressure groups in certain states."

Tues 1-11-49

NEW PARTY NOT NECESSARY—The resolution is concluded with this thought:

"We realize that local conditions, traditions and memories may make it as difficult for your good people to vote Republican as for us to vote Democratic. We do not ask you to do so.

"While the amalgamation of the two great parties may be impractical, and even undesirable as leading to the totalitarian dictator, we hope that your people and ours will so vote that our nation as a whole will emerge stronger to face problems which now confront us."

TAKE OVER PARTY MACHINERY—Horace Wilkinson, Birmingham lawyer and one of the States' Rights movement's chief planners, said there is no need for a new party in the South.

Wilkinson, who likewise received a letter from Rep. Cole, said "I see no reason in the world for a new party."

"The success of the States' Rights movement depends on taking over party Democratic machinery, as we did in Alabama," Wilkinson added.

He emphasized that the Democratic Party is going to prevail in Alabama and other Southern states. Tues 1-11-49

Thus, Wilkinson urges that Southern Democrats, Western Republicans, independents and others championing the principle of States' Rights set their sights on taking over party machinery, as was done here.

Showdown Now Plea Is Voiced By President

Montgomery Alabama Tues 3-1-49

Meet Issue 'Head On,' Truman Tells Leaders As Senate Fight Opens

Northern Democrats Join Republicans In Move To Shut Off Debate

By ROGER D. GREENE

WASHINGTON, Feb. 28.—(AP)—Southern legislators opened a filibuster to save the historic right of filibuster in the Senate today after President Truman himself signalled a showdown to curb such talkathons.

All Senate legislative machinery came to an immediate standstill. It may remain blocked for weeks, so long as Dixie orators hold the floor.

Mr. Truman told Senate Democratic leaders to meet the issue "head on," and Southern Democrats quickly accepted the challenge. Their first-day drive was short lived, however, as the Senate recessed at 5:14 p.m., until tomorrow. Then it will start again.

At issue was an attempt by a number of Northern Democrats and Republicans to change the Senate rules so that a two-thirds majority vote can limit debate at any time.

As lead-off man in the fight to save the filibuster—the parliamentary device of talking a bill to death—Senator George (D), Georgia, said the issues raised are "bound to have repercussions hereafter," and declared:

"Absolutely Unconstitutional"

"The results no man can quite see at this time."

He said anti-poll tax legislation is not warranted because the constitution expressly gives each state the right to determine the qualifications of its voters. Moreover, he said, the poll tax is already "on the way out" in the six or seven states where it still exists as a requirement of voting eligibility.

On the question of an anti-lynch law, George said he opposes mob violence "with all

George began speaking at 3:26 p.m., Montgomery Time. Alternately shouting and lowering his voice to the gravest tones, the Georgian charged that civil rights legislation "offensive to the American Constitution," was the "real driving power" behind the anti-filibuster move.

One by one, George ticked off President Truman's civil rights proposals and summed them up as "absolutely unconstitutional."

the vigor of my soul." But, he said, "you cannot give the Federal Government the power to prevent it in the states unless you are willing to profess that the Federal Government possesses total and absolute police power." Tues 3-1-49

"Now," he shouted, "here is a proposal to grant that power. We have the right to resist the power to manacle and to muzzle."

The upshot of the struggle, he said, will influence the future course of politics in America.

"That is not a threat. I make no plain declaration of what to expect," he went on.

Slams FEPC

Fair Employment Practices legislation George continued, represents a "glaring" effort to say to a man whom he shall have as his personal and business association.

"Every man under the American constitution has the right to choose his associates," George explained.

He insisted that he was not filibustering—that he had never resorted to such tactics in his whole career. A number of his Southern colleagues, however, made plain that they intended to carry on the fight as long as their voices hold out.

Democratic Leader Lucas (D), Illinois, told the Southerners the administration leaders plan to push for a showdown until "we get a final disposition of this matter." Tues 3-1-49

Republican Floor Leader Wherry (Neb.), co-author of the kill-the-filibuster motion, said the Southerners were hurting their own case by terming the proposed rules change a "gag rule."

Wherry said that any time two-thirds of the Senators are willing to end debate, he is sure all the lawmakers would have had a fair chance to express their views.

'World's Last Forum'

Senator Russell (D), Georgia, countered that the senate is "the last forum of free debate on earth." He said the filibuster has never been "abused," but has been the means of getting minority views before the public.

Without the present rules, Russell said, "a minority would be absolutely helpless."

Waiting to bolster the Southern effort was 30-year-old Senator Russell Long (D), Louisiana, whose father, the late Senator Huey P. (Kingfish) Long, held the Senate floor in a lone filibuster for 15 hours and 35 minutes in June, 1935. It was one of the longest talks in Senate history.

Long said he will make his maiden senate speech—but only "for an hour or so"—against the filibuster-curb proposal tomorrow. Tues 3-1-49

At least a dozen Dixie senators, fighting to preserve the favorite tactical weapon in debate, grimly awaited their turn to open the floodgates or oratory against the rules change.

Members of the Southern bloc feared that the end of the filibuster would spell defeat for their fight against anti-lynch, anti-poll tax and other features of the Truman Civil Rights program.

Senate administration leaders frankly acknowledged they are seeking a change in the rules to clear the way for Mr. Truman's program. Lucas said after a White House conference that the President advised a fight to the finish, without delay for handling other legislation.

Lucas For Slowdown

Vice President Barkley, the Senate's presiding officer, booked the struggle for a long run when he ruled that no other motion could shunt aside Lucas' proposal to take up the rules change.

The motion could be sidetracked only by a majority of the Senate, which would automatically shelve it as the immediate business, or by unanimous consent with approval of the presiding officer.

Lucas told newsmen he intends to keep it before the Senate. He said he will act to recess from day to day so that it will remain the unfinished business.

"No other matter is going to be taken up by the Senate until we have disposed of this question—unless the Senate itself overrules me," Lucas said.

"We must grapple with this problem. The issue must be met sooner or later, and we might as well meet it now."

Lucas' motion would bring up a resolution which would permit the Senate to halt debate at any time two-thirds of the senators on the floor voted to do so.

Lucas declined to speculate on how long it might take to stop a pro-filibuster filibuster. He said there is "no doubt, of course," that it will delay action on many administration proposals, but he commented:

"I'm pretty confident of success."

Administration hopes of putting over the rule change hinged on wearing out the southerners, or getting a rule from Vice-President Barkley, the Senate presiding officer, permitting a vote to limit debate on the motion to consider the proposed rule change.

Barkley, asked by reporters how he would rule if the subject came up, replied: "I'll pass on no question until it arises."

Dixie legislators, noted for their forensic endurance powers, had their own ideas about that.

Russell fired the opening gun by questioning Barkley about the rules. He said he had no doubt that the present rules would be "strictly enforced" during the debate.

Russell explained that he just wanted to know for sure "what our rights are before we open this Pandora's box to change the rules of the Senate."

Lucas indicated that the administration's wearing-down tactics may bring late night sessions. At present, he said, all-night sessions are not planned, but he said there might be "night sessions here and there."

The majority leader said a prolonged filibuster would delay action on rent control extension, but he said the measure hasn't yet passed through the House. The present rent control law expires March 31.

Another administration requested measure, extension of the Reciprocal Trade Act, reaches a deadline June 12.

Other pending legislation includes various appropriations, a $5,580,000,000 Marshall Plan bill, and a proposal to increase top-level government salaries.

Chairman Hayden (D), Arizona, of the Senate Rules Committee formally opened the "filibuster" debate with a statement that it is not a partisan measure.

As "proof" Hayden noted that the Republican floor leader, Senator Wherry (Nebraska), had joined him in sponsoring the talk-curb motion and that both Republicans and Democrats on the Rules Committee voted for it. Tues 3-1-49

The paramount question, he said, is simply whether there should be any limitation on how long a senator may talk. He said all members believe that the Senate should "remain a place" where senators may freely and adequately express their views—within limits.

Lucas, Barkley and Speaker Rayburn (D), Texas, were closeted with Mr. Truman for upwards of 45 minutes before they announced the decision to seek a showdown without delay.

Lucas told newsmen that Mr. Truman is not particularly worried that his legislative program will be stymied by the filibuster fight, although he has recently threatened to make a new stumping tour unless Congress enacts his program.

Political Frustration

To the Editor:

Frustration is a denial, a thwarting of an inner desire. It results in either a spineless, non-thinking individual or a determined one who sweeps aside all obstacles—a rebel against family and sometimes organized society. The community for its own safety must provide proper training, education, opportunity and safeguards for the expression of an individual's personal aims. Laws, courts, governors, presidents, legislatures and Congress exist only for the expression of the people's will within constitutional limitations.

Frustration of a people's will is practiced by political party leaders when as in Alabama reapportionment is denied. Frustration of constitutional provisions is practiced by state senators when a majority says, "We will not confirm any of Folsom's appointees regardless of merit." Birmingham, Ala

Frustration of voters' rights was practiced by the State Democratic Executive Committee when it denied white Democrats an opportunity to vote for Truman. The Birmingham rump convention was a denial by state Democratic leaders of the people's right of free choice. One hundred and thirty thousand Democrats refused to vote.

The poll tax angers many thousands who refuse to pay for the voting privilege. The Boswell amendment was a clear violation of democracy. The Federal Constitution says, "Voter qualifications shall apply equally to all citizens," yet certain of our citizens are unconstitutionally denied voting rights.

Our 1949 Legislature concerns itself not with a new constitution but with thwarting the desires of a spendthrift governor. This session as the last session will levy more taxes.

Denial of the people's right of honest representation and right in secret ballot to vote for whom they wish is not democracy but dictatorship. Frustration of the people's will, as in nations behind the iron curtain, exists in Alabama. — S. B. WEST PITTS.
1216 Woodland Avenue.

Home Rule Sponsors Cheer Victory in Senate . . .

JOYOUS—Backers of the Home Rule bill for the District get together in the Senate District Committee room yesterday to cheer the Senate's approval of the act. They are (front, from left) Mrs. John [illegible] President of the District Chapter, League of Women Voters; Senator Estes Kefauver (D., Tenn.), head of the subcommittee which drafted the bill; Mrs. Frances Adams, American Democratic Action Committee; Thomas P. Morgan, jr., District civic leader; James W. Bryan, member of the Democratic Central Committee, and A. L. Wheeler, clerk of the Senate District Committee and chairman of the Democratic Central Committee; and (rear, from left) J. C. Turner of Democratic Central Committee, and William P. Fadler, jr., of the Young Democrats of the District

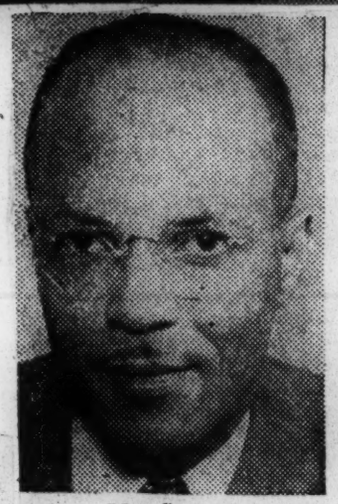
The Washington Post

Washington Notebook . . .

The Courier, Pittsburgh, Pa.

By LEM GRAVES JR. Sat. 7-9-49

(Courier's Washington Correspondent)



Mr. Graves

Making Monkeys Out of Administration's Forces

WASHINGTON—The bargain between Republicans and Dixiecrats in the U. S. Congres held and, as a result, the 81st Congress will pass neither civil rights nor effective Taft-Hartley repeal.

The payoff on the unholy agreement reached last March came last week when the same forces which combined to sabotage the Senate fight to amend the rules on closure ganged up again, as per prearrangement, to pass another Taft labor bill which closely parallels the Taft-Hartley law so hated by organized labor.

While the Southerners and the Republicans have been making monkeys out of the administration's forces, the interests of both minority and labor groups—which constituted a large bulk of President Truman's November election plurality—have been neatly evaded. But, while it is certainly obvious to all except political naivetes and partisan tub-thumpers that the Republicans generally sold out on civil rights in the closure fight in return for Dixie support on the labor bill, it would be unrealistic to totally absolve Truman's weak and bungling Capitol leadership and the liberal forces led by organized labor.

Incidentally, liberal confusion was never more evident than it was last week when House Democrats of the North and West, who had been making speeches and writing articles on civil rights all over the place, were found voting—with the Dixiecrats—in the anti-civil rights column on three housing bill amendments to guarantee equitable housing participating for Negroes. Meanwhile, the Republicans were gleefully parading through the tellers on the "aye" count on these amendments and leaving the liberals—like Franklin Roosevelt, John Kennedy, Helen Douglas, William Dawson, Arthur Klien, Emmanuel Cellar, John McCormack, Chet Hollifield, Mary Norton, Walter Huber, Frank Buchanan and many others—sheepishly holding the Dixiecrat bag.

Lab. 7-9-49 * * *

THEY USED THE same excuse that Paul Douglas, Hubert Humphrey, Wayne Morse and others used in the Senate when they had to face the music on civil rights amendments to housing legislation, i.e., that passage of anti-discrimination amendments would lose for the leadership Southern votes and would result in defeat of the bill. Adam Powell, Tony Tauriello and Anthony Cavalcante were the only three House Democrats who stood fast on anti-segregation.

This may be a valid or a strictly imaginary problem. The uncontested fact is that it splits, confuses and confounds the liberals and they must, if they are not to be completely out-maneuvered, find a way to solve it.

* * *

HERE AND THERE: Federal aid to education is a dead duck for this session of Congress . . . Ditto, health legislation . . . Ditto Taft-Hartley repeal . . . The House is not expected to bring it up again after the disastrous defeat in the Senate . . . The administration prefers to carry Taft-Hartley to the people as is and not let the Republicans have the advantage of amending it even slightly . . . If they can't have outright repeal, the Democrats will leave Taft-Hartley on the books . . . The NAACP lobbying strategy is to promote anti-segregation amendments on all legislation and risk defeat of that legislation in order to maintain a consistent position . . . There are good arguments pro and con . . . Just thought you might like to know the score so you can resolve the argument in your own mind.

Most encouraging note of the week: The forthright opposition of the intelligent young men of the new South to the Ku Klux Klan. This was evident as three white Southern newspapermen, Clark Stallworth, Paul Trawick and Clancy Lake, courageously denounced the Klan in appearances before the House Judiciary Sub-Committee on Civil Rights.

* * *

HOWEVER, THE sub-committee got no support from these men for the federal legislative approach. Two of them had no comments, pro or con, on the omnibus civil rights bill and the anti-lynch bill before the subcommittee. One, Trawick, pleaded that the South be al-

lowed to handle the problem in its own way. While this old argument has been thoroughly discredited by now, it was made by Trawick with a new earnestness born out of his own courageous efforts to do something about terror in his own Dixie backyard. He and his young fellow-journalists demonstrated something new in the South. They had risked the ire of the Klan to fight it tooth and nail. One had been badly beaten. But they didn't fear the Klan and seemed determined to run it out of the State of Alabama.

With or without a federal law, it will take courage and determination on the part of these young, educated and crusading white men to make the law work and to expose and rout the Klan elements of Dixie. Regardless of our conviction that federal legislation is an urgent necessity, we are encouraged by the guts being shown by the new Southerners. Incidentally, Emory Jackson, Courier representative in Birmingham, is responsible for the appearance of Clancy Lake before the Congressional committee.

Loyalty Defended from Public Forum

34

SIGNIFICANTLY enough, recent weeks marked the first time American Negroes have ever felt called upon to assert from the public forum their loyalty to the Stars and Stripes.

Throughout the decades Negroes in this country have been perfectly contented to rest upon their record of loyalty as it stands illuminated in the history of the nation's wars and in their civilian contributions to the development of the United States.

Even to day, there is not the slightest likelihood that the record, as already written in blood and toil, will ever be effaced.

Post. 7-30-49

But it is noteworthy that a number of outstanding Negroes felt the urge to challenge the implications voiced here and abroad by one noted member of the race reflecting upon the national loyalty of the present-day American Negro. These leaders vigorously refuted the discreditable statement made by the gentleman who set himself up as spokesman for 14 million members of his race in this country, and implied that they would not bear arms in defense of their native land in any war with Russia.

To their great credit, those leaders who spoke in refutation of the implications, gave positive reaffirmation of the allegiance of colored Americans to their government.

Those who were privileged to speak from the lofty pedestal of a committee room of the House of Representatives, fortunately seized and exploited to the limit an unprecedented opportunity to fire a world-resounding volley into Jim Crowism.

Defending to the utmost the loyalty of the minority group, they nevertheless positively declined to truckle or compromise with segregation and discrimination. They fired a double-barreled volley, loaded with patriotism, on the one hand, and anti-Jim Crow ammunition on the other.

In defending his loyalty the American Negro has also contributed markedly to the fight on segregation and discrimination.

Calls Also For $50 Old-Age Pension, $1,800 Teacher Pay, Poll Tax End, Hospital Funds

Birmingham News

BY REX THOMAS

MONTGOMERY, Ala., May 3—(AP)—Gov. James E. Folsom recommended today an $80,000,000 highway bond issue as part of a "bold" program to give Alabama a "higher standard of living than ever before."

He proposed to finance it with a one--cent increase in the 6-cent-a-gallon state gasoline tax. He suggested at least half the money be raised by selling bonds to the man in the street like the federal government's saving bonds. Birmingham, Ala.

* * *

IN HIS MESSAGE TO THE LEGISLATURE at the opening of its 1949 session, the governor also asked for funds to pay the old folks a $50 a month pension, to build public hospitals, to give school teachers an $1,800 a year minimum salary. Tues-5-3-49

He also called for:

1. Repeal of the poll tax.

2. Revision of the election laws to "provide the people . . . an opportunity to qualify themselves as electors" with no idea of "disfranchising any of our population."

(This was an obvious reference to the Boswell amendment which was held unconstitutional by the U. S. Supreme Court. A substitute for the amendment, which was aimed at Negro voting, is expected to be sought at this session.)

3. Creation of a state deposit insurance corporation to insure state-chartered banks like the FDIC does federal banks.

4. Creation of an Alabama watershed development board whose aim would be to "complete the public ownership of all generating power in the state."

* * *

5. MORE MONEY FOR NEGRO EDUCATION and better racial relations because "that which is built upon prejudice or ill will cannot survive in a democracy."

6. A constitutional convention to rewrite Alabama's basic law.

7. Reapportionment of the Legislature to give every county a senator. (Alabama is now divided into 35 senatorial districts. Some senators represent three counties, some one.)

8. New labor laws to liberalize workmen's compensation and unemployment compensation benefit and provide better working conditions, especially for women.

9. A full-time state liquor control board instead of the present system where the members meet only one day a week.

* * *

IN ADDITION, Folsom requested bigger appropriations for state parks and other conservation activities, for aid to veterans, the National Guard, the prison system, and to raise the pay of state employes.

How much all this would cost the governor did not say. That will come later in his budget message. Reliable sources, however, have estimate it at $30,000,000 a year or more above present sources of revenue.

Nevertheless, Folsom labeled it a program which will "bring new hope to all of Alabama's people."

"These are times that call for boldness," he declared . . . these are times which call for reminding everybody that we are capable of producing a higher standard of living than ever before.

"We cannot tie ourselves down to the achievements of the past."

The people, he said, want "more security, better schools, better roads, industrial progress and more voice in government. These things have been held out before the people of this state for years. They do not have them yet. . . .

"We cannot be held back by men who have no vision. By men who fear change."

* * *

THE LATTER REMARK was not directed at anyone by name, but it was strikingly similar to the remarks Folsom made against his legislative foes while he was speaking on the stump last month. Then he called them tools of "special privilege" and a "carpetbag" influence. Tues 5-3-49

The governor in his message today deplored federal encrochment on states rights, but blamed the states themselves who "have failed to assume their responsibilities to meet the needs of the people."

Arguing for an $80,000,000 road bond issue, Folsom said most of the opposition to his highway program comes from "the oil monopoly" which has "raised the price of gasoline in Alabama 5.2 cents a gallon since 1945."

"Since you and I were elected," he told the House and Senate," the oil monopoly has charged Alabama $80,000,000 in increased taxes. They have raised the price of gasoline eight times. That is enough to pay for this road program."

He advocated a four-year plan to develop "mailbox" roads and proposed a bond issue to be retired in 20 years.

Governor Asks Better Living Level For Alabama Negroes

Birmingham News

Birmingham Ala

MONTGOMERY, Ala., May 3 — (AP)—"That which is built upon prejudice or ill will cannot survive in a democracy."

With that keynote, Gov. James E. Folsom outlined a broad program today to improve the living conditions of Negroes in Alabama.

* * *

HIS MESSAGE to the Legislature at the opening of its 1949 session called for: Tues-5-3-49

1. Increased appropriations to Negro colleges to meet constantly growing demands for higher education.

2. Repeal of the poll tax.

3. More liberal voter qualifications to "provide the people . . . with an opportunity to qualify themselves as electors" with no idea of disfranchising any of our population."

4. More state parks, especially for Negroes because "we have failed this part of our population in not developing wholesome recreational facilities for them."

"Our population is 60 per cent white and 40 per cent Negro," Folsom told the Legislature. "We are gradually affording the Negro the opportunity to make substantial contribution for the benefit of the total population. We must strengthen the cornerstone of opportunity for them. We must remember—that which is built upon prejudice or ill will cannot survive in a democracy."

* * *

THE GOVERNOR made no specific proposals for Negro college training. But he hinted strongly that he will pass on to the House and Senate later the recommendations of a special committee on Negro education he appointed four months ago. Tues.-5-3-49

That committee advocated $835,000 a year more in annual appropriations to Negro colleges in Alabama as a step toward setting up a state university for Negroes and to expand Alabama A. & M. College near Huntsville into a full-fledged land-grant school like the one for white students at Auburn.

In advocating poll tax repeal, Folsom told the Legislature "the issue is not whether you and I believe" it should be abolished, but "whether the people will have an opportunity to vote on it." Poll tax abolition would take a constitutional amendment.

His reference to voter qualification laws was an obvious attack on proposals to find a substitute for the defunct Boswell amendment, although Folsom didn't mention it.

HE DID SAY, HOWEVER, that "restrictions imposed by prejudice and intolerance have been declared unconstitutional."

The Boswell amendment, admittedly aimed at Negroes, required prospective voters to be able to "understand and explain" the Federal Constitution. The Supreme Court held it invalid in March of this year.

ALABAMA LEGISLATURE IN FOR A BUSY WEEK

Commercial Appeal

Taxes, Race Relations, Even A Barbecue Are On Deck

Memphis Mem.

FIREWORKS COME UP, TOO

By The Associated Press

MONTGOMERY, Ala., May 23.—Taxes, fireworks and race relations will give the Alabama Legislature plenty to think and talk about this week. Tues.-5-24-49

And right in the middle of things there'll be a barbecue. It may be the only non-controversial event on the program.

Gov. James E. Folsom's whopping new $59,000,000-a-year tax program faces its first test when the House Ways and Means Committee starts work on revenue bills.

Not Much Done Yet

So far in the three-week-old legislative session, the committee hasn't done much except study the budget requests of various departments and agencies.

If the Ways and Means group recommends adoption of the administration tax program, it would put the bills at least on the House calendar. If the committee turns the Governor's proposals down, they would in effect be dead then and there. 5-24-49

Before committee work gets under way, however, House and Senate members will take a look at the problem of negro education in the South. Former Gov. Millard Caldwell of Florida is scheduled to speak to a joint session Tuesday outlining the Southern Governors' regional education program.

Appropriation bills to put up Alabama's share of the cost have been introduced in both houses.

The regional scholarship plan was worked up by the Southern Governors Conference to make out-of-state college training available in courses not offered to negroes in their own states.

Another angle in the race question is due to come up Thursday at a public hearing on voter registration. It was called by the House Constitution and Elections Committee which has a proposed substitute for the outlawed Boswell Amendment.

Milder Than Amendment

The substitute would be milder than the Boswell Amendment, which required new voters to "understand and explain" the Federal Constitution and was admittedly designed to keep negroes from voting. The new bill would make voters "understand and embrace" the duties and responsibilities of citizenship. 5-24-49

When the Senate returns to work Tuesday, the first measure on its calendar will be the Anti-Fireworks Bill that touched off a fight Friday. Senators argued for two hours about it, then went home for the week end without reaching a vote.

The measure would ban the sale, manufacture and procession of fireworks anywhere in the state.

Washington Notebook . . .

Pittsburgh Courier 34

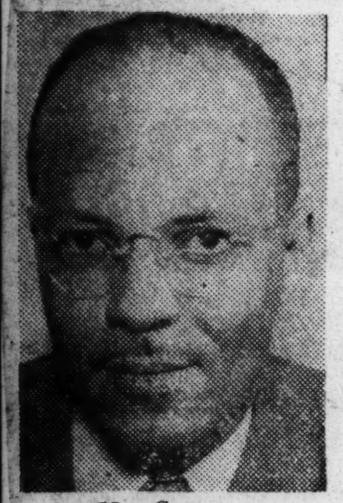
By LEM GRAVES JR.

(Courier's Washington Correspondent)

Pittsburgh Pa.

Minority, Within a Minority, Within a Minority

WASHINGTON—A few things you might not know but might want to know about your dear ole USA were said in the course of an otherwise disappointing speech during the late Senate filibuster. The speaker was Illinois' freshman Senator, Paul Douglas, and he was rather well armed with some interesting facts and figures about democracy as it operates.



Mr. Graves

For the edification of our readers, we present, as follows, the important facts brought out in Senator Douglas' speech:

The twenty-five smaller States of the Union, with a population of 25,000,000—19 per cent of the Nation—hold fifty seats in the upper house. The twenty-three larger States, with 81 per cent of the population — 106,500,000 — hold only forty-six seats. One-fifth of the Nation's population controls the Senate while the other four-fifths form a Senate minority. (This, points out Senator Douglas, was the result of the compromise affected in the Constitutional Convention.)

* * *

NEW YORK and Illinois pay a quarter of all the taxes in America and pay more than all the twenty-four States of the South Atlantic, West, East South Central and mountain regions combined. Yet the two big States have only four Senate votes while the other regions mentioned have a total of forty-eight votes which is enough to control the Senate.

Of the fifteen Senate committees, all but one, the unwanted District Committee, are headed by Southerners (8) or Mountain States solons (6). (At this point, Senator Douglas said: "We of the North, Midwest and Pacific Coast regions, who win the national elections for the Democratic party, come to the Senate to find ourselves treated as poor relations, and almost as interlopers and prevented from defending either the legitimate interests of our section or advancing the interests of the country as a whole . . . We are second-class citizens and suppressed classes in the Senate and in the Nation under the majority vote system . . . We are a minority of a minority . . ." Sat. 4-9-49

The seventeen smaller States have less than 8 per cent of the population and pay less than 7 per cent of the national tax load. (Yet with their thirty-four Senate votes and their marathon capacity for unending verbosity, they can control the destiny of the other 92 per cent of the people and the other 93 per cent of the taxpayers, can actually prevent the passage of legislation or force dishonorable compromises, and can disrupt the business of Government for an indefinite period of time at a cost, to those Northern and Western taxpayers, of $30,000 per day. The most recent filibuster cost the taxpayers a cool half-million dollars.

The sectional breakdown shows that seventeen Southern and Mountain States have 15 per cent of the population, cast 10 per cent of the votes in a National election, and pay 10 per cent of the income taxes. Illinois alone cast 3,900,000 votes in the last election which is as much as the seventeen Southern and Mountain States cast combined. Illinois has two Senate votes and the other States have thirty-four votes representing the same number of voters.

These Are Our Friends!

Afro-American WASHINGTON

The vote by which the Senate, Friday night, overruled Vice-President Barkley's cloture ruling follows:

Congress

To Sustain

DEMOCRATS

CHAVEZ, N.M.	KILGORE, W.Va.	O'CONOR, Md.
DOUGLAS, Ill.	LUCAS, Ill.	O'MAHONEY, Wyo.
DOWNEY, Cal.	MAGNUS'N, Wash.	PEPPER, Fla.
FREAR, Del.	McGRATH, R.I.	TAYLOR, Idaho
GREEN, R.I.	McMAHON, Conn.	THOMAS, Okla.
HUMPHREY, Minn.	MILLER, Idaho	THOMAS, Utah
HUNT, Wyo.	MYERS, Pa.	TYDINGS, Md.
JOHNSON, Col.	NEELY, W.Va.	WITHERS, Ky.
KEFAUVER, Tenn.		

Sat. 3-19-49

Total, 25

REPUBLICANS

AIKEN, Vt.	IVES, N.Y.	SMITH, N.J.
BALDWIN, Conn.	KNOWLAND, Cal.	SMITH, Maine
BREWSTER, Me.	LODGE, Mass.	TAFT, Ohio
FERGUSON, Mich.	McCARTHY, Wis.	WILEY, Wis.
FLANDERS, Vt.	MORSE, Ore.	
HENDRICKSON, N.J.	SALTONS'L, Mass.	

Total, 16

These Are Our Enemies!

To Overrule

DIXIECRATS

BYRD, Va.	HILL, Ala.	McCARRAN, Nev.
CHAPMAN, Ky.	HOEY, N.C.	McFARLAND, Ariz.
CONNALLY, Texas	HOLLAND, Fla.	McKELLAR, Tenn.
EASTLAND, Miss.	JOHNSON, Texas	ROBERTSON, Va.
ELLENDER, La.	JOHNSTON, S.C.	RUSSELL, Ga.
FULBRIGHT, Ark.	KLEE, Okla.	SPARKMAN, Ala.
GEORGE, Ga.	LOHG, La.	STENORIS, Miss.
HAYDEN, Ariz.	MAYBANK, S.C.	

Total, 23

REPUBLICANS

BRICKER, Ohio	GURNEY, S.D.	SCHOEPPEL, Kan.
BRIDGES, N.H.	HICKENLO'PER, Ia.	REED, Kan.
BUTLER, Neb.	JENNER, Ind.	THYE, Minn.
CAIN, Wash.	KEM, Mo.	VANDENB'RG, Mich.
CAPEHART, Ind.	LANGER, N.D.	WATKINS, Utah
CORDON, Ore.	MALONE, Nev.	WHERRY, Neb.
DONNELL, Mo.	MILLIKIN, Col.	YOUNG, N.D.
ECTON, Mont.	MUNDT, S.D.	

Total, 23

Grand total to overrule—46

The following pairs were announced: Wagner, N.Y. (yes) and Gillette, Iowa (no); Murray, Mont. (yes) and McClelland, Ark. (no); Anderson, N.M. (yes) and Martin, Pa. (no); Tobey, N.H. (yes) and Williams, Del. (no). A "yes" vote was to sustain the ruling; "no," to overrule.

Democrats, in a House Fight, Keep Rent Control Plan Alive

New York Times

GOP Drive for a 90-Day Limit on Federal Rule Fails by Narrow Margin, but Final Test Is Shaping Up for Next Week

New York Times

By CLAYTON KNOWLES

WASHINGTON, March 11—Administration forces in the House, their majority threatened by Southern Democratic defections, staved off today by a narrow margin a determined drive, spearheaded by the Republicans, to limit the extension of rent controls to ninety days.

The initial thrust toward terminating controls on June 30 was turned aside on a teller count of 163 to 178 but only after the original standing vote indicated that the proposal had carried, 165 to 161. The administration bill, as amended in committee, provides for a fifteen-month extension beyond the present deadline of March 31.

With voting that close through most of the seven and a half hours the House was in session, the Democratic leadership, fearful of carrying on into the night or adjourning to Saturday, put off completion of action on the legislation until next week when it can be more certain that its supporters will be present in force.

This move was dictated by knowledge that the Republican high command, heartened by repeated near-successes, intends to press just before the final vote to recommit the bill to the Banking and Currency Committee with instructions to report it with a June 30 deadline.

"AI think the Democratic leaders are a little panicky—all these votes were very, very close," observed Charles A. Halleck, a Republican leader, as the House quit for the day. Sat. 3-12-49

Adjournment was not taken, however, until the House had passed an amendment, offered by Paul Brown, Democrat of Georgia, providing for a "reasonable return" for the landlord on the reasonable value of his property. Administration forces acquiesced to this amendment as the means of obtaining the Southern support they the Southerners have prevented action on President Truman's civil rights program. Its tremendous value to them explains the vigor of their defense of it.

Vandenberg Defends His Ruling

Mr. Vandenberg's speech illustrated the deep bitterness and complexity of the great controversy. He was the first of two former Senate presiding officers to attack Mr. Barkley's ruling. Senator Kenneth McKellar, Democrat, of Tennessee, likewise strongly disputed the Vice President's opinion.

Senator Vandenberg spoke slowly and pointedly from a typewritten manuscript and there was no stir of noise in the chamber except that of the rise and fall of his voice. Mr. Barkley, sitting up ahead on the dais, was impassive in his attitude. Senator Scott W. Lucas of Illinois, the Democratic majority leader, (Mr. Lucas) and the Vice President to rationalize the latter's departure from what I believe to be the plain mandate that the existing rule does not permit closure on a motion to take up a measure."

Mr. Vandenberg said, as he had said last year, that his own ruling had been for him "a hard duty," since he personally favored stiffer closure and also favored the pending amendment to spell out such a closure. He went on, nevertheless, to rationalize the Barkley-Lucas "Thesis" Assailed

"Mr. Vandenberg has cost us from five to seven votes. He has given an aura of respectability to those who wanted an excuse to vote to upset Mr. Barkley."

Senator Vandenberg thrust strongly and directly at the Vice President almost at the outset of his address. The Barkley ruling, he asserted, involved an "ingenuous thesis developed by the majority leader, Mr. Lucas, the Democratic backing the Barkley ruling, de-

There seemed little doubt that Mr. Vandenberg's speech would have a considerable effect on the Senate's ultimate decision. By mid-afternoon some of the backers of Mr. Barkley were privately conceding that "we are lost."

Walter F. White, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, an organization strongly backing the Barkley ruling, de-

eral times.

to say:

"I continue to believe that the rules of the Senate are as important to equity and order in the Senate as is the Constitution in the life of the Republic, and that those rules should never be changed except by the Senate itself, in the direct fashion prescribed by the rules themselves."

What was needed, the Senator said, was an amendment "by due process" that would prescribe in any event the requirement of a two-thirds vote for closure. Closure by a simple majority vote, as advocated by President Truman, Mr. Vandenberg asserted, would "violate the elemental specifcations" for "full, free and fair debate."

Prescribes Rules Change Method

"The rules can safely be changed," he continued, "only by the direct and conscious action of the Senate itself, acting in the fashion prescribed by the rules. Otherwise no rule in the Senate is worth the paper it is written on, and this so-called greatest deliberative body in the world is at the mercy of every change in parliamentary authority."

He stressed that when he himself had issued his opinion last August, no appeal from it had been moved by Mr. Barkley, who was then the Democratic floor leader, or by Mr. Lucas, who was then the assistant floor leader.

"I respectfully ask," Mr. Vandenberg said, while Mr. Barkley sat impassively, "to be excused from accepting what to me is the curious device by which the august precedent (the Vandenberg ruling) is sought to be escaped."

"But the issue is now precipitated," he went on. "Our parliamentary procedure has, by indirection, brought the Senate to a vote on a parliamentary ruling which for the time being produces the same result as is sought to be produced by due process through the subsequent adoption of the Hayden-Wherry amendment. Thus we sort of adopt the resolution in advance of adopting it."

Mr. Vandenberg urged on his hearers more than once that the present issue was not whether there should be a more effective closure rule, which he himself favored, but was "solely what the present closure rule, with its interpretive precedents, says and means."

To uphold Mr. Barkley, he asserted, "simply means that regardless of precedent or traditional practice, the rules hereafter mean whatever the presiding officer of the Senate, plus a simple majority of the Senators voting at the time, want the rules to mean."

"The integrity of the Senate," he declared, was at stake. And he asserted that the Barkley "ruling, if upheld, would be" an affront to due legislative process.

Republican Backs Barkley

Another Republican, Senator William F. Knowland of California, followed Mr. Vandenberg immediately to support Mr. Barkley's finding. He told his colleagues:

"I wish to submit that if Rule Twenty-Two does not apply to motions to bring up a bill or a resolution before the Senate then the rule was an absolutely idle gesture by the men who constituted the Senate in 1917, because no bill or resolution can come before this body except by motion.

"There is nothing to indicate in the slightest degree that the Senators who proposed Rule Twenty-Two were doing it with tongues in cheek or were doing it for the purpose of deceiving either the Senate or the public. It is clearly apparent that they thought they were adopting an effective closure process.

"As a Senate we cannot, we dare not, say now, and thus continue some of the precedents which have been established, that this body does not have control over its rule making power."

Civil Rights Injected Into Housing Issue

Bricker Demands Bias Ban; Cost Also Discussed as Debate Ends With No Vote

By James E. Warner

WASHINGTON, April 20.—Civil rights, bureaucracy and the high cost of Federal projects were injected into the national housing issue today as the Senate ended four days of debate without having voted on the multi-million-dollar measure or any of its sixteen pending amendments.

As opponents held the floor against the measure, designed to provide slum clearance and build 810,000 new dwelling units in the next six years, it was conceded that its ultimate cost to the Federal Treasury might be between $15,000,000,000 and $16,000,000,000 over the next forty years. Salaries alone for county committees under its farm loan and grant sections would cost $108,105 a day, Senator John W. Bricker, Republican, of Ohio, charged.

Senator Bricker, author of an amendment making it a criminal offense to use any Federal money for a housing project which did not guarantee tenants against discrimination or segregation because of race, creed or color, led a full-dress attack on the measure.

"It has been said this bill cannot pass if this amendment is adopted," Senator Bricker shouted. "If that is true, there is something wrong with our Constitution, our party platforms, or this bill. Here's a chance to vote on civil rights. If we're honest about it—a direct issue, yes or no on the record. If it defeats the bill, well and good, there is something wrong with the bill or the shadow boxing that has gon on around here on this issue."

The Washingotn slums within the shadow of the Capitol dome which several Senators toured yesterday came back into the debate today as Senator Millard Tydings, Democrat, of Maryland, declared that notice should be served on cities that they could not obtain Federal loans or grants unless they eliminated such eyesores and health hazards.

Senator Harry P. Cain, Republican, of Washington, announced that he was submitting a new amendment providing that municipalities receiving Federal aid under the measure must agree to bring slum housing up to standard, or raze it, unit for unit, with authorized new Federal-aid housing they erected, within one year from the date of the agreement with the Federal government.

Senator Robert A. Taft, Republican, of Ohio, one of the measure's twenty-two sponsors in both parties, agreed with Senator Bricker that the farm loan and grant provisions of the bill need cleaning up, although he challenged the need for the anti-discrimination and anti-segregation amendment in an exchange with Senator Homer E. Capehart, Republican, of Indiana, who supported Senator Bricker.

Souther[illegible] Exploder Over 'Purchase Tag'

Rankin Calls Edict 'Most Contemptible' He Has Ever Seen

Republicans Laugh

Hebert Asks Lawmakers If Votes Are Up For Sale For Jobs

WASHINGTON, April 28.—(AP)—Southern Democrats angrily accused President Truman today of putting a "patronage purchase tag" on congressional votes for the administration's bill to repeal the Taft-Hartley law.

In the House, a stormy row perceptibly widened the breach between Northern and Southern Democrats.

With spectators' galleries jam-packed, Dixie lawmakers shouted their wrath against Mr. Truman's statement that Democratic votes on the Taft-Hartley issue will be regarded as a test of party loyalty.

The presidential whip cracked where it hurt among Southerners who have joined Republicans in fighting the administration's repeal measure in the three-day-old House debate over writing a new labor law.

'Contemptible Conduct'

Rep. Rankin (D), Mississippi, shouted:

"This attempt to browbeat members of Congress into voting for vicious legislation is the most contemptible conduct I have ever known.

"I," the fiery Mississippian thundered, "refuse to be bluffed."

Rep. Hebert (D), Louisiana, raised the cry of "patronage purchase." He said Mr. Truman had been asked whether House votes on the Taft-Hartley dispute would have any effect on the handing out of patronage.

"The answer," Hebert said, "was in the affirmative. How you vote on this matter will determine whether you get jobs. Is your vote for sale for jobs?"

Republicans Chuckle

Republicans chuckled and cheered, jumping with glee at the strife within the Democratic camp.

With the clash still going at full steam, with tempers getting shorter by the minute, the House adjourned until the first test vote on the labor bill still to come.

The major test is expected Friday or possibly Saturday with a vote on a bill by Rep. Wood (D), Georgia, which would substitute for the administration's bill sponsored by Rep. Lesinski (D), Michigan.

Wood's measure would kill the Taft-Hartley Act in name but retain many of its major features. The Lesinski bill would junk the T-H law almost completely and revive the old 1935 Wagner Act with some changes.

Administration leaders were still confident they can beat down the Republican-Southern Democratic coalition backing the Wood bill. But they conceded that a few barbs may have to be admitted into the Lesinski bill, by way of amendments, before it is passed.

SENATE READY TO ACT ON HUGE HOUSING BILL BY WEDNESDAY NIGHT

House Committee To Resume Hearings On Its Version When Holiday Ends

SEGREGATION FIGHT SEEN

Measure Would Provide For 810,000 Public Units In Six Years Plus Slum And Farm Programs

By ROSE M'KEE

International News Service Writer

WASHINGTON, April 17.—Senator Sparkman (D., Ala.) predicted Sunday that the Senate will reject all crippling amendments and pass its multi-billion dollar housing bill not later than Wednesday.

Sparkman one of the managers of the bill said he expected the measure to pass its first test during crucial debate Tuesday. The Senate will discuss the bill only briefly Monday since it plans to adjourn early for the opening of the baseball season.

House In Recess

The House is in Easter recess this week. It will return Monday, April 25, to begin a battle over the Truman Administration's bill to repeal the Taft-Hartley Labor Act.

Chairman Spence (D., Ky.) said his House Banking Committee will resume hearings on its own housing bill immediately after the Easter recess. He forecast about two more weeks of hearings.

Housing legislation similar to this year's bills passed the Senate in both the 79th and 80th Congresses only to die in the House. However, Spence said he felt sure the House will pass the legislation this year.

The Senate bill calls for construction of 810,000 public housing units in six years at a total cost of not more than $308,000,000; a $1,500,000,000 slum clearance program, and $250,000,000 in loans for farm housing.

The hottest fight is expected on the Bricker-Cain Amendment to ban racial segregation in public housing projects. However, Northern Democrats agreed at a party caucus to support their Southern colleagues in opposing the amendment.

Defeat Expected

A number of Senate Republicans, including Senators Taft (Ohio), Flanders (Vt.) and Morse (Ore.) also are opposed to the anti-segregation proposal. Its defeat is considered a foregone conclusion but there is a question as to how soon a vote on it may be reached. Several Republicans have indicated they may speak at considerable length in its support.

Other amendments in the offing include one by Senator Cain (R., Wash.) to bar public housing to Federal or state employes. Another Cain amendment would put an income restriction on eligibility for public housing units.

Senator McCarthy (R., Wis.) has served notice he will fight to kill the provision under which $500 grants could be given farmers for such things as toilet modernization and roof repair.

Flanders said he will vote to strike the $500 grants, which he explained would be outright gifts. He said there would be millions of applicants but only $12,500,000 to give away. Thus, he said, administration of the provision might be "arbitrary."

State of the Nation

The Christian Science Monitor

Truman Casts Fishy Eye on 81st Congress

Boston, Mass.

By ROSCOE DRUMMOND, Chief, Washington Bureau, The Christian Science Monitor

34

Washington

President Truman is beginning to treat the 81st Congress as if he had no idea who elected it or where it came from. Whenever it fails to do his bidding, he carefully looks the other way—as though it were some stranger for whom he couldn't conceivably have any responsibility.

It's a good trick if it works.

When this Democratic Congress first convened nearly five months ago, Mr. Truman, as leader of the Democratic Party, laid out what he would like it to do. Thu. 5-19-49

He asked for antiinflationary economic powers and a $4,000,000,000 tax increase.

He asked for repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act, offering an exceedingly watered-down substitute.

He asked for civil rights legislation to carry out the pledges of the Democratic national platform. 5-19-49

These, among other things.

The Democratic 81st Congress has shown to date that there are a great number of things which it is not prepared to do just as the President wants. But Mr. Truman seems to be giving the Democratic 81st Congress the same fishy stare he gave to the Republican 80th Congress and, in effect, is saying: "Give me my program in full or I'll disown you."

5-19-49

Here is the evidence which indicates the President is threatening to disown the Democratic 81st Congress:

1. When the top Democratic congressional leaders proposed amendments to the administration labor bill essential to bring the party in behind it—Mr. Truman refused to give them his support and wrote to labor leaders casting aspersions upon the kind of legislative compromise Speaker Rayburn and Majority Leader McCormack sought to effect.

2. Even the President's own economic advisers agree that the danger before the country is no longer inflation, but deflation. Mr. Truman chides the Democratic Congress for not voting the antiinflation powers he asked and for not passing a $4,000,000,000 antiinflation tax program. 5-19-49

3. When such faithful Fair Deal Democrats as Senator Paul Douglas asked the administration to help trim its $43,000,000,000 budget before risking more taxes, Mr. Truman peremptorily replied that he has practiced all the economy he can in proposing a $43,000,000,000 budget and that nothing more can be done.

4. When a middle-road proposal is made by a southern Democrat, like Representative Brooks Hays of Arkansas, to meet the administration half way in antipoll tax, antilynching and FEPC civil rights legislation, he is cold-shouldered by the White House and given no help or encouragement whatsoever — this despite the fact that the administration was set back on its heels two months ago in its tardy, ineffective efforts to check the powers of the filibuster.

And Mr. Truman has warned his own party that he will try to arouse the country against the Democratic 81st Congress unless it does better pretty soon.

* * *

It is plausible for the friends of the President to say that he is not being obdurate, that he is just standing firm; that he is not really asking for all-or-nothing, but is standing on high principle.

This may be an arguable position, but the question which Mr. Truman's stand poses is: Where does this put the Democratic 81st Congress?

Last year and the year before the President carried out a well-conceived strategy. He disassociated himself from all responsibility for most of the decisions of the 80th Congress. He could do this because it was a Republican-controlled Congress. He built up his own record on major issues in messages to Congress, in vetoes, and in speeches. 5-19-49

Last fall, the Democratic Party was given a 90-member majority in the House of Representatives and a 54-to-42 majority in the Senate. It can be said with firsthand knowledge that those close to the President approached the opening of the 81st Congress in full belief that, with his own party in control, whether united or not, the President and his party must stand or fall on the combined record of the White House and Congress—that from there out what counted was not how well the President talked but how well the 81st Democratic Congress performed.

It now begins to look as though Mr. Truman was considering starting all over again, this time making his own record of words against the Democratic 81st Congress the way he made it against the Republican 80th Congress.

The question raised here is not whether the Democratic Congress is right and the President wrong — or vice versa. The question is whether Mr. Truman can disown the record of his own party and successfully invite the country to elect a different Democratic Congress despite the fact that the present one is not, in his judgment, honoring its pledges.

That would be quite a trick.

NEGRO RIGHTS AND MR. TRUMAN'S MESSAGE

Cleveland Herald
Cleveland, Ohio

BY GEORGE E. McCRAY

In his message to the 81st Congress recently, Mr. Truman presented the country another surprise. In the days before the National Democratic Convention last summer, he had tried to reach an "understanding" with the South on the issue of civil rights. But the same civil rights plank proposed by the resolutions committee of the convention was thrown out the window in the face of a revolt of Northern Democrats. 2-4-49

Even during the campaign, Mr. Truman spoke about civil rights while the Dixiecrats attempted to make his civil rights proposals the one big issue of the election. But today Mr. Truman shows no inclination to appease or to compromise with the South on the civil rights issue. Considering the fact that anti-Negro prejudice is strong all over the U. S., his sticking to his demands for civil rights legislation is as commendable as it is surprising.

In other respects the message to Congress is of particular interest to Negroes. Again Negroes must think of themselves as citizens, Negroes, workers, and consumers. 2-4-49

The civil rights programs with its opposition to poll taxes, discrimination in travel, education and employment would bring us closer to real equality of citizenship.

As workers, we would be greatly benefitted by raising the national minimum wage from 40 cents to 75 cents per hour. In each of the big industrial centers in the country there are literally thousands of Negro and white workers, particularly women, who earn far less than 75 cents per hour. Also the proposals to extend social security coverage and to raise social security benefits would improve the lot of tens of thousands of Negroes. Most Negro industrial workers, become paupers long before they can qualify for old age pensions. This situation is due largely to discrimination against older workers by employers. 2-4-49

The inclusion of farm labor and domestic servants in the social security program would be of the very greatest help to one of the most poorly paid group of workers in the U. S.

Most Negro physicians with whom I have discussed the matter are opposed to Truman's proposals to create a federal health insurance program. In the face of the fact there are no other practicable proposals for providing much needed medical care to Negroes and other American citizens, the opposition to so-called "socialized" medicine fails to consider sufficiently the good welfare of the American people.

As consumers we want prices reduced, but the one thing we desire most is more and better housing. The idea advanced by certain Congressmen that we, under a government housing program, cannot build a million housing units within the next few years is pure nonsense.

Wherry Chides Democrats on Civil Rights Lag

The Herald Tribune
New York, N.Y.
Mon. 6-13-49

Challenges Them to Try to Bring Up a Bill, Pledges 35 Anti-Filibuster Votes

By Coleman B. Jones

WASHINGTON, June 12.—The Democratic leadership in Congress was challenged today by Senator Kenneth S. Wherry, of Nebraska, Republican floor leader, to make an attempt to bring up at least one of President Truman's civil rights proposals before the badly jammed session of Congress is adjourned.

Senator Wherry said he didn't expect the majority leaders to make any such attempt because their party's fifty-four members in the Senate, for example, are split into so many factions that they are unable to muster enough votes to risk a test on any of the "social" measures in the Administration's Fair Deal program.

He reiterated his pledge that the Republican leadership would guarantee at least thirty-five votes to invoke cloture and force a vote on a civil rights bill. He suggested that the Democratic leadership pick even the least controversial of the civil rights proposals—the anti-lynching or anti-poll tax bill—and call it up for action. Under the new cloture rule which Democrats have criticized Republicans for supporting, a constitutional two-thirds majority of sixty-four Senators is required to end a filibuster and force the issue to the floor. Mon. 6-13-49

Denies Rule Won't Work

Senator Wherry insists that the rule is not unworkable, as the Democrats have contended, if the Democratic leadership can bring even a slight majority of its members into line on the issue. All the Democrats would need to assure a vote on either of those bills would be twenty-nine of their own members, Senator Wherry said, and he is convinced that they don't believe they can marshal that many supporters for a cloture motion.

The same three-way split—broadly, with the lines frequently crossing, the Southerners, New Dealers and anti-New Dealers—is expected by Senator Wherry to prevent the Democratic leadership from getting anywhere with most other major phases of President Truman's "must" legislative program. He cited as an example of

the majority's split the Democratic Senate conference held June 2 in an attempt to get together on a compromise. This not material ize. Senator Scott Lucas, of Illinois, Democratic Congress finds it difficult to reach agreement. He predicts that the up-

despite the pleas of President Truman to hold Congress in session to complete his program, it will be an adjournment this summer after Congress disposes of a relatively few of the major proposals now in the legislative mill, most of which he rates as bipartisan, though not non-controversial.

Prediction on Labor Bill

Senator Wherry blames the Democrats for the legislative log-jam, whose equal oldtimers in the House find it difficult to remember. He predicts that the

at his home in Havana, Ill., said that a decision on whether to hold a second meeting might be held tonight that would not be reached until after the second row. No agreement was reached then, but another caucus was projected for last week with the idea of working out a compromise. This was Democrats did not materialize. Senator Scott Lucas, of Illinois, Democratic leader, reached by telephone

shot,

He expects the labor bill, now pending in the Senate, to pass with its major change not a restoration of the old Wagner act provisions but a mere elimination of the Taft-Hartley title, leaving the basic principles of that law in force.

Then the bill extending the reciprocal trade agreements program will go through, he believes, but, despite the Administration's objections, he is confident that it will continue the requirement that the Tariff Commission shall determine "peril points" below which tariff concessions might endanger American businesses.

He expects the North Atlantic pact to be ratified by a large majority, with the Administration letting the more controversial implementing bill to authorize American contributions toward rearming the European allies go over until the next session.

Beyond that and the indispensable annual appropriation bills, he does not expect the Democratic leadership to go on to major items. By that time, he believes, the Democratic leadership will throw up its hands, adjourn and send its members home to tell the people that it was the Republicans, not their own divided ranks, who wouldn't let Congress enact other pledges in their party's platform, thus saving those issues for use in the 1950 Congressional campaigns.

For the bill to liberalize the displaced persons act by removing provisions attacked as discriminatory and increasing the number of refugees to be admitted to the United States, Senator Wherry sees little hope.

Wants Them to Explain Stand on 2 Amendments

The Afro-American

Opposition to Anti-Discrimination Riders to Housing, Education Bills Condemned

WASHINGTON — (NNPA) — Walter White, who is on a year's leave of absence from his post as executive secretary of the NAACP, in one of his recent syndicated columns posed some pertinent questions for liberal Senators to answer. Among them were:

1. "How can liberals vote against anti-segregation and anti-discrimination amendments in the face of a long series of decisions by the United States Supreme Court against segregation and discrimination, which the enlightened elements in the South are accepting and putting into practice?"

2. "How can the liberals explain to their constituents and consciences that they have taken the Southern bigots off the spot of responsiblility for possible defeat or emasculation of housing and education legislation, even to the extent of bringing forth extravagant praise for one of their number, Paul Douglas of Illinois?"

What of Consequences

3. "How will they excuse the inevitable consequences of defeat of the non-segregation amendments—that refusal of Congress to prohibit segregation and discrimination will be interpreted by some Federal administrators, in the North as well as the South, as affirmative approval of segregation and discrimination?"

Mr. White calls for an answer to these and other questions of similar tenor from Sen. Hubert Humphrey, Douglas, Irving Ives, Wayne Morse, Claude Pepper and others whom he did not specifically name.

These questions arose naturally out of the debate on the anti-discrimination and anti-segregation amendments to the housing bill offered by Sen. John W. Bricker and on the anti-segregation amendment offered to the Federal aid to education bill Sen. Henry Cabot Lodge Jr.

Ives Not Guilty

Senators Humphrey, Douglas, Morse and others argued that adoption of the Bricker and Lodge amendments would insure defeat of the housing and Federal aid-to-education bills—a fallacious conclusion. Senator Pepper, an opponent of discrimination, has never advocated the abolition of race segregation.

Of the group named by Mr. White, however, Senator Ives should not have been included.

The record shows that he voted the amendments to both the housing and education bills.

F.D.R. JR. TAKES SEAT IN HOUSE; MOTHER BEAMS

Daily Times

Pledges Himself to Back Truman

Chicago, Ill.

(Chicago Tribune Press Service)

Washington, June 14—Franklin D. Roosevelt Jr. was sworn into his house seat as Democratic member from the 20th New York district today as his mother, Eleanor Roosevelt, watched from the President's gallery.

The 34 year old son of the late President was elected to the house in a recent special election to fill a vacancy caused by the death of Rep. Bloom (D.,N.Y.)

The ceremony was routine and brief. Young Roosevelt took the oath of office administered by Acting Speaker McCormack (D.,-

Franklin D. Roosevelt Jr. with his mother at Washington airport yesterday. (AP Wirephoto)

Mass.) and then in the usual custom was congratulated with handshakes from members of both parties. Leading the new member to the well of the house for the oath was Rep. Lynch (D.,N.Y.)

His Mother Smiles

Mother Roosevelt, who was applauded as she entered the gallery just before the house convened, smiled as her son was seated.

House officials got their type mixed in entering the new member's name on the list of house members made up for roll call purposes. The press gallery roll calls had his name in italic type, indicating Republican, instead of roman type used for Democrats. The clerk's official list carried the correct party label, however. A house official said the slip on the press gallery list "was all a mistake."

Altho Roosevelt ran for election as a Liberal, after the Democratic party organization refused to back him, he will be accepted in the house as a Democrat, leaders of the party said.

Won't Neglect Debate

He told newsmen before the house convened that he intends to support the Truman administration and particularly will work for long range housing, civil rights laws, and repeal of the Taft-Hartley labor law. The freshman member said he does not feel bound, as some new members have, to sit and listen a year or so before getting into floor debate.

Roosevelt told questioners he has no intention of seeking the New York City mayoralty post this fall. His political plans go no farther at present, he added, than serving in congress. He has just returned from a trip to Israel.

Sen. Lucas Invites Dixie Demos Back Into Party's Fold

Birmingham News Sat. 3-19-49

But Southerners Stress Any Return To Be Temporary

BY JACK BELL

WASHINGTON, March 19—(AP)—Sen. Lucas (D., Ill.) Saturday invited Southern Democrats to come back into the party fold and vote for President Truman's legislative programs.

But Dixie lawmakers made it clear any return will be a temporary arrangement. They want to be free to walk out when they don't like what the administration proposes—including civil rights' bills.

LUCAS, THE SENATE Democratic leader, told reporters he doesn't think there is any "serious feeling" between the Southerners—who filibustered a Senate rules change for 15 days — and their Northern and Western party colleagues — who voted against the GOP-Dixie compromise which ended the battle.

"I don't think their coalition with Republicans will continue," said Lucas. "I think we'll get along pretty well."

The Illinois senator said there is no question in his mind that Southerners will support many of Mr. Truman's legislative proposals. For example, he said, Sens. Maybank (D., S. C.) and Sparkman (D., Ala.) will be in the forefront of the fight for a rent control bill when it is brought before the Senate Monday.

* * *

LUCAS NOTED THAT Sen. Connally (D., Tex.) will lead the forces urging passage of European recovery legislation. Sen. George (D., Ga.) will be at the helm when the administration's reciprocal trade agreements bill is brought before the Senate.

He would not predict, however, whether there will be any substantial Southern support for the Truman labor bill being offered as a substitute for the Taft-Hartley act.

Lucas' attitude on the chances of the legislative program duplicated that of the president himself. Mr. Truman told a news conference yesterday that he doesn't regard the rebuffs he has received in Congress as the beginning of a ground swell to override his entire program.

He still kept alive, however, the possibility he first mentioned in a Jackson-Jefferson speech here that he might take the fight to the country if Congress acts up.

Birmingham Ala. Sat. 3-19-49

MR. TRUMAN'S observation that his Dixiecrat opponents aren't good Democrats struck fire with some Southerners.

Sen. Ellender (D., La.) a champion filibusterer against the civil rights proposals, told a reporter:

"If the president insists on putting over his civil rights' program, in the next election he will find that instead of havig four Southern states against him he's going to have 11."

Sparkman said he doesn't know who Mr. Truman is calling a Dixiecrat. As far as he is concerned, the Alabama senator said, he will support most of Mr. Truman's program "not because it is his program but because I believe in it."

"I happen to oppose him on the civil rights bill program, but on most of his program I will go along and I think that is true of most of the Southerners," Sparkman said.

Blame Luca[s] For Civil R[ights]

(Defender Washington Bureau)

Sat. 3-19-49

WASHINGTON — Timid strategy and fumbling leadership on the part of Democratic majority leader Scott W. Lucas (Dem., Ill.) and the support which reactionary northern Republicans gave to the Dixiecrat filibuster bloc from the solid South were blamed by capital political observers for the defeat of the first test in the battle to enact President Truman's civil rights program into law.

The test came Friday night when the senate voted by 46 to 41 to overrule Vice President Barkley's decision the senate could end debate on a motion to take up a bill by a two-thirds majority.

The Barkley decision, if upheld, would have made it possible to bring to an end the Dixiecrats 12-day "part-time filibuster" to block consideration of the Hayden-Wherry bill to change the senate Rule 22 allowing endless debate to prevent taking up proposed legislation and bringing it to a vote.

The "part-time filibuster" was made possible by the fumbling strategy of Senator Lucas, who refused to hold the Senate in continuous session, a tactic which would have forced the filibusterers to keep up their talkathon on a 24-hour a day basis.

Lucas as majority leader, is supposed to be the senate strategist for administration measures, but has been reluctant to give courageous and dynamic leadership to the rule change considered the first step in enacting civil rights legislation.

He has had to be prodded at every step by the President, and while reluctantly doing the bidding of his party's leader, has openly announced that he did not see eye to eye with him.

Liberal Democratic senators have privately expressed themselves to capital newsmen as bitterly disappointed with what they have seen so far of Lucas' senate leadership.

Point two in the blame for defeat in the first administration test of strength is the part played by reactionary northern Republicans. By voting with their reactionary counterparts from the solid South, they lined up enough votes to defeat the Barkley ruling. Senator Vandenberg (Rep., Mich.) gave leadership to this group, marshalling such senators as Bricker of Ohio, Bridges of New Hampshire, Capehart of Indiana, Wherry of Nebraska and others to a total of 23.

Significance is attached to the fact that of the 23 Republicans who voted with the filibusterers, four from states where Negroes vote in appreciable numbers are to come up for re-election in 1950. They are Capehart of Indiana, Donnell of Missouri and Reed of Kansas.

Both Democrats and Republicans are awaiting the next move by Majority Leader Lucas on the move to change the senate rule.

Whether the Illinois senator will belatedly be willing to hold the filibusterers to a 24-hour round the clock schedule in order to bring the resolutions to change the senate rule to a vote or not is not known, as Lucas refused to say over the week end, while an intra-party conference was being held to work out a compromise.

President Truman from his Florida vacation spot has agreed to abide by whatever decision for a compromise is arrived at by the senators.

The President is believed to be keenly disappointed in Lucas' strategy, and to have agreed to a compromise on the rule change issue solely in order to prevent the rent control law from lapsing.

Bricker Pushes Housing-Bill Ban on Race Discrimination

Free Press Wire Services

Detroit Free Press

WASHINGTON—Senator Bricker (R., O.) served notice that he would try to nail a civil-rights provision into legislation to authorize a multimillion-dollar housing program.

Senate Democratic leaders plan to call the bill up for debate in a few days. It provides, among other things, for construction of 810,000 public-housing units in six years.

* * *

BRICKER SAID he would offer an amendment which would prohibit any discrimination on the basis of race, creed or color in the renting of public housing.

Bricker offered the same anti-segregation amendment when the bill was before the Senate Banking Committee. The proposal was defeated.

Senator Ellender (D., La.), one of the sponsors of the housing measure, predicted that Southern senators would not filibuster against the Bricker amendment.

"I feel sure we have the votes to defeat it," Ellender said.

Ellender said he understood that many backers of a civil-rights program would vote against the antisegregation proposal.

He said they believed that civil rights should be dealt with in separate legislation, and not in the form of riders to other bills.

* * *

MEANWHILE, Rent Administrator Tighe Woods said that when a governor approved a decontrol action taken by a state legislature or a local governing body, the action was final.

Nobody could bring back control in such cases, he indicated.

In a letter to governors explaining the new rent-control law, Woods said that local rent-advisory boards would continue without reappointment.

Senator Wherry, of Nebraska, Republican floor leader, asserted that every item of the money bill would be looked over searchingly. He thinks that evey one which can't be fully justified will be cut.

Meanwhile, the House apparently is ready for passage this week of the bill authorizing extension of the oleomargarine tax-repeal bill which would block Senate passage of any which permitted interstate shipment of the colored product.

The House already has approved that kind of a bill.

Aiken is a sponsor of a substitute measure which would junk the Federal levies on oleomargarine, but prohibit shipment of colored oleo across state lines.

Twenty-six senators from farm and dairy states are backing that bill.

Mar. 4-11-49

POWELL WEARY AS LONG HEARING ENDS BEFORE LABOR COMMITTEE

Oklahoma City Okla.

Secretary of Treasury Fails to Answer Charges of Discrimination

Sat. 3-19-49

BUREAU HEADS PASS BUCK WITH GREAT SKILL

(By Alice Dunnigan)

WASHINGTON — (ANP) — It was a fatigued chairman who sat before the House Committee on Education and Labor, Thursday, with his habitual pipe drooping loosely from the right corner of his mouth, with bluish-gray smoke floating lazily upward curling into doughnut-like smoke rings which encircled his black pression. 6-4-49

mustache, and a straying lock After many days and long hours dangling across his frowned brow of presiding over this committee accentuating his tired facial ex and hearing scores of witnesses expound their pros and cons regarding the pending Fair Employment bill, it is little wonder that Cong. Clayton Powell appeared somewhat exasperated and his patience a little frayed as he charged top officials from the Treasury department with carrying the committee for a "spin on a windmill" by refusing to state facts on the situation at the Bureau of Printing and Engraving.

Cong. Powell invited Secretary Snyder of the Treasury department to appear before the committee to state his position on charges made by the Bureau employes regarding discrimination in that agency.

Although Mr. Snyder failed to appear in person, he was represented by Edward Foley Jr., assistant secretary of the Treasury department; Alvin W. Hall, direc

tor of the Bureau of Engraving; and James Hard, personnel director and FEPC officer of the Treasury department. 6-4-49

In spite of the campaign which has been going on for months by the United Public Workers to break down discrimination in the bureau, the publicity concerning the conditions there, the public mass meetings, the petitions sent to the President and top officials of the Treasury department, and the conferences with FEPC officers, still these witnesses denied any knowledge of discrimination in the bureau.

In an effort to back up this contention, Director Hall stated that Negroes composed 51.1 percent of the 6,000 persons employed at the bureau. In reply to a question posed by Cong. Thomas H. Burke (D., Ohio), Hall stated that 1,000 of these employes were skilled workers.

"What percent of the skilled workers are Negroes?" inquired Rep. Burke. After some hesitancy, Hall said, "We have no statistics according to race. There must be at least one or two Negro skilled workers," he added.

Later when Thomas Richardson and several bureau employes took the stand, they declared that there was not a single Negro employed in the category of a skilled worker.

The treasury officials charge that the Civil Service Commission was responsible for what ever conditions existed at the Bureau. "We cannot employ anyone who has not been certified by SCS," Hall declared.

Representing the United Public Workers-CIO, Richardson charged the bureau with practicing "out-right discrimination," and cited many specific examples.

His statement was verified by Mrs. Margaret Gilmore, Mrs. Ethel Perry and Fred Wiggins, bureau employees.

Mrs. Gilmore pointed out that among the 8,000 Negroes employed at the Bureau only 10 are in clerical positions, and out of some 200 supervisors there are only two Negro supervisors and one assistant, and they are all supervisors over charwomen.

These witnesses were invited to appear before the committee by Chairman Powell after the Rev. W.H. Jernagin testified on Wednesday that segregation still existed in the Federal government in spite of President Truman's executive order 99880 aimed at abolishing discrimination. The bureau was cited as one such agency which continues its old practices.

She's Against Atlantic Pact

Mrs. Carolyn H. Stewart of Washington appeared before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Tuesday, and questioned the North Atlantic Pact as an instrument of peace. Speaking for no organization, she disagreed with aged Senator Tom Connally, of Texas, committee chairman, over the question of whether arms aid under the pact will be used against native peoples in colonial areas. Mrs. Stewart is the wife of Colston Russell Stewart, a physical education instructor at Armstrong High School.

Truman Faith And Purpose

President Truman's State-of-the-Union message to Congress yesterday was a forthright and firm reaffirmation of his faith and purpose. By now his ideas, hopes and objectives are generally familiar to the nation. This address brought those conceptions and aims together in broad, vigorous recapitulation. In his campaign and in his record of almost four years in office he already had repeatedly voiced his convictions and foreshadowed his recommendations in detail. He is a tenacious man. His remarkable victory at the polls in November had reinforced his tenacity. His message, consequently, followed the lines it had been expected to take. There was little, if anything, of surprise in it.

It is not likely, therefore, to deepen and extend very much any of the misgivings that have prevailed in some quarters respecting the forthcoming course of his administration.

It will stimulate and encourage that large segment of our people that widely agrees with him.

Business and industry will continue in some apprehension as to his tax recommendations and economic control and labor proposals.

* * *

Mr. Truman insists on a balanced budget and a reduction of federal debt. He suggests more revenue from corporations and estate and gift levies. He requests consideration of raising income tax rates in middle and upper brackets.

He asks again for stand-by authority to deal, if necessary, with wages and certain prices. But he did not mention rationing. He wants continued credit controls. He would extend and strengthen rent regulations.

He emphasizes the need for more steel. He proposes offering government aid in increasing steel production capacity and even suggests direct government action to that end if the response of private industry is not adequate.

He urges continued support of farm prices.

He believes that serious inflationary dangers still face the country. He did not refer to recent price recessions. On the other hand, he stresses his conviction that government is obligated to eliminate boom-and-bust cycles, to give aid in seeking a continuation of economic advance and to keep on trying to broaden opportunity for all the people.

He suggests a modified version of the Wagner labor act to replace the Taft-Hartley law.

He holds not only that severe depression can be avoided, but also that production and progress can keep on expanding. His assurances in this respect recall some of the expansively optimistic prophecies of the late '20s, just before the great collapse of the early '30s. But he tempers this optimism by setting forth pressing problems and serious perils still facing the country.

The state of the union is "good," he declares. But, he asserts, its progress must be protected, its advance continued.

* * *

All this constitutes stout reaffirmation of the progressive spirit and active governmental initiative which marked the years of Franklin Roosevelt's leadership. Mr. Truman believes great gains have been made in the 16 years of Democratic executive leadership. He maintains that such progress can and must be maintained.

He predicts that he will be able to work with this Congress. He is set on moving ahead. This positive approach to the issues confronting government has been given a striking endorsement by the majority of the voters. Mr. Truman will have continued strong popular backing in striving for many of his goals.

But many complexities are involved in dealing with the nation's troubles and opportunities. Wide differences of viewpoint prevail as to the best ways of promoting the public interest. Concern will continue that excessive steps may be attempted by the administration, that economic stability and progress be handicapped by unwise tax levies and too much governmental intervention. Sound headway will be served by careful legislative procedure, giving full consideration to all legitimate interests and viewpoints.

* * *

As was anticipated, the president called anew for enactment of his civil rights proposals which have aroused such tremendous opposition and concern in the South.

It is earnestly to be hoped that the administration, in seeking its broad ends of justice and opportunity in this field, will give thorough attention to Southern conditions and convictions and seek acceptable and constructive solutions of these problems.

* * *

The message covered a great number of important and difficult matters. While Mr. Truman continues to urge his principles positively and unequivocally, what actually results from his recommendations will depend largely on administration and congressional priorities and tactics in legislative procedure. Selectivity and strategy will largely determine actual accomplishment. This many-sided presidential program cannot all be pushed at once. In coming weeks and months it will become clearer just how and where the administration will concentrate its influence and power.

Congress and the people will do well to meet specific issues as they arise in orderly, intelligent consideration which consistently puts the common good and the unity and strength of the country first.

Thur *1* 6-49

The president has reiterated his faith and hope, he has moved promptly and decisively to make good his promises. He is proud of his party's achievements. He believes it has proved that its leadership has been on the road that leads forward. He is resolved to keep on going in the same direction.

He sees unparalleled potentialities of further human betterment challenging the nation. United and successful endeavor in rising to the challenge will, he holds, make for a greater, happier and stronger nation, which, in turn will thus be increasingly capable of maintaining its leadership for the peace of all the world and of continuing its efforts to speed the coming of a better day for all peoples.

Such purposes, of course, command the allegiance and devotion of Americans generally. May fidelity to these high aims, wisdom, mutual consideration, full and fair discussion and consideration and effective cooperation guide and govern and serve us all as our people embark on this renewed quest of the soundest ways of attaining these lofty ends.

Senatorial Sham Battle

Pittsburgh Courier

ALL that long-winded chatter in the Senate over changing the rules is largely a sham battle so far as the civil rights program is concerned, and it is to be hoped that few of our readers will be taken in by it.

The fact is that only a very small number of the ninety-six Senators really favors the passage of the proposed legislation. They dread being forced into a position where they will have to stand up and be counted. Sat. 3-12-49

The Republicans have no appetite for a limitation of debate because they are in the minority, and with adoption of closure would be far weaker than they are.

The Southern Democrats have the greatest fear of closure because they know that it threatens their oligarchical system, since Northerners, fearful of the liberal-Negro electorate, may have to vote against them.

The administration and its supporters favor closure and majority decisions on limitation of debate because in this way it can more easily put over its program, the very least of which is the civil rights section which they privately believe to be unconstitutional. Sat. 3-12-49

There are much bigger stakes involved in this fight than are usually stated.

Walter White must have sensed the essentially fraudulent character of the current "contest" so far as civil rights are concerned, because he is now pleading with Senator Vandenberg to more vigorously support the fight against the filibuster and is urging his Southern youth councils and college chapters to stimulate local reaction against the filibuster—a last ditch appeal.

With expert timing, President Truman entered the picture last Thursday with a proposal to end filibusters by majority vote instead of two-thirds vote, knowing this statement would strengthen the opposition and weaken the administration.

Senator Russell of Georgia promptly remarked that "The President has now justified every statement that we have made that all this campaign was but a step toward simple majority closure."

Republican Senator Knowland of California commented that "In my judgement, a majority of this Senate would vote against majority closure," thus following in the footsteps of the majority of his colleagues who have made no secret of their unwillingness even to consider a closure that could be put on by a simple majority.

Even Mr. Truman's wheel horse, Senator Lucas, at once dissociated himself from the President's views, which are in fact puzzling save as a recognition that the fight is lost and the civil rights program might as well be quietly buried under tons of talk.

This is a far cry from the high hopes expressed for this civil rights program before, during and after the campaign, but the hard facts must be recognized, distasteful though they be.

Southerner Champions Negro

Pittsburgh Courier

PRESIDENT TRUMAN heard some straight-from-the-shoulder advice on the question of Negro education the other day from a Southern congressman who gets around in a wheel chair. The White House visitor was 38-year-old Congr. Charles Bennett of Florida.

Bennett served 58 months as an infantryman, won the coveted Silver Star for bravery, came out a captain, his legs crippled by polio contracted while fighting with Philippine guerillas. Thur. 5-5-49

However, this doesn't interfere with Bennett's legislative interests, one of which is a burning zeal to improve educational opportunities for Southern Negroes.

"The federal government can't be proud of the way it has failed to deal with illiteracy

among the Negroes," the young Floridan told Truman. "What many people forget is that the government countenanced slavery before the Civil War. In fact, a lot of the slave trade was carried on by Northerners.

"Then, when slavery was abolished by fire and sword—"

"You remind me of my mother," broke in the president, who comes from Confederate stock on his maternal side.

"Well, I don't mean to be waving the Confederate flag," explained Bennett, "but it's nonetheless a fact that the government left Negro ex-slaves and their families to shift for themselves after the Civil War was over. The very least we can do now is to provide better and more schools to counteract the illiteracy that has resulted from that situation."

Truman promised to consider legislation Bennett has introduced to provide additional school facilities for Negro students—if Congress doesn't meet the need in the federal-aid-to-education program.

Senate Votes Housing Bill By 57 to 13

Temper Flare-Up Delays Action Till Late In Night

From Wire Dispatches.

Washington, April 21.—The Senate tonight passed the long-range housing bill.

It provides for a vast slum-clearance program and construction of 810,000 public-housing units during the next six years.

The measure calls also for a farm-housing program and research to cut building costs.

The vote was 57 to 13. The bill now goes to the House.

The vote came shortly before midnight after a long, wrangling session in which tempers frequently exploded. Once Senator Taft (R., Ohio) angrily accused Democrats of making a "deal" with Senator Langer (R., N. D.) to induce Langer not to launch a filibuster.

Segregation Ban Defeated.

Earlier in the day the Senate rejected, 49 to 31, a proposal to bar segregation on the basis of race, creed, or color in the renting of public housing.

The proposal was sponsored by Senators Bricker (R., Ohio) and Cain (R., Wash.), who also offered unsuccessfully a sheaf of other amendments.

The fight against the Bricker antisegregation amendment was led by advocates of President Truman's civil-rights program. They said they regarded the amendment as a move to kill the housing bill.

On the other hand, those for the amendment said it provided an opportunity for those really in favor of civil rights to demonstrate it.

Several amendments were adopted. Taft won acceptance of one limiting to 200,000 the number of subsidized public-housing units that could be built in one year. He said the bill would have permitted 250,000 a year. He expressed concern that completing the program too quickly would "take supplies and labor away from private builders."

Farm Fund Doubled.

Taft, a backer of the bill's major provisions, offered an amendment to strip from the measure a provision calling for $12,500,000 in grants for the improvement of substandard farms. Taft holds that the farms in question are uneconomic and that there is no justification for spending the money on them.

Langer was on his feet quickly, threatening to talk all night against the Taft amendment.

Later Senator Maybank (D., S. C.), chairman of the Senate Banking Committee, spoke to Langer. Soon Langer sat down and let the amendment come to a vote.

The Taft amendment was defeated and Langer then moved to

Column 3, back page, this section.

double the $12,500,000 fund. His amendment carried.

Maybank Denies 'Deal.'

Taft stormed:

"We all saw the deal made right here on the Senate floor." There isn't any question the (banking) committee bought off Mr. Langer with $12,500,000 to shut off his filibuster."

Senator Neely (D., W. Va.) told the Senate that Taft's move to wipe out the fund was typical of the Republican Party's attitude toward the farmers.

Senator Capehart (R., Ind.) took exception to that. He said only $1,000,000 would be spent on the farms the first year. If that were divided equally, he said, it would give each of the nation's farmers 6 cents.

Maybank shouted that there was no truth in what Taft had charged. He said he had talked to Langer about increasing the farm fund before the North Dakota senator threatened to launch a talkathon.

For a few moments Taft and Maybank both were shouting at the same time, and Capehart and others joined in.

Provides Housing Census.

Two Southern Democrats, Robertson of Virginia and McClellan of Arkansas, joined 11 Republicans in voting against the final bill.

Republicans opposing it were Bricker, Butler of Nebraska, Cain, Cordon of Oregon, Ecton of Montana, Gurney of South Dakota, Knowland of California, Millikin of Colorado, Mundt of South Dakota, Wherry of Nebraska, and Williams of Delaware.

In its present form the bill provides $1,500,000,000 for slum clearance and $267,500,000 for improving rural housing in addition to authorizing extensive federal-housing research.

Sponsored by 23 Democrats and Republicans, the bill would commit the U. S. Government to spend a maximum of $308,000,000 a year. The research program would be handled by a national director appointed by the public-housing administrator.

The bill also calls for a national-housing census to be made as part of the regular national nose-counting next year.

Dixie-GOP Coalition Beats Down Truman's Labor Bill

Wood Version OK'd In House By 210 To 196

Democratic Compromise Defeated Earlier By 211 To 183 Vote

WASHINGTON, May 3—(AP)—The Wood bill retaining most of the Taft-Hartley Act was approved by the House tonight on a 217-203 roll-call vote which dealt the Truman administration a smashing defeat.

Some further parliamentary maneuvering was in store before the bill could clear the House and go to the Senate.

But a coalition of Southern Democrats and Northern Republicans bent on retaining the Taft-Hartley law largely intact was jubilant.

Administration Gloomy

Conversely the administration forces, which sought repeal of the T-H law and revival of the old Wagner Act in modified form, were plunged into gloom.

On the roll-call test 146 Republicans joined 71 Democrats in voting for the Wood bill. Voting against it were 180 Democrats, 22 Republicans and one American-Labor.

How They Voted

WASHINGTON, May 3—(AP)—Here is how Alabama representatives voted today on the Wood labor bill:

For: Andrews, Battle, Boykin and Grant.

Against: Elliott, Jones and Rains.

Paired for: Hobbs.

Not voting: DeGraffenried.

Before the roll-call vote, the House had tentatively approved the Wood bill on a non-record tally of 210 to 196.

The measure had been offered by Rep. Wood (D), Georgia.

Previously the Dixie-Republican coalition had chalked up an important preliminary victory when the House knocked down, 211 to 183, a compromise put forward by the Democratic leadership.

Marcantonio Butts In

Final passage of the Wood bill was delayed by Rep. Marcantonio (AL), New York.

Just as the final vote was reached, he demanded that an engrossed copy on the bill be read. This request can be made if any amendments have been adopted.

Engrossment is a special printing process, which prints the legislation, as amended, in its final form. In the case of a bulky bill, as the Wood measure is, it means a delay at least overnight.

So, in view of Marcantonio's demand, the House turned to other matters, putting off final action on the labor legislation until Wednesday.

Retains Injunctions

The Wood bill would "repeal" the Taft-Hartley law on paper, but re-enact most of its important feautres. It would retain the 80-day injunctions in "national emergency" strikes. It would keep the present non-Communist oaths, but apply them to company officers as well as union officers.

It would ban closed shop contracts, but permit them in any state which took affirmative action to permit them by state law. This states'rights feature was added at the last minute in an amendment by Rep. Hays (D), Arkansas.

Rayburn Pleads In Vain

Speaker Rayburn had made a plea to the House for a compromise he put forward in an effort to salvage part of the administration program, but his speech was in vain.

Rayburn and other Democratic leaders, concluding that President Truman's drive for outright repeal of the T-H Act could not succeed drew up the compromise yesterday.

WALTER White

Chicago Defender

Three Things To Watch For In This Congress

Chicago Def 3-19-49

THE FIRST fortnight of the 81st Congress will tell the tale of how sincere your Senators and Congressmen were in their campaign pledges. Here are three acid tests which voters should apply to their elected representatives. No excuse should be accepted for failure to deliver.

First there is the question of amendment of the Senate rules to make cloture apply not only to pending legislation but on motions to take up bills to "amend" or "correct" the journal. The Republicans under the leadership of Senator Taft have pledged to go that far. But though important, amendment to that extent only will do virtually nothing to stop filibusters. Such amendment would permit filibusterers to talk just as long, as loudly and as fatuously against the bill itself. The present Senate rules permit any Senator to talk twice and as long as he wishes and as long as his vocal chords will permit on any bill and on any amendment which would permit cloture to be applied by a majority of the Senators **on the floor and voting** instead of the present two-thirds vote required. There are some who favor a constitutionally majority—which is to say one-half of the total membership of ninety-six Senators. This would be equally difficult. If only seventy Senators are on the floor at the time of the cloture vote and choose to vote, then thirty-six or one more than half should be permitted to impose cloture. I beg of you to telegraph or write your Senator to support such an amendment to the Senate rules and that you get as many of your friends as well as the organizations to which you belong to do the same.

There is very great and growing sentiment to abolish the seniority rule in the Senate and to evict the Dixiecrats who bolted the Democratic Party and who deserve no consideration whatever. Give your support to this movement to rid the Congress of some of the rodents who have been gnawing at your liberties and mine for generations.

Finally, there is strong sentiment for restriction of the dictatorial powers of the House Rules Committee. In that committee has been buried liberal legislation over which the Rules Committee has had the power of life or death.

All these steps are necessary to make democracy function and to restore power to the majority of the Senate and to the people of America. In this way the dictatorial power can be taken away from the handful of reactionary Republicans and Southern Democrats who have too long exercised dangerous control over the affairs of America.

(Copyright, 1949, by the CHICAGO DEFENDER)

'NEW CONCEPT' GOVERNS LEADERS OF CONGRESS

New York Times

No Longer Are They Agents of the Two Houses, but They Are Spokesmen for The Man in the White House

New York Times

Sun-3-20-49

Congress

SOME RESULTS OF THE CHANGE

By ARTHUR KROCK

WASHINGTON, March 19—Scott W. Lucas of Havana, Ill., the majority leader of the Senate, is a large, handsome, generally popular man who at times showed independence of White House legislative wishes when Franklin D. Roosevelt was President and had public opinion behind him. But Mr. Lucas is having more difficulty in carrying out his assignment as leader than Sentaor Alben W. Barkley had, though in the Seventy-ninth Congress also the Democrats were rent by faction and in the Eightieth they were in the minority.

Mr. Lucas has not yet felt it necessary to take the floor to rebuke the President publicly for statements made about Congress, as Mr. Barkley did when Mr. Roosevelt vetoed a tax bill compromise, to which his leader had assented, in words that reflected on every member who voted for its passage. Neither has Mr. Lucas resigned his post as leader, which Mr. Barkley did as part of the same episode (though he was importuned by Mr. Roosevelt as "Dear Alben" to remain, and his colleagues re-drafted him unanimously). Mr. Lucas may never do either of these things. But he has reason to feel aggrieved over President Truman's dealings with him, and, if he stays on and keeps the grievances from the public, it is because he has what may be called the "new concept" of the duties and obligations of a majority party leader in Congress to a member of the party in the White House.

Ending with Speaker Nicholas Longworth, a very different concept obtained. Democratic and Republican leaders, even when the strongest and most popular Presidents of their parties were in office, thought of themselves primarily as the agents and spokesmen of Congress at the White House and not White House agents at the Capitol. Most of the time they considered it their duty to receive the President's legislative and other wishes and transmit them accurately and sympathetically to members of Congress.

If they were personally opposed they only reserved and exercised the right to state their opposition as individual members and not weight it with the authority of leadership

Opposition to President

But if the sentiment of their followers was definitely opposed to Presidential wishes, these leaders under their concept bluntly informed the President of the fact and asked him to modify his position accordingly. If he persisted in something they themselves opposed, they felt no responsibility for the consequences. If he persisted in something they favored and their followers did not, they aided him as individuals. It was fundamental with them to preserve in the President's mind as well as in the public consciousness that the Constitution makes Congress a "coordinate" and not a subordinate arm of the general Government.

But with the impact of President Roosevelt's personality, his popular appeal and his victory in 1932 that ended a Republican White House tenure of twelve years, this concept of Congressional leadership changed. Both House and Senate chieftains were chosen by the triumphant new party leader in the expectation that they would undertake to do what he wanted, subbing their personal preferences in the party interest, which a large majority agreed with him was the national interest as well.

Sun 3-20-49

New Deal Measures

The President was not disappointed in his leadership. Conservative Democrats among them went down the line for the New Deal measures that grew more extreme as national victories followed one another. The late Senator Joseph T. Robinson of Arkansas, the majority leader, wore out his last shred of vitality in behalf of Mr. Roosevelt's Supreme Court enlargement bill. And in the House the Democratic leaders battled for programs and ideas for which they showed no enthusiasm in confidential comment.

The late Senator Pat Harrison, as chairman of the Finance Committee, successfully led a revolt against a tax-bill veto by the President with imputations similar to those which later aroused Senator Barkley to the same action. But the Administration put all its strength into the effort thereafter to deny the majority leadership to Mr. Harrison in succession to Senator Robinson. He lost to Mr. Barkley by one vote, influenced by the first of the public references to "Dear Alben." And the lesson of the punishment was not lost on those Democrats who wanted to stay in the good graces of the most powerful political personage their party had produced since Jefferson.

Guide to Lucas

The Democratic Speakers who succeeded John Garner—Rainey, Byrnes and especially the incumbent, Sam Rayburn—devotedly applied the "new concept" of leadership to their posts. And so far this has guided Senator Lucas, as best exemplified by his leadership of the anti-filibuster fight.

As politician and Senate leader Mr. Lucas was well aware of the party situation created by President Truman when, to the Eightieth Congress, he submitted urgently and in detail the legislation he refers to as his "civil-rights" program. When the Democrats took control of the Senate, after Mr. Truman was elected with many of them on a promise to press this legislation to a positive conclusion regardless, Mr. Lucas knew what he was in for.

He knew that the large bloc of Southern Democrats would filibuster as they did in the Eightieth Congress against a motion to take up this legislation. He knew that, if Vice President Barkley reversed the former ruling of Senator Arthur H. Vandenberg, as President pro tem, that closure under the process of Rule XXII could not be applied to a filibuster on a "motion," a bipartisan majority might reject the new finding. He knew that, in this event, legislation with time limits for passage and other items called paramount by the President would lapse or be blocked.

Leader's Duty

Accordingly, Mr. Lucas decided to exert what he believed to be the obligation of an administration leader, even under the "new concept," to assure the passage of this paramount legislation and keep the anti-filibuster fight going at the same time. His idea was that he would isolate it in a late area of the session when it could be broken by main force. To do this he announced he would interrupt the filibuster from time to time for Senate action on bills with a more pressing time element.

He was informed at the White House this would not do. The President, beset by his campaign pledges, instructed him to fight the filibuster until it was disposed of in some way or the other. This put the "civil-rights" program at the top of the White House list of urgent legislation.

Mr. Lucas, following the "new concept," did as he was told. Later when he encouraged the Southern Democrats and Republicans to think he would advocate a certain rules compromise, he failed to do so, and the assumption was general that again he was construing his function to be to bow to White House views contrary to his own in the field of his responsibility.

CIVIL RIGHTS BOBS UP IN HOUSING PROGRAM

Bricker Will Seek To Link It With Rent Bill

Chicago Sun 4-17-49

WASHINGTON, April 17—(AP) —Senator Bricker (R., Ohio) served notice Sunday he will offer an amendment to the housing bill which would prohibit any discrimination on the basis of race, creed or color in renting of public housing.

Senator Ellender (D., La.), one of the sponsors of the housing measure, predicted Southern senators won't filibuster the Bricker amendment.

"I feel sure we have the votes to defeat it," Ellender said. "I'm not worried about it a bit."

Bricker said he also plans to offer amendments which would:

1. Prohibit Government employes from living in the public housing units the bill would authorize.

Senate Democratic leaders plan to call the bill up for debate in a few days.

Bricker said he will offer an amendment to the housing bill authorizing a billion-dollar housing program.

3. Bar occupancy of such dwellings by anyone earning more than $1200 a year in communities of less than 100,000 population and more than $1500 in larger communities.

Bricker said he also might move to strike from the bill a section providing for a $262,500,000 four-year farm housing program.

Party Bolters Elevated To Chairmanships

Journal & Guide

Norfolk Virginia

Anti-Trumanites Regain Power In The 81st Congress

Jan 1-15-49

WASHINGTON, D. C.—(NNPA) The South climbed back into the saddle last Wednesday by taking over the chairmanships of eight out of fifteen Senate standing committees.

Political

Senator Olin D. Johnston, Democrat, South Carolina, an ardent advocate of white supremacy, was made chairman of the Post Office and Civil Service Committee.

He succeeds Senator William M. Langer, Republican, North Dakota, who in the closing days of the 80th Congress submitted a subcommittee report dealing with racial discrimination in the postal service and in various government agencies and recommending that the Post Office and Civil Service Committee continue its study of this subject with a view toward drafting legislation to make it incumbent upon appointing officers to select the highest person certified on an eligible register.

Jan 1-15-49

OTHER SOUTHERNERS ELEVATED

Other southerners elevated to committee chairmanships included Senator Elmer D. Thomas of Oklahoma, Committee on Agriculture and Forestry; Kenneth McKellar, Appropriations Committee; Millard E. Tydings, Armed Services Committee; Burnet R. Maybank of South Carolina, Banking and Currency, for whom ailing Senator Robert F. Wagner of New York stepped aside; John L. McClellan of Arkansas, Expenditures in the Executive Departments; Walter F. George of Georgia, Finance Committee and Tom Connally of Texas, Foreign Relations Committee.

In addition to these chairmanships which fell to Senators from southern and border states, Senators from two southwestern states also head two committees. They are Senators Dennis Chavez of New Mexico and Carl Halden of Arizona. Senator Chavez is regarded as a liberal. He is an original sponsor of fair employment practive legislation.

WAGNER AILING

The decision of Senator Wagner to permit Senator Malbank to become the chairman of the Banking and Currency Committee was revealed last Wednesday when the Democratic Steering Committee announced committee assignments.

In a statement Senator Wagner said that, while his health was improving he believed it would be better "if I do not continue the arduous duties of servings as chairman of one of the busiest and most important committees in the Senate."

As a member of the Armed Services Committee in the 80th Congress, Mr. Maybank was an outspoken champion of racial segregation. Jan 1-15-49

On the Armed Services Committee, which Senator Tydings heads, six of the seven Democratic committeemen are from Southern states. Besides Senator Tydings, they are Senators Richard B. Russell, of Georgia, Harry F. Byrd of Virginia, Virgil Chapman of Kentucky, Lyndon B. Johnson of Texas and Estes Kefauver of Tennessee.

The Armed Services Committee will consist of seven Democrats and six Republicans.

No southerner who either refused to support Mr. Truman's candidacy last year or who opposed it was dropped from a committee chairmanship that was his due on the basis of seniority or lost rank on a committee. That applied even to Senator James O. Eastland of of Mississippi, who openly stumped for the Thurmond-Wright States Rights ticket. Mr. Eastland is the ranking member on the committee on Expenditures in the Executive Department and second ranking member of the Judiciary Committee.

TROUBLE IN CONGRESS

New York Times

Within the space of twenty-four hours President Truman has experienced three sharp defeats at the hands of a Congress in which his own party has a majority of votes. The Senate Armed Services Committee has tabled his nomination of Mon C. Wallgren as chairman of the National Security Resources Board. The House has adopted a rent-control bill which not only shortens the period recommended by the President for the continuation of such control but permits localities to do away entirely with federal curbs if these localities are so minded. Finally, the long filibuster over the right to filibuster has succeeded in its purpose of blocking the President's civil rights program.

New York Times Thur 3-17-49

In two of these three instances we do not believe that the public interest has suffered. Mr. Wallgren is a good citizen, but the extensive evidence taken by the Senate committee failed in our judgment to demonstrate that he has either the experience or the stature essential for the occupant of one of the most critically important posts in the whole Government. In the case of rent control, surely the time has come, four years after the end of the war, to plan for the orderly return to local authority of what is essentially a local problem. States and cities will still be able, if the House version of the new bill stands, to impose such local controls as local conditions justify and as local sentiment warrants.

The outcome in the case of the Senate filibuster is less easy to take. For while it is true that here, too, standards and sentiment vary locally and widely in different parts of the country, we believe that the National Government has a strong moral responsibility, and adequate authority under the Constitution, to assure the right of every citizen to vote for candidates for national office. This was one of the objectives of the President's civil rights program, for which little hope of favorable action now remains in the Eighty-first Congress. More than this, the Senate filibuster is apparently about to end in a compromise which will not be a compromise at all but an actual strengthening of the right to filibuster. For while the "Knowland formula" which is supported by a combination of Southern Democrats and Conservative Republican votes would permit closure to be applied to debate on a motion to take up a measure, as well as to debate on a measure itself, it would raise to sixty-four (two-thirds of the full membership of the Senate) the number of votes required to impose any closure at all, whereas under the procedure hitherto prevailing a two-thirds vote of those present and voting was sufficient for this purpose. Moreover, the Knowland formula would give to one special type of Senate business complete exemption from any closure at all, at any time. It would permit members to filibuster against any future change in the Senate's own rules for as long a time as they can carry on. The result would be to establish the right to filibuster on an even more secure basis than before this whole debate began. Thur 3-17-49

In the light of three setbacks for the Administration as sharp as these, it is evident that something is lacking in the liaison between the White House and Congress. It is reasonable to believe that one factor here is the recent inclination of the President to interpret the results of the election as supplying personal rather than a party mandate, and a personal mandate pretty much on his own terms. In the case of the filibuster Mr. Truman threw his own party leadership into confusion by asking for closure by a bare majority rather than by two-thirds of those voting. In the case of Mr. Wallgren it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that he was rewarding a close personal friend rather than searching for the one man best qualified by experience for a supremely important public office. In the case of rent control the Administration is still pursuing an almost automatic wartime habit of centralizing authority in Washington, when a natural peacetime swing of opinion in the opposite direction is under way.

Chicago Defender 1-15-49

More evenly balanced give and take between the two ends of Pennsylvania Avenue will be required if the remainder of the Administration's program is to be salvaged.

Reactionaries In Power In The Senate

Journal & Guide

Norfolk Virginia

AS HAD been forecast with justifiable misgivings in view of the Democratic successes at the polls in the November presidential election, southern reactionaries were returned to power in Congress last week. They took over eight out of fifteen Senate standing committees. 74

The records of the majority of the eight senators into whose hands these committee chairmanships passed are odious in the matter of race relations. No reason exists for entertaining the belief that any of them have changed heart or face on this subject. With reference to proposals for the enactment of what is generally regarded as liberal legislation they may be depended upon to play the role of obstructionists. Jan 1-13-49

It seems to be particularly unfortunate that Senator OLIN D. JOHNSTON of South Carolina becomes chairman of the Post Office and Civil Service Committee at this time to succeed the liberal Senator WILLIAM M. LANGER, Republican, North Dakota.

In the closing days of the 80th Congress Senator LANGER submitted a subcommittee report revealing widespread racial discrimination in the postal service and in various government agencies. He approved of a recommendation that a study of this subject be continued with a view of drafting legislation to make it incumbent upon appointing officers to select the highest person certified on an eligible list.

With the committee now chairmaned by Senator JOHNSTON, a rabid advocate of white supremacy, this praiseworthy recommendation will probably go into the waste basket. No one expects this South Carolinian to approve of fair employment practices in the postal service, or in any other services either public or private.

Other southern senators assigned important committee chairmanships included ELMER D. THOMAS of Oklahoma; KENNETH MCKELLER, Tennessee; MILLARD E. TYDINGS, Maryland; BURNET R. MAYBANK, South Carolina; WALTER F. GEORGE, Georgia; JOHN L. MCCLELLAN, Arkansas, and TOM CONNALLY, Texas. Jan 1-13-49

Most of these will exercise powerful influence over agencies in which racial discrimination is practiced as rigidly as it is in the postal service. They will hardly lift a finger to help to eradicate it. Instead, they are more likely to endorse it fully.

The Senate Democratic Steering Committee, in making the assignments, showed forgiveness for the 1948 party bolters. They are back into the fold with the apparent blessings of the TRUMAN Administration. But when the President's civil rights proposals reach the Senate, they can be expected to be as rebellious as ever. They are neither penitent nor yielding.

DEMOCRACY IN WASHINGTON

The Times, Dunkirk, N.Y. Sun. 5-8-49

The citizens of Washington, who for three-quarters of a century have been American DP's (disfranchised persons), have reason to rejoice. And so have their sympathetic fellow-citizens outside the confines of the District of Columbia. For the Senate has passed and sent to the House a bill that would restore to Washingtonians a privilege that most other Americans, not unreasonably, take for granted—the privilege of running their own municipal affairs. It seems about time that this elementary democratic right be given the 900,000 inhabitants of the capital of the world's greatest democracy.

In a reorganization of Washington's government in 1874 local franchise was abolished. Since then Washington has been administered by three commissioners appointed by the President; but the basic powers of government have rested in the Congress of the United States. Thus Congress, in addition to its other duties, has actually acted as a sort of glorified city council or board of aldermen for the District of Columbia. Sun. 5-8-49

The Senate bill, sponsored by the able and progressive Senator Kefauver of Tennessee, would permit the people of Washington to vote for nine out of eleven members of a city council and for all members of the Board of Education. It would totally reorganize the District government under a city manager. It would leave to Congress and the President the right to veto any major changes in District laws proposed by the council.

If passed by the House and approved by the President, the Kefauver bill will be submitted to a referendum of the citizens of Washington. Opposition to home rule has been more or less covertly expressed by some Washingtonians on the grounds that since one-third of the city's inhabitants are Negro, Negroes would have a large voice in the city's affairs. We are confident that the overwhelming majority of the capital's citizens will reject such an argument and eagerly accept the responsibilities of local self-government.

Hayes Off D.C. School Board

The Defender 7-9-49

WASHINGTON—In what appears to be a move to extend arch conservatism on the District School Board, George E. C. Hayes, prominent Washington attorney who frequently has locked horns with the Board's reactionary bloc, was removed. His place was filled by Dr. Phillip T. Johnson, orthopedic surgeon, whose racial views are said to be more in line with those of the board. Both men are Negroes. Sat. 7-49

Attorney Hayes and Mrs. Velma Williams, other Negro board members, recently took a strong position against the school board when it refused to instruct its member on the District Recreation Board to support an amendment to end segregation on the District's play areas. Chicago, Ill.

Chief Judge Bolitha Laws of the District Court gave no reason for his failure to reappoint Hayes beyond stating that he did not apply for reappointment. Hayes stated that he did not know such an application was necessary.

Racial Angle Discerned in Hostility to Home Rule

Kefauver Calls Some Opposition Due to Fear of Negroes' Election in District

Part of the oposition to home rule is based on fear that Negroes might be elected to the District Government, Senator Estes Kefauver (D., Tenn.) said yesterday.

Kefauver, chairman of the District subcommittee which drafted the Washington home rule bill, in an off-the-cuff radio interview with Charles Parmer over Station WPIK, Alexandria, said:

"Frankness compels me to say that part of the latent opposition to home rule is that there might be Negroes elected in the Government, here in the District of Columbia."

Entitled To Vote

The senator, some of whose forebears fought for the Confederacy, declared: "We have good citizens, white and colored, here. I think Negroes are entitled to vote where ver they are. They are American citizens.

"As a matter of fact, we have a whole lot smaller percentage of Negroes in the District of Columbit than we have in Richmond, New Orleans, Memphis, Atlanta. There is no objection to them participating in government there, and there should not be any here.

"They are entitled to it under the Constitution, and I am for giving them that right."

Racial Opposition

Subsequently, the Senator stated the latent opposition to home rule on racial grounds "should be fully explored and exposed."

Not only does it affect part of the District's population, he said, but "I am sure it also affects some members of both bodies of Congress." People both in and out of Congress have spoken to him about it, he explained, and added, "I am sure it has some bearing on the home-rule problem."

Support for home rule also was expressed in a letter from Senator Herbert R. O'Conor (D., Md.) to Kefauver.

O'Conor for Home Rule

O'Conor said that while Governor of Maryland for eight years he had "numerous opportunities to study at close range the problems of the District," and he favored "granting home rule to the citizens of the District, primarily in order that they may be citizens in every sense of the word.

"It is quite true that Congress needs to hold the control over the section of the District which it occupies," O'Conor said, "but its jurisdiction should extend no further than that."

Kefauver is confident that the home rule bill will be acted on at this session. The measure would give Washington a city council and city manager government.

Senate Defeats Jim Crow Rider In District Home Rule Bill

WASHINGTON — A significant civil rights victory was won in the Senate when a coalition of liberal Democrats and Republicans beat down 49 to 27 a proposed amendment to the District home rule bill which would have barred any change in Washington's racial segregation policies without prior approval of District voters through a referendum.

The Senate then passed by voice vote the history-making home rule measure which for the first time since 1878 would give residents of the Nation's Capital the right to vote for local governing officials and to elect a school board.

The segregation proposal, sponsored jointly by Senators Eastland (D., Miss.) and Johnston, (D., S. C.) was defeated without a filibuster. The decisiveness of an earlier test vote on the amendment apparently caused the Southern die-hards to abandon their fight and let the House settle the issue.

This stinging rebuke to the Dixie "white supremacy" bloc is viewed here as evidence of growing grass roots support for President Truman's civil rights program. Senator Hubert H. Humphrey, (D., Minn.) said the overwhelming rejection of the segregation amendment is another indication of the action people throughout the country are taking to improve race relations.

Spearheading the fight for adoption of his amendment, Eastland charged Washington was being used as a "guinea pig" for the President's civil rights program. Johnston argued that Negroes themselves "want to be segregated." He claimed that on a recent trip to New Jersey where racial segregation is not required in schools, that Negro and white school children separated themselves on the playgrounds and on the streets.

Filibuster

FILIBUSTER IS SAID CERTAIN OVER PROGRAM

Congress Tied In New Snarl Controversial Labor Bill Comes Up For Debate

WASHINGTON, April 29.—(AP) Senator McGrath (D., R.I.) de[illegible] a motion from Southern Democrats Thursday [illegible] conducting [illegible] to carry President Truman's civil rights program. 4-29-49

Coming on the heels of the national party's decision to bar patronage plums to Democrats who fought Mr. Truman's candidacy, the bills face the constant threat of a Dixie filibuster in the Senate.

McGrath's Four Points

The measures proposed by McGrath, national Democratic chairman, would: 4-29-49

1. Establish a fair employment practices commission to assure employment without discrimination because of race, color, religion or national origin."

2. Make lynching a Federal offense.

3. Outlaw the poll tax in connection with registration, primaries or elections for Federal office.

4. Create a five-member civil rights commission to advise the President and "appraise the policies, practices and enforcement program of the Federal Government with respect to civil rights."

Meanwhile, Congress was primed Friday for a showdown on one of the hottest issues of the [illegible]—whether or not to scrap the Taft-Hartley Act and substitute President Truman's labor program. 4-29-49

Test Vote Due Friday

The House met two hours ahead of time Friday morning to continue debate. A test vote is due before the day is over.

The wrangle over a new labor bill is all tied up with President Truman's latest fight with Democratic congressmen or the states' righters. Many of the Southerners have teamed up with Republicans behind a proposed new labor law which would retain practically all the important features of the Taft-Hartley Act. [illegible] of the bill is Democratic Representative [illegible] Wood of Georgia.

The Southerners [illegible] at the President [illegible] indicating that Democrats who don't support his labor bill may be overlooked when Federal patronage is handed out. One prominent House member, who asked that his name be withheld, said the President lost votes for his own cause when he threatened to withhold patronage from the dissenters.

Truman Authorizes Chiefs To End Filibuster Fight If Compromise Is Reached

Montgomery Advertiser

Montgomery, Alabama

President 'Pleased' At Cooperation; Party Leaders Seek Peace Huddle With Filibusterers Against Change

Jun. 3-13-49

From Press Dispatches

WASHINGTON, March 12—President Truman personally authorized Senate Democratic leaders tonight to call off the filibuster fight if they can work out a compromise with the rebellious Southern bloc.

The President gave that word to Sen. J. Howard McGrath, of Rhode Island, the Democratic national committee chairman, who telephoned him at his vacation retreat in Key West, Fla.

McGrath said Mr. Truman was pleased that "we have reached the point where we could all sit down together."

Only last month the President directed his Senate leaders to carry the anti-filibuster fight to the finish, regardless of how long it might delay his legislative program.

This move came as the President's forces moved for a compromise to end the 12-day filibuster fight by Monday and clear the way for action on his program.

The Senate recessed abruptly in the midst of a night session and leaders of administration Democrats, Southern Democrats and Republicans were called into a "secret" huddle Sunday.

Studying Several Plans

Majority Leader Lucas (D), Illinois, told the Senate that these groups expected to work out a settlement. This would head off 'round-the-clock sessions which he had threatened to start Monday to break the filibuster.

He said leaders of the wrangling factions are studying a half-dozen separate proposals for settling the row.

Sen. Richard B. Russell (D), Georgia, leader of the Southern bloc which has been fighting tooth and nail to preserve the filibuster for use against civil rights legislation, said the Dixie senators would consider any "fair compromise."

"But we're not ready to go into any horse and rabbit trade where we swap a good strong horse for a mangy little rabbit," Russell said.

"We have no intention of surrendering, he added.

Leaders Invited

Invited to the "secret session" Sunday are Lucas and Deputy Democratic Leader Myers (Pa.), Republican Leader Wherry (Neb.), and GOP Senators Saltonstall (Mass.) and Knowland (Calif.), and Senators Russell and Byrd (D), Virginia, from the Dixie group, as well as Senator Hayden (D), Arizona, chairman of the Senate rules committee.

Byrd, a leader among the filibustering Southerners, told a reporter he, too, was "pretty hopeful" of a compromise.

Senator John Sparkman, of Alabama, told The Advertiser from Washington Saturday that "everybody would like to see some reasonable solution" to the current Senate filibuster.

Southerners are filibustering to keep the Senate rules from being amended so that debate can be shut off by a two-thirds majority at any time. Administrationists want the rules changed to prevent a later filibuster against President Truman's civil rights program.

Won Big Victory

Southerners won an important victory Friday night. The Senate refused by 46-to-41 to uphold Vice President Barkley's ruling that a two-thirds majority can shut off debate on any matter. Now debate can be limited only o bills. A motio, ot a bill, is pedig to amed the rules.

(To gain their point, administrationists have threatened to pledge.

An aroused and militant people can still compel action on civil rights legislation. Let the old party leadership stop preaching about the lack of democracy in Bulgaria and Hungary and start practicing democracy at home. 3-25-49

Henry A. Wallace's Statement On Filibuster In Congress

Memphis Press-Scimitar

Smiling Democratic and Republican leaders posed for the photographers Friday as they celebrated the "compromise" that ended the civil rights filibuster. But the picture does not show the 14 million Negro Americans who are the victims of this bi-partisan betrayal. There are no smiles on their faces today.

The sham Senate battle has ended. Julia 43-25-49

The real fight against Jim Crow and lynch law must begin now.

It is time the people held both old parties to account. Once more they have broken the solemn promises they made when the people's vote was the prize.

The guilt of Republicans and Democrats alike is clear.

The administration cannot disclaim responsibility for Dixie-Democrats so long as they retain their full party privileges, their top committee assignments and their patronage. No complicated parlimentary maneuvers can explain away the failure of the Democratic leadership to break the filibuster by around-the-clock sessions of the Senate. No double talk can account for the action of Senator Hayden of Arizona, Democratic Chairman of the Senate Rules Committee, in voting against his own cloture resolution. No statement from the White House can make clear why a vacation in Key West was the strongest weapon President Truman could devise to whip his party into line.

The guilt of the Republicans is no less blatant. The failure of Republican leadership to make violation of their party's platform a matter of party discipline was in itself a betrayal of their solemn promise to the people. Dewey and Taft, the Party leaders, remained silent. The 23 Republican votes to sustain the filibuster were each a Republican coffin-nail in that party's platform keep the Senate in continuous, 24-hours-a-day session.

(That's where the Southerners are trapped. 4-8

(There are 21 Southerners opposing the change. Each could speak as long as he's physically able to stand. But he couldn't speak again and again. As they stand now, the Senate rules permit each senator to speak only twice on any issue. They place no limit, however, on the time of either. Jun-3-13-49

Mississippi's Senator James O. Eastland held the floor for five hours and 29 minutes of today's session, pounding away at the proposed gag rule and at President Truman's civil rights program.

He cut short his speech when word spread through the Senate chamber that compromise talks were in progress.

For the record at least, the administration Democrats refused to admit they were whipped, despite the beating they took Friday night.

Talk Confidently

Lucas' threat apparently was decided upon at a strategy conference of administration Democrats this morning. The conferees came out of the meeting talking confidently about outlasting the Southerners and putting across their anti-filibuster scheme.

But the odds seemed weighted heavily against them. Some staunch administration supporters admitted the fight probably would have to be abandoned to permit the Senate to act on such urgent measures as extension of rent controls, which are scheduled to expire March 31. This

puts a limit on the time the administration can spend in bluffing—if it is bluffing.

At the same time, Mr. Truman had no comment on the Senate's defeat last night of Lucas' attempt to shut off the civil rights filibuster. Jun-3-13-49

In Key West, Fla., meanwhile, President Truman met with Capitol Hill rebuffs with a smile while his aides speculated about the developments through telephone reports from the White House to Dr. John R. Steelman, Washington, assistant to the President.

One highly-placed aide recalled that Mr. Truman's speech decided on such a course, but Jefferson-Jackson Day dinner Feb. 24 in which he said he growing possibility of a presidential stumping trip to save his program.

This aide said nothing has been decided on such a course, but that "the possibility is growing."

MERRY-GO-ROUND

GOP Tries To Regain Lost Favor

BY DREW PEARSON

WASHINGTON—The Republican National Committee has sent out a frantic warning that unless the GOP acts quickly to offset the bad publicity over its alliance with the Dixiecrats, it may jeopardize the reelection of three stalwart Republicans—Taft of Ohio, Capehart of Indiana, and Donnell of Missouri.

The GOP National Committee also is pleading with senators to sign a cloture petition limiting debate on civil rights when it comes up again. All 42 Republican senators must sign, the committee warns, to show their good faith for their previous compromise with the South over the filibuster. This would leave only 22 signatures for the Democrats to round up—which, the committee predicts, the Democrats would have trouble getting. If the Republicans contributed twice as many signatures as the Democrats, the GOP committee reasons, the blame for failure to act on civil rights will fall directly on the Democrats.

So far, the national committee admits, the Republicans have taken a beating in the press for their compromise on the filibuster. As an example of Negro reaction, the committee cites the editorial bitterness of The Afro-American, a leading Negro newspaper which hitherto always has supported the Republican ticket.

"We made a grievous mistake in supporting the reelection of a Republican Congress," declared the Afro-American after the Republican - Dixiecrat deal. "Twice in the past week have the actions of the Republicans in the Senate showed us how grievous was our error."

The committee points out that most newsmen believe it is impossible to muster the necessary 66 signatures to shut off a civil rights debate, as required under the compromise agreement. That is the reason the committee urges every Rpublican senator—to a man—to sign the gag petition.

Not only will this save the reelection of Taft, Capehart and Donnell, argues the national committee, but it will cut into the Democratic vote in Kentucky, California, Illinois, Connecticut, Pennsylvania, Oklahoma, Maryland and New York—where there is a heavy Harlem ballot.

* * *

Merry-Go-Round

SEN. MILLARD TYDINGS, the dapper Democrat from Maryland, was bustling around the Senate floor the other day as if conferring on matters of state. He hustled from one senator to another, whispering earnestly. The truth was, he was trying to get rid of some free tickets to the race track. . . . Speaker Sam Rayburn has been proudly displaying a cashier's check for $40,000 which he raised for the Democratic Party during a Jackson Day speaking tour of Texas. That ain't hay. . . . The editors of Saturday Evening Post consider Minnesota's boy-wonder, Sen. Hubert Humphrey, as a presidential prospect. have assigned feature writer Rufus Jarman to write a detailed profile—to be published probably in two articles.

* * *

Democrats Woo

IN A BID FOR DEMOCRATIC UNITY, party leaders threw a private dinner the other night for freshmen congressmen and turned on the soft soap.

Sen. J. Howard McGrath, Democratic national chairman, blamed the Republicans for all the trouble over civil rights.

"The Republicans are to blame," he crackled, "because they formed a coalition with the Dixiecrats to block a change of Senate rules."

The purpose of this, he said, was to "prevent passage of the civil rights program."

Pep talks were also given by House Majority Leader John McCormack and Speaker Sam Rayburn who declared that the Republican Party is "split worse than the Democrats" and called the Democratic Party the "party of understanding."

* * *

Truman Sticks To Knitting

PRESIDENT TRUMAN, who was suntanning in Florida while his supporters took it on the chin in Congress, will not repeat this again soon.

His new policy of sticking close to Capitol Hill was made clear recently to West Virginia's two Democratic senators—Harley Kilgore and Matt Neely—who invited the president to attend a forestry festival in West Virginia next October.

"Until this Congress gets its work out of the way," Truman replied, "I'm goihg to stay here and fight for my program."

He intends to do this by personal contact with senators and congressmen, he added, and this will have first priority over all other engagements.

"Dictatorship of Dixiecrats"

EDITOR of the Post-Dispatch:

The filibuster to defeat the anti-filibuster rule, which is now being [illegible] Congress, is making a mockery of representative government by majority rule.

It is giving the Dixiecrats a fine opportunity of playing their traditional role as the noble defenders of states' rights.

By conducting their verbal battle at this time to retain the filibuster as a weapon with which to kill the Civil Rights bill, they have succeeded in blocking other vital legislation for the welfare of all the people.

In short, the Senate is being dominated by a "dictatorship of the Dixiecrats." In fact, no greater display of political arrogance has ever been seen. It is creating disunity at a time of crises.

When the Southern states make little or no effort to protect their Negro citizens from the noose, the torch and the whip, all three of which have long been known as symbols of Southern justice for Negroes, it is high time that the Federal government takes a hand to stop such brutal practices. And no law-abiding citizen of the south, regardless of color, will believe the "South is being crucified on the cross of civil rights" either.

In the last analysis, the filibuster is giving the voters a chance to judge the sincerity of Senators who claim to be in favor of the Civil Rights bill. We hope these Senators will be able to face the Negroes who helped to put them in office, without blushing when they meet again.

GEORGE E. CALDWELL.

A Sane Compromise Would Clear the Air

THE old Senate custom of unlimited debate gives a handful of senators the power to block all business of government until a measure which they do not like is withdrawn. This is what is commonly known as a "filibuster."

Now there is reason to believe that a majority of people would disapprove of the filibuster on principle and approve a rule to stop it. It seems, however, that the morality of the filibuster is never clearly tested because it is always obscured by the controversial matter with which a filibuster is waged. For example, senators from the South are giving their loans and loosening their local chords to the issue of the President's proposal of laws on civil rights. An attempt to stop the filibuster in this case, therefore, would become a test not of the parliamentary practice, of its tyranny, waste and obstruction, but of the civil rights program. It would be a question not of right but of emotion and wilful-ness.

It seems to us that obviously what this country needs is a decision on the filibuster itself; that is a decision on the rules of the Senate. Not the filibuster issue tied up with the poll tax or the labor law or an M.V.A. or foreign policy, but the filibuster on its own merits for good or evil. And this brings up another reason for intelligent compromise on the civil rights issue, to which we referred in an editorial Thursday. Once the issue were removed, the decks cleared of emotion, so to speak, the filibuster as privileged, senseless and destructive institution could be discussed. It is true the Senate proposes to take up, probably soon, a change in its rules to limit debate. But the discussion will be technical in nature only. It is bound to be blurred and distorted by the shadow of impending bills on civil rights.

The Senate should have the matter out once and for all in the name of the Senate's own dignity and effectiveness. The filibuster is a fraud, and the principal argument advanced in its favor—namely, that it is a righteous protection for the minority—is spurious. Because senators genuinely concerned with getting legitimate business done fear the filibuster, the very threat to talk a measure to death is often enough to force it out of consideration. It puts into the hands of obstructionists a weapon to kill legislation simply by changing the subject to one that fairly invites a filibuster.

We are thinking of Senator BRICKER's latest performance in connection with the long-range housing bill. He proposes to amend it by requiring that there be no racial discrimination or segregation in public housing projects. He does so out of a concessed motive far different from that of seeking racial justice. He wants to project the civil rights issue into the housing question almost, as it were, malevolently. He says, "Let's see if they mean it," referring to the platform declarations of both parties on civil rights. This calls for a statement from the Senate rules Committee by Senator CAIN of Washington, uncompromisingly promising foe of rent controls and public housing, to use the inflammatory purposes. As the Senate rules stand now, housing of any kind, among other enterprise however laudable could be sacrificed by the incitement of a filibuster. It is too much to ask of a filibuster. It is too late to im[illegible] debate once a filibuster has begun. All such elements of confusion. All such elements faith for their previous compromise with the South over the filibuster as possible from the public mind, among other considerations of national unity and accomplishment, predicts, the Democrats would compromise of moderates on have trouble getting.

If the Republicans contributed twice as many signatures as the Democrats, the GOP Committee reasons, the blame for failure to act on civil rights will fall directly on the Democrats.

So far, the National Committee admits, the Republicans have

Washington Times Herald

BY DREW PEARSON

WASHINGTON—The Republican National Committee has sent out a frantic warning that unless the GOP acts quickly to offset the bad publicity over its alliance with the Dixiecrats, it may jeopardize the re-election of three stalwart Republicans—Taft of Ohio, Capehart of Indiana, and Donnell of Missouri.

The GOP National Committee also is pleading with Senators to sign a cloture petition limiting debate on civil rights when it comes up again. All 42 Republican Senators must sign, the committee warns, to show their good faith for their previous compromise with the South over the filibuster. This would leave only 22 signatures for the Democrats to round up—which, the Committee predicts, the Democrats would have trouble getting.

If the Republicans contributed twice as many signatures as the Democrats, the GOP Committee reasons, the blame for failure to act on civil rights will fall directly on the Democrats.

So far, the National Committee admits, the Republicans have

Merry-Go-Round

The GOP's New Filibuster Strategy

Washington Times Herald

taken a beating in the press for their compromise on the filibuster. As an example of Negro reaction, the Committee cites the editorial bitterness of the Afro-American, a leading Negro newspaper which hitherto always has supported the Republican ticket.

"We made a grievous mistake in supporting the re-election of a Republican Congress," declared the Afro-American after the Republican-Dixiecrat deal. "Twice in the past week have the actions of the Republicans in the Senate showed us how grievous was our error."

The Committee points out that most newsmen believe it is impossible to muster the necessary 66 signatures to shut off a civil-rights debate, as required under the compromise agreement.

That is the reason the Committee urges every Republican Senator—to a man—to sign the gag petition.

Not only will this save the re-election of Taft, Capehart and Donnell, argues the National Committee, but it will cut into the Democratic vote in Kentucky, California, Illinois, Connecticut, Pennsylvania, Oklahoma, Maryland and New York—where there is a heavy Harlem ballot.

Note: The letters sent out to GOP Senators by the National Committee were signed by Val Washington, himself colored. He is assistant to national GOP chairman Hugh Scott.

* * *

MERRY-GO-ROUND — Senator Millard Tydings, the dapper Democrat from Maryland, was bustling around the Senate floor the other day as if conferring on matters of state. He hustled from one Senator to another, whispering earnestly. The truth was, he was trying to get rid of some free tickets to the race track.

Speaker Sam Rayburn has been proudly displaying a cashier's check for $40,000 which he raised for the Democratic Party during a Jackson Day speaking tour of Texas. That ain't hay.

The editors of the Saturday Evening Post consider Minnesota's boy-wonder, Senator Hubert Humphrey, as a Presidential prospect; have assigned feature writer Rufus Jarman to write a detailed profile to be published probably in two articles.

* * *

DEMOCRATS WOO—In a bid for Democratic unity, party leaders threw a private dinner the other night for freshmen Congressmen and turned on the soft soap.

Senator J. Howard McGrath, Democratic national chairman, blamed the Republicans for all the trouble over civil rights.

"The Republicans are to blame," he crackled, "because they formed a coalition with the Dixiecrats to block a change of Senate rules."

The purpose of this, he said, was to "prevent passage of the civil-rights program."

Pep talks were also given by House Majority Leader John McCormack and Speaker Sam Rayburn who declared that the Republican Party is "split worse than the Democrats" and called the Democratic Party the "party of understanding."

Pepper Of Florida Bolts Dixie Tradition To Blast Filibuster

(Florida Washington Bureau)

WASHINGTON — Flying in the face of almost solid Southern opposition, Sen. Claude Pepper (D., Fla.) set the filibuster-torn Senate back on its heels by announcing his support for the principals embraced in President Truman's civil rights program.

Taking the floor in support of a change in the Senate filibuster rule which Dixie Democrats are opposing as a "first step" to the enactment of the civil rights program, Pepper said he would vote for abolition of the poll tax, and passage of anti-lynching legislation.

While he reserved commitment of fair employment practices legislation, "until I see the bill," the Florida Senator made it clear that in his opinion "it is basic Americanism to say that employment or discharge shall not be predicated soley upon race, religion, creed or national origin." He said in part:

For Civil Rights

"Mr. President, ... I am not afraid to say a few words regarding the civil rights program. Again, Mr. President, I am no Yankee; I am no carpet bagger; I hope I am no scalawag. But I am not ashamed to associate myself with the general principles of human rights, yes, of civil rights of all the people of this country, of all races, creeds, colors, and national origins.

"I myself happen to come of Anglo-Saxon stock. Of course, I am proud of it, but I do not ask any preference for that lineage of which I happen to be a part. I would not presume to suggest that they are the only worthy people and that before the law they alone have rights entitled to protection.

"... Mr. President, ... if I must take a choice, I am not so much interested in the preservation of State wrongs as I am in the adequate protection of human rights. With affection, and the deepest earnestness, I say to my fellow southerners, history will condemn you if you stand persistently as the uncompromising champions of those who would perpetrate wrong in the name and behind the false facade of states rights.

But They Were Wrong

"Mr. President, I had two grandfathers who wore the grey and fought for a cause which was lost 90 years ago. Human slavery was wrong, condemned by a just God to ignominious oblivion, and they to die by the sword who would perpetrate it or defend it. They were against the stream of time. Mr. President, I honor them out of the depth of my heart, but they were wrong.

"I say today, Mr. President, that it is legal discrimination—and I am not talking about anything else—to say to a black man, 'You have not an assured trial by jury.' That is wrong. The God with His protecting bosom who hovers above and shield the Anglo-Saxon is also the God of the humblest American, and the law that does not from the majesty of a Nation's might, give him comparable protection, is an ignominious, hypocritical, false facade of pretense.

"Mr. President, I say that I cast my lot with human rights rather than for the preservation of states' wrongs, let the consequences be what they may.

". . . . Mr. President, if the truth were known by the people of the South what the law is, the whole civil rights question would be regarded differently."

Southern Plan For Filibuster Curb Offered

Would Permit 66 Senators to Cut Off Debate in National Emergency

WASHINGTON, Jan. 31 (AP).—Southerners got ready today to hold out an olive branch in the Senate's filibuster fight—a compromise whereby eighty-six Senators could shut off debate in a national emergency.

But they made it clear in testifying to the Senate Rules Committee that there would be no agreement calling off a filibuster on President Truman's civil-rights program.

Administration leaders and Republicans are trying to amend Senate rules to permit a two-thirds majority to shut off debate on any subject. A tight twenty-man bloc of Souhern Senators sees it as a move to push across the Truman anti-lynch, anti-poll tax, anti-discrimination bills which they contend invade state jurisdictions.

The compromise is being written by Senator John C. Stennis, Democrat, of Mississippi, who said it would allow eighty-six of the ninety-six Senators to limit debate on matters of grave national emergency. It appeared likely that other Southern Senators would favor it.

Senator Spessard L. Holland, Democrat, of Florida, said it would protect the Senate against a small group who might use the device of non-stop speech making to imperil national security.

But as for the civil rights program, Senator Holland declared it will "bring on as long a debate as the Senators from twelve or fifteen states can endure." Such a program, he said, "would bring evil and disastrous effects upon the South."

Senator Richard B. Russell, Democrat, of Georgia, criticized the Republican stand on the proposed rules change. He said they had two years to make a change while they controlled the Senate, but did nothing until the Democrats gained the majority. He called it a "political phenomenon."

Senator Irving M. Ives, Republican, of New York, replied that there was nothing unusual. He said the Republican stand was a policy decided on last summer.

The hearings may end tomorrow.

Says Slow-motion Tactics Adopted To Kill Civil Rights

GOP Charges South's Liberals As Unfriendly To FEPC As Regular Democrats in "Nothing-Doing" Congress

By Val J. Washington

Washington, D. C.,—Rep National Committee. If minorities believe that the resistance to civil rights of Southern Democrats, aided by the Trumanites, is slackening, they have but to follow the proceedings in the Subcommittee of the Committee on Administration in the House, where an anti-poll tax bill is being heard, and the Subcommittee on Labor and Education, where FEPC is trying to make the hurdles.

Actually what is going on is a back-door filibuster against civil rights bills, made possible by connivance between Truman Democrats who are chairmen of committees, and Dixiecrats, whom they appoint in some instances to serve as chairmen of subcommittees.

The Subcommittee on Labor and Education, which is chairmanned by Congressman Adam Clayton Powell, Jr., who is genuinely interested in civil rights legislation, has heard over 70 witnesses in three weeks, has held 14 hearings, and will complete its work this week. Two of the prominent Southern Congressmen of the younger gentry who testified against the FEPC bill were Charles E. Bennett, and Lurie Calvin Battle. In his testimony, Congressman Bennett, Democrat of Florida, left the impression that he campaigned against the civil rights program and FEPC throughout the second district of Florida, and received the majority of the colored votes, even though his Republican opponent campaigned for civil rights. He cited this as proof that civil rights was being stirred up by groups other than the colored people themselves and did not represent the sentiment of Negroes. Congressman Bennett is serving his first term in Congress, is 39 years old, a college graduate, served 58 months in the infantry in World War II, and was awarded the Silver Star for bravery. He came to the committee in a wheel chair to give his testimony. He has been hailed as representing the thinking of the New South.

Congressman Lurie Calvin Battle of Alabama said in his testimony that if FEPC were passed "it would provoke riots and bloodshed." Battle is a graduate of Vanderbilt University, where he specialized in social work and sociology, served in the Pacific Theater in World War II, is 37 years old, and is serving his second term in Congress as a Southern liberal.

Compare the work of the Powell committee with the House Committee on Administration, which is conducting hearings on the poll tax bill. It is chairmanned by Congressman Burr Harrison of Virginia. Mr. Harrison has been holding hearings once a week from 10:00 a. m. to 12 noon for five weeks, and has heard some ten witnesses. He has refused to hold continuous meetings. He says he cannot close his hearings until 12 additional Southern Congressmen are heard.

The status of other civil rights bills in House Committees is as follows:

Bill to eliminate jim crow in the Army—Armed Service Committee, Carl Vinson of Georgia, chairman, absolutely no action so far.

Bill to eliminate jim crow in L. McMillan of South Carolina, interstate chairman, action feticulouly avoided on this bill.

Anti-lynch bill—Emanuel Celler, chairman, flatly refused to start hearings or set dates on bill.

So the Democrat record on civil rights in the House Committee, with the exception of Congressman Powell's subcommittee, is "all talk and no do."

Bill to eliminate travel—House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee, no hearings have been set.

Bill to abolish discrimination in the National Guards—Armed Services Committee, Vinson of Georgia, chairman, action meticulously avoided.

Bill to eliminate discrimination in the Nation's Capital—House District of Columbia Committee, John

The Right To Obstruct

The World Atlanta, Ga. Wed. 3-9-49

(From The New York Herald-Tribune)

The Senate is engaged in a complicated parliamentary struggle; but the issue can be simply stated. It is whether a two-thirds majority shall be able to bring debate to a close and to clear the way for voting. Several observers, including Mr. Walter Lippmann, maintain that such a step involves a profound change in our governmental system and will provoke a tyranny of the majority. This newspaper cannot agree. The World

34 Atlanta, Ga.

That our constitutional system involves checks upon the majority, that both by its spirit and form it preserves minorities from the oppression of numbers, is undebatable. It is contrary to our fundamental principles, as it is to good sense and sound legislation, to impose laws upon any region or major economic group which contravene deeply held concepts of justice or necessity. A habit of restraint and accommodation is indispensable to constitutional government. But to say this is not all the same thing as to say that a small group of men—in practice as few as a half-dozen—cannot only indefinitely block voting on an issue but can even block its discussion. Wed. 3-9-49

The defenders of unlimited filibuster argue as if nothing else but this stood between a minority and a heedless, overriding majority. But what of our Federal structure, with its division between powers of the state and central government? What of the written Constitution and the Supreme Court? While such checks remain it seems hardly necessary to elevate and declare sacrosanct practices which amount to an absolute right to obstruct.

When the majority in the present instance secures, as seemingly it must, the right to discuss and bring to a vote proposals on civil rights, it will be bound for practical as well as moral reasons to respect the traditions and sensibilities of the South. Even those most deeply committed to reform are aware that Federal laws affecting fair employment, lynching, segregation, will be effective only in so far as they correspond to growing needs within the South itself. And even the Southern Senators in the end may well see the wisdom of trusting to these intrinsic checks, rather than to a type of destruction so damaging to democratic processes and so easily abused.

Filibuster Triumphs

New York Herald Tribune

The victorious filibuster conducted by the Southern Democrats with the substantial help of the Republicans was the most resounding defeat suffered by the Truman administration. Senator Lucas, Democratic leader, was embarrassed and angry. The institution of the filibuster—which the Administration had hoped to undermine—emerged more impregnable than ever. And the President's civil rights program, Lucas admitted, no longer had a "Chinaman's chance" of enactment. Wed. 3-2-49

Fourteen Southern Senators had a chance to rest their voices and their feet when the filibuster ended at 11:14 o'clock Tuesday evening. They had talked for 55 hours, 45 minutes since Feb. 28. The individual champion was Senator Ellender, of Louisiana, who held the floor for 12 hours, 20 minutes, believed to be an all-time non-stop record. Others have talked longer, but they had intervals of relief in the form of quorum calls or other humane interruptions.

The Administration had attempted to change Senate rules so filibusters could be stopped (cloture applied) at any time by a two-thirds vote of those present. The Southerners used the filibuster to beat the change and save their right to filibuster.

At the end the Southerners and the Republicans agreed to a "compromise" change in Senate rules. From now on, cloture can be applied not only to a pending measure, but also to a motion to consider a measure. (Except motions to change Senate rules). That will broaden the area in which debate can be shut off. However, in order to apply cloture, it will henceforth be necessary to line up two-thirds of the *entire membership of the Senate*. Two-thirds of those present no longer will suffice. That makes cloture much more difficult, because Senate attendance is rarely 100 per cent; fifty or so Senators have in the past comprised the requisite two-thirds, but it will take sixty-four Senators to stop filibusters hereafter. Wed. 3-9-49

Thirty-four Republicans helped Southern Democrats put across the "compromise" which strengthened the filibuster privilege

THE FILIBUSTER

New York Times

President Truman is apparently headed for his first major defeat in the new Congress. Hopes have all but vanished even for a weak compromise in the Administration's effort to advance its civil rights program through a change in the Senate's rules. The filibuster still goes on. Wed. 3-16-49

New York, N.Y.

It is scarcely disputable, we believe, that Mr. Truman himself contributed to the causes of this prospective defeat. His offhand statement that he favored the imposition of closure (that is, the limitation of debate) by the vote of a bare majority of the Senate, rather than by the two-thirds vote for which his own Senate leaders were working, was another of those impromptu and somewhat imperious remarks which have cost the President heavily on occasion in the past. This particular remark came at the least fortunate moment in the whole discussion, alarmed the moderates, stiffened the die-hards. Moreover, this unexpected and unpredicted action was coupled with other moves on the President's part which have not made for close cooperation between Congress and the White House. Mr. Truman's demand for powers such as no President has ever possessed in the peacetime history of the United States, powers extending over the whole vast range of American industry and commerce; his refusal thus far to meet his Congressional lieutenants halfway on any important issue on which he has once taken a position, and his threat to stump the country in an effort to put pressure on his own party leaders have not set the stage successfully for his legislative program. If he is now to meet with his first major defeat of the new session, it will be for one reason because he has overplayed the strength of the "mandate" he received in an unusually close election and because he has addressed himself to the business before Congress in a somewhat high-handed manner. There may be a lesson in this for the future.

No mistakes of judgment or attitude on the President's part, however, justify in our judgment the part played in this affair by a majority of the Republican Senators. At Philadelphia last June the Republican party, in a bid for votes, pledged itself to abolish the poll tax, adopt an anti-lynching law and guarantee equal opportunity to employment, regardless of race. The men who gave these pledges were grown men. They knew that it would be utterly impossible to enact a federal program of this kind without calling a halt to an inevitable Southern filibuster. Yet when an opportunity to do precisely this presented itself on the occasion of Vice President Barkley's ruling — a wholly reasonable and strongly persuasive ruling which did not even involve the necessity of overturning a prior decision on the part of Senator Vandenberg, since the circumstances of the two parliamentary situations differed — the Senate Republicans backed away from this opportunity and voted, 23 to 16, to let the filibuster carry on. They will have a hard time squaring this action with the brave promises made last year at Philadelphia.

In the light of these events, the prospect is not bright for any early action on a federal civil rights program. This is a misfortune. There is much that the Federal Government can do, properly and lawfully, to right wrongs and redress grievances in this important area. But the damage resulting from this combination of Administration error and Republican opposition goes far beyond the issue of civil rights themselves. If the filibuster succeeds, the net effect will be to confirm, more deeply than ever before, the helplessness of the Senate in the face of a filibuster and to illustrate graphically the dangers which such a situation holds for the national interest. These dangers must be apparent even to many of those who will not be distressed by the defeat of the civil rights program because they have doubted the wisdom and the propriety of federal action in this field.

Let us suppose that some day soon the new Atlantic Pact comes before the Senate for its approval. And let us suppose—what is not at all unthinkable—that a handful of determined isolationists (they still exist) decide to filibuster against a motion to bring this question up for debate. No matter how great the need of prompt action, no matter how alarming the spectacle of a hamstrung Senate would appear to our European allies and no matter how much capital Moscow would make of this situation, there is nothing the Senate could do—so long as present rules prevail—to put an end to such a filibuster except to wait for the physical exhaustion of the minority that staged it.

Wed. 3-16-49

It is not difficult to imagine an even more critical situation arising. Especially in times like these it is hazardous for a democratic parliament to tie its own hands with such stubborn knots.

GLADSTONE WILLIAMS

(34)

A Fine Battle by George and Russell

Atlanta Constitution

WASHINGTON—The case of Southern Senators who are opposing the proposed change in Senate rules to prevent filibusters has been ably set forth by Sen. Walter F. George, of Georgia. It was a tribute to the respect and esteem in which the Georgia Senator is held that he should have been selected by his colleagues to lead off the fight in what promises to be a memorable debate.

Too often in the past the South's position has been injured by men of the blatant stripe of Huey Long, Bilbo and Tom Heflin taking the lead in fights of the kind. It was in an effort to undo some of the damage heretofore done that the Southerners sought to put their best foot forward at the beginning of the present struggle.

In like manner, Sen. Tom Connally, of Texas, was picked to follow up the initial attack by Sen. George. He and the Georgia Senator are looked upon as two of the abler elder statesmen of the party, each a chairman of the two most powerful committes of the Senate.

Much of this strategy to put the South's fight against a Senate gag rule on a dignified basis may be attributed to the generalship of Sen. Richard B. Russell, of Georgia, who is the floor leader of the Southern forces now joined in the battle. Nor could the Southern Democrats have picked a better man for the job. Sen. Russell is one of the most skilled parliamentarians in the chamber and he is able to hold his own with the best of them in debate. If a prolonged filibuster develops against the move to end filibusters, he will be able to show proponents of the rules change a thing or two before the issue is decided.

The opening speech by Sen. George as the fight got under way was a masterpiece of the viewpoint it presented. He proceeded to lift the veil from the cloture battle and show what lays behind it. The real purpose in seeking to impose a gag rule on debate, he said, is to open the way for the passage of a series of bills "so revolutionary as to shock the sensibilities of a decent Senator."

These he enumerated as parts of the President's controversial civil rights program—the so-called antilynch bill, the antipoll-tax bill and the FEPC bill. Recognized as one of the ablest constitutional lawyers in the Senate, he said there was not the slightest doubt in his opinion of the "absolute unconstitutionality" of these measures.

On that premise, he declared, any Senator is justified in resisting every effort to bring such a question before the body. He put it very forcefully in these words: "Having no doubt of the unconstitutionality of these measures, I assert my right as one Senator from a State to vote against taking up measures which I feel, beyond peradventure of a doubt, so far as I am concerned, are offensive to the American Constitution. I am, therefore, opposed to amending the rule so as to enable a temporary majority in the Senate, which, under the shifting tides of political emotionalism, may be a majority today and may be a minority tomorrow."

The Georgia Senator insisted that "the Constitution is a direct limitation upon the power of government and upon the power of the Congress itself to take away the fundamental rights of the people." These rights are being invaded, he asserted, by the proposed bills which lay beyond the attempt to invoke cloture.

It was a powerful argument Sen. George delivered. Senators listened to him attentively throughout the 40 minutes or so that he spoke. Many were impressed with the logic of his words. It pitched the fight of the embattled Southerners on a high plane. But politics being what it is, it is doubtful that the Georgian created any new converts to the cause. Politics is the underlying motive behind the whole cloture and civil rights program, and political expediency rather than principles will probably prevail in the end.

SOUTHERNERS WIN FILIBUSTER FIGHT; COMPROMISE FAILS

LUCAS SURRENDERS

Prepares a Formal Move Turning Senate Back to Pressing Bills

DENIES TALK WITH TRUMAN

President's Civil Rights Bills Are Apparently Doomed—Two Truce Plans Futile

By WILLIAM S. WHITE

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, March 14—The Southerners won a smashing victory tonight in the Senate filibuster fight and, in prospect, a victory against President Truman's civil rights program.

Senator Scott W. Lucas of Illinois, Democratic floor leader and the Administration spokesman announced surrender under compulsion to the Southern filibuster, which has been going on since Feb. 28. The primary aim of the filibuster is to prevent civil rights action.

Senator Lucas said in answer to questions that he had not discussed the surrender with President Truman and did not know "whether it will meet with his approval or not."

After the collapse of all negotiations for a compromise, Senator Lucas declared that he would move, possibly not before tomorrow, to put aside the center of all the controversy. This was a motion to bring up for action a bipartisan amendment to the Senate rule permitting the "gag," on debate.

Lucas Announces

"We are going to move to lay this matter temporarily aside," Senator Lucas told reporters after the last of two days of conferences by various leaders seeking some solution of the issue created by the filibuster.

"We realize that the filibuster can go on for weeks. They (the Southerners) have the manpower to do it. Meantime rent control would go out the window."

Federal rent controls expire March 31 unless extended.

Senator Lucas noted also that other major bills, such as those to continue the European Recovery program, to restore the reciprocal trade program and to repeal the Taft-Hartley Labor Act, were lagging in the legislative process.

There was thus, he declared, a logjam that could not be allowed to continue.

His decision was to put the filibuster struggle aside by a parliamentary action, simply to move to adjourn. An adjournment, as distinguished from a recess, would take the pending issue off the Senate calendar.

The filibuster had gone on all day while a mere corporal's guard held the floor to listen. The major Southern speaker was Senator Allen J. Ellender of Louisiana.

The Southerners accepted this morning the principle of a compromise suggested by Senator Kenneth S. Wherry, the Republican floor leader. This was to the effect that three-fourths of those voting be permitted to establish closure, or a "gag," on any issue with one exception.

Proposed Closure Exception

This exception was that, if any future attempt were made to change the rule, a filibuster against that effort would be impervious to any closure by any vote.

The Administration Democrats rejected at once the three-fourths requirement. The Southerners indicated their willingness to have this requirement put at two-thirds of the entire Senate membership, or sixty-four.

The Republicans at this juncture were described in various quarters, although never officially, as generally willing to go along with the two-thirds proposal, along with the safeguard that such a rule could never operate against filibusters intended to prevent further alteration of that rule.

The Administration Democratic view was summed up by Senator J. Howard McGrath of Rhode Island, chairman of the Democratic National Committee, as follows:

"We will accept nothing of that kind. It is worse than the present rule."

The present rule permits closure by two-thirds of those voting—an important difference from two-thirds of the Senate membership—but provides no way to stop a filibuster of the present type.

Under a ruling last year by Senator Arthur H. Vandenberg, Republican, of Michigan, as Senate president pro-tem, closure cannot be applied against a motion to bring up a meaure.

Vice President Alben W. Barkley, in a ruling last week, changed that of Senator Vandenberg, but on appeal to the Senate his ruling was repudiated, 46 to 41, a combination of Southerners and Republicans joining in create the majority.

The result was that the forces headed by Senator Lucas, which also had Republican allies, had no way to silence the Southerners except by compromise.

The compromise formula requiring two-thirds of all the Senate for closure, and putting special protections around filibusters on the rules, would have been extremely unlikely to serve effectively against the Southerners on the issue of the civil rights bills.

In these circumstances, the Administration Senators, under heavy compulsion to change the rule as a part of the President's program but under equally heavy pressure not to delay general legislative action, were in a dilemma.

Senator Wherry stressed tonight that it was the administration that had broken off the negotiations.

"It is too bad," he said, "to come so close to an agreement and then to cast it aside."

Senator Richard B. Russell of Georgia, a Southern leader, accused the Truman Democrats of having shown no disposition to compose the dispute.

"We yielded as much as honorable men could, and perhaps even more than reasonable men should," he asserted.

"Every feeler of compromise put out by the Administration has been withdrawn. The tentative proposals we accepted in good faith, at great sacrifice to our own position, have now been withdrawn.

"We are told that the only thing offered is the original amendment that we have been opposing for two weeks. We of course shall not accept it and if the Administration wants a knock-down drag-out fight we are prepared to give it to them."

Senator Ellender took the Senate floor at 12:26 P. M. He was still talking doggedly on long after nightfall. He had announced that he was "prepared" to speak for twenty hours "if need be."

Bitterest Filibuster Of Them All Slated For February 28 In Senate

WASHINGTON, D. C.—(AP)—The bitterest of all Senate filibusters is set to start Feb 28.

Democratic Floor Leader Lucas (Ill.) and Republican Floor Leader Wherry (Neb.) agreed on that date for a try at calling up a proposed rules change which would put a permanent damper on filibusters.

Twenty or more Southern Democrats are set to oppose the anti-filibuster rule—by filibustering. That means they will talk and talk, day and night if necessary, in an effort to prevent action on a motion to consider the new rule.

System At Stake

The Southerners have fought hard—and successfully—in the past to block some bills they consider objectionable, such as anti-lynching, antipoll tax and antidiscrimination measures. This time not a single bill but a whole system of parliamentary strategy is at stake. The dispute is expected to be embittered in direct ratio.

The proposed rule change was formally recommended to the Senate Thursday by its Rules Committee. Under its terms, two-thirds of the senators present and voting could cut off debate at any time, on any matter. At present, it is possible to apply such a gag only on measures actually before the Senate, not on motions and similar parliamenary business.

The Southern senators, led by Russell of Georgia, see the proposed rules change as the opening move in the Administration's campaign to put across President Truman's "Civil rights" program which involved a number of bills they have fought in the past.

Postponing the showdown until Feb. 28 will give the Democratic members a chance to get out of the capital and deliver a series of Jackson Day speeches.

1917 Vote Noted

Rules Committee Chairman Hayden (D., Ariz.) presented the majority report recommending adoption of the new rule. It noted that in 1917 when the present debate-curbing rule was adopted 76 senators voted to limit debate and 12 others absent were reported in favor of it.

"There is nothing of record to indicate that any of those 88 senators had any other idea than that from then on two-thirds majority of the senators present could bring a debate to a close," the committee majority said.

In a minority report, Senators Stennis (D., Miss.), Long (D., La.) and Hunt (D., Wyo.) declared debate is man's greatest political invention and the mother of parliamentary law.

"Unlimited debate on the floor of the United States Senate has been one of the major safeguards of American liberty," they said. The gag rule which some labor minority groups now seek could be used in the future to deprive them of fundamental rights for which they have fought so hard."

Two-Thirds Vote Can Halt Filibuster, Barkley Rules; Critical Ballot Due Today

Senator Lucas Files Cloture Petition; Russell, Southerners' Quarterback, Argues Democratic Move Not Legal

WASHINGTON, March 10 — (AP) — Vice President Barkley ruled tonight that two-thirds of those voting can break the present Senate filibuster if they wish.

This was an important preliminary victory for the Truman administration in its effort to cut short the Dixie filibuster and pass civil rights legislation.

First the Truman lieutenants must corral a majority of the senators present to uphold Barkley's ruling. Then, to clamp any actual limit in debate, a two-thirds vote of those present would be required.

Barkley's ruling was made after Senator Lucas, of Illinois, the Democratic leader, moved to clamp down on the filibusters.

Lucas filed a cloture (debate-limiting) petition, signed by himself, 16 other Democrats and 16 Republicans.

The question was whether, under the present Senate rules, the petition could legally be entertained. Senator Russell (D), Georgia, field general of the Southerners, argued that it could not.

Russell said there was nothing in the Senate rules to stop senators from talking on a motion, though they could be curbed on legislation. And the question before the Senate was a motion to consider a rules change so that a two-thirds vote could limit debate.

Lucas Argues

But Lucas argued that Russell was all wrong. He said the parliamentary situation was different now than it was last session when Senator Vandenberg (R), Michigan, then presiding, ruled that debate could not be limited.

Barkley, reading a lengthy decision, sided with Lucas.

He said that a motion to proceed, or take up a measure, is an "absolutely indispensable process" in the work of the Senate.

He called it "just as indispensable" as actual action on a bill.

After explanations of four previous decisions with regard to debate limitation petitions, Barkley ruled them out as "precedents" for his decision.

He said the rulings—made in 1917, 1927, 1946 and 1948—applied to situations different from the one he was confronting. "Therefore the chair does not feel the precedents are binding upon the chair at this time," he said.

Just One Motion

In all of the other previous rulings there were other measures before the Senate, Barkley noted, but, he said, there is now only a "bald, stark, uncomplicated motion pending."

He observed that he had read much Senate debate as well as law dictionaries and court decisions "for help."

When Barkley finished, Russell appealed the ruling.

Then, before any other senator had a chance to speak, majority leader Lucas moved to recess the Senate at 7:06 p.m., Montgomery time, until noon Friday. That motion carried.

In presenting the petition, Lucas said "the time for action has come." He said that the "Senate must not hang itself by its own rules."

Round One, Says Myers

Before Lucas made the move, Senator Myers (D), Pennsylvania, said the Senate should recognize that the filibuster fight is actually "round one of the showdown on the issue of civil rights."

"Let us recognize it for that, and let us not pretend that our concern here is over anything but that issue," he said.

During today's session, the Senate fight took a new turn. The Southern filibusterers, whose strategy is based on time-consuming talk, gracefully yielded the floor to Senator Pepper (D), Florida, for a lengthy speech—against the filibuster.

With packed galleries listening, Pepper criticized his Southern colleagues for not showing a willingness to compromise on the civil rights issue.

"I am not ashamed, nor am I afraid to associate myself with the general principle of human rights—yes, civil rights," Pepper said.

"I cast my lot with human rights rather than with the preservation of state wrongs."

Southerners, though inwardly elated at Pepper's consumption of time, sat in dour-faced silence as the Florida senator went on to say that no program has been "more distorted and more misunderstood" than Mr. Truman's civil rights proposals.

If he gets a chance, he said, he will vote for both an anti-lynching bill and an anti-poll tax measure.

Antifilibuster Debate Rule Recommended to Senate

Washington, Feb. 9 (AP)—A new debate rule, designed to snap off filibusters by a two-thirds vote, was recommended to the Senate today by its Committee on Rules.

It can't come before the Senate for at least a week, however, and probably won't be considered until late in the month.

The proposed rule is virtually certain to run into a filibuster that may prevent its adoption.

It won't be adopted if a group of 20 Southern senators has the lung power and stamina to talk it down. They fought it in the Rules Committee and are prepared to campaign at length against it on the floor.

The Southerners say the filibuster-curbing proposal is the opening move in a drive to enact President Truman's civil-rights program, which they oppose.

Truman Democrats and a great many Republicans favor the rules change. But the Southerners say they are prepared to keep on talking against a motion to take up the bill until the Administration will have to drop it.

The vote in favor of the rules change in the committee was 10 to 3. Senators Stennis (D., Miss.), Long (D., La.), and Hunt (D., Wyo.) voted against it.

Voting for it were Chairman Hayden (D., Ariz.) and Senators Green (D., R. I.), Myers (D., Pa.), Withers (D., Ky.), Gillette (D., Iowa), Wherry (R., Neb.), Knowland (R., Cal.), Lodge (R., Mass.), Ives (R., N. Y.), and Jenner (R., Ind.)

Hayden and Wherry jointly sponsored the proposed change. Before its adoption the committee rejected, 9 to 4, a proposal by Stennis to permit a debate cut-off on a petition signed by 86 of the 96 members of the Senate. The committee also turned down, 11 to 2, a proposal by Myers to allow a simple majority of the senators to limit debate.

The rule finally recommended would apply to bills or motions, and would cover any parliamentary situation. At least 16 senators would have to sign a petition asking that further debate be limited to an hour per senator. Then, if two thirds of the senators present approved, the gag would be applied.

Filibuster Could Have Been Avoided

Washington Merry-Go-Round

BY DREW PEARSON

WASHINGTON—It's supposed to be a deep secret among Southern Senators but overtures were made to President Truman in advance of the filibuster, which [illegible] bitter North-South Senate split.

The overtures came from Senator Dick Russell of Georgia, who did not join the Dixiecrats in the last election and who called at the White House a week or more before the filibuster.

"You've got everyone stirred up and worried down in the South," was the gist of what the Georgia Senator said. "You'll probably win part of your program and we might not oppose some parts of it. But what we want to know is where is it going to stop?"

The President, perhaps taken by surprise and not realizing that he had a chance to head off a bitter sectional battle with the Southern wing of his party, replied that it depended on this program to have any terminal.

Senator Russell went on to repeat that many Southern Senators might go along with part of the civil-rights program provided they knew what Truman's "terminal" was.

Russell has in mind the fact that many Southern states, including Georgia, have already abolished the poll tax but are worried over the ultimate intermarriage of the races. That, Russell feared, was what the Truman program would eventually lead to if no terminus was fixed.

The President gave no definite answer and Senator Russell departed not happy with the results of the conference.

* * *

TRUST FUNDS INVESTIGATED—The Senate Banking Committee has just issued a highly revealing report on how a big textile company—Textron—built up a charity foundation to avoid paying taxes. One of the most significant things about the official report is that the name of one prominent trustee is omitted—Senator Howard McGrath, chairman of the Democratic National Committee.

All other trustees are identified by name but fellow Senators, in deference to a member of the club, left out McGrath's name. Senator McGrath, when queried by this column, said he would have much rather had his name mentioned.

"I suppose Senator Tobey (R., N. H.) thought he was doing me a favor by leaving it out," McGrath said.

For serving as trustee of the Rhode Island Charities Trust, actually the creature of the Textron empire, McGrath gets a salary of $15,000—the same as his Senate salary. Significantly, the other trustees, Benjamin Sturgis and Godfrey Simonds, are also directors of Textron or its affiliates.

The Senate report minces no words in branding the Textron Charity setup as a tax-evasion scheme. It is the largest of several trusts, says the report, created ostensibly for charitable purposes but in reality it is for the purpose of tax avoidance and providing risk capital to Textron.

The sole beneficiary is the Providence (R. I.) Community Chest. Yet the chest has received only $85,000 from the trust from the day it was founded until the Senate report was written. This was considerably less than was paid out for salaries and fees alone.

Republicans Join Dixiecrats to Prevent End of Filibuster

WASHINGTON

Democratic Senators have been [illegible] filibustering, but Republicans [illegible] joined Democrats in defeating [illegible] motion to table an appeal against the Vice-President's ruling which had been offered by Sen. Richard B. Russell of Georgia, leader of the filibusterers.

er Lucas to take up the Hayden Wherry cloture bill.

Those same 23 Republican Sen- [illegible] joined [illegible] in defeating [illegible] motion to table an appeal against the Vice-President's ruling which had been offered by Sen. Richard B. Russell of Georgia, leader of the filibusterers.

[illegible] Vice-President Barkley's [illegible] that a cloture petition to end debate could be applied to a motion to take up a bill.

Forty-one Senators voted to sustain the Barkley ruling. Of them 25 were Democrats and only 16 Republicans. Eight others were paired.

The motion in question was made on Feb. 28 by Majority Leader

A Southerner TALKING

by LILLIAN Smith

Chicago Sun 3-6-49

It is time for shame. Every one of us, North and South, should set aside one day of public mourning to show the world how deeply we feel this disgrace that filibusters (and their Republican sides) have brought upon us.

We should declare a Day of Humiliation. On that day—and it should not be Sunday—services should be held in all churches and prayers said for ourselves and for all human beings and sermons preached on human dignity and integrity and love, those simple divine qualities that make us men.

On that day all in domestic service should stay at home. On that day no one should serve in another's home, but should serve the cause of human freedom. In each of those homes from which service has been withdrawn for a day, a simple, quiet message should be left telling the reason why.

Throughout the nation, but especially in the South, that day should be spent at church in prayer. There should be no work done on this day save that which would gravely injure the public welfare were it not done, as in hospitals and public utilities and in public carriers.

Sat. 3-12-49

It should be a day of mourning and shame, not a day of protest and anger. It should be a time when we look at our own faults and failures as well as at those of our exploiters. For we, too, exploit and on this day we should remember.

Humiliation Day should reach into every home and life in America, dramatizing with simplicity and good will and deep feeling this evil that is devouring our strength and our souls. It should be a day when America goes down on its knees.

Once I was in Arkansas at a meeting of sharecroppers. It was a cold, snow-bound day and icy winds tore at the little shack of a church where we were gathered. Evil things had been happening in cotton fields. Men had been killed. Thousands evicted from homes. Children everywhere were hungry. We were gathered, a few white and colored people, to talk about these matters.

An old Negro preacher led us in prayer. He stood and pressed his hard old hands against the chair in front of him, looked around quietly at all of us, then turned away and in a low voice began to talk to God. He told God about white folks, about a way of death in the South that had washed the richness out of land and souls and bodies; he told God about slaves and chaingangs, about doodlum books and bossmen, about cotton fields and long, cold winters; he told God about human relations that had been eaten to the bone by men as greedy as wild dogs; he told Him about hearts as hard as stone lying in the field on which the rains fall and roll off again.

Sat. 3-12-49

He paused and there was a moment, quiet and still, as we pondered these things. Then came these words, "Break their hearts, oh God . . . Give them tears." "Tears," his old hand beat on the chair, "give them tears."

Somehow, America's heart must be broken. Our people must be led to see that this evil is not a subject for a debate in Congress, nor a bone for greedy politicians to gnaw on, but that it has to do with you and me and our children and life and all that is good and sweet and decent and real. Americans must feel this and we must find a way to "break their hearts."

RALPH McGILL

There Is a Lesson on the Hill

Atlanta Journal

There is a lesson on the hill in Washington, where the Senate filibuster goes on and the South speaks through leaders new to filibuster. Formerly this was a job left to the likes of Bilbo. Their label is on us now.

The lesson is that a community, a region or nation will do well always to put its best foot first, to let its real voice be heard. The South let Bilbo and his ilk spew their coarse and vulgar abuses in filibusters for so long that the South now is regarded by many Americans as being not merely against civil rights, but for civil wrongs. The proposed legislation probably is unconstitutional. The idea of a Federal police force for any one bureau is so dangerous that in ordinary times it would not be entertained. Yet as the South now speaks with logic and in terms of the Constitution of the United States, there are not many whose ears are attuned to that logic or to discussions of constitutionality. There is not much sympathy for us.

Lesson There are communities which writhe in anguish when some Ku Klux violence brings to bear upon them the white-hot light of revealing publicity. "But we do not believe in such things," they say. "This does not represent the real people of this community," they will protest.

And they will be right.

But they are pinned with it because they did not stand forthrightly and strongly against such elements when these worst among them were doing the talking; were parading and were burning their sacrilegious crosses in mockery of the meaning of the Cross.

Or perhaps they are troubled because they did not speak out with their real voice when some sheriff or some landowner did violence to the law and to decency in the handling of a prisoner or in the treatment of an ignorant cropper or tenant.

Stupidity There are always greedy little persons who say, "Do not mention the Klan. Don't print anything about these instances of violence. They are helpful to the Klan in publicity."

Thu. 3-3-49

You want to say to such stupid thinking, "Oh, ye of little faith. Shall we cover up our evil so long as it hurts only the obscure and the poor and the disfranchised?" Shall we wait until it is strong enough to take over the "best people" and the "exclusive" neighborhoods before we begin to fight it? It is then too late. The time to oppose evil and wrong is now.

It is well always to speak out with our real voice; to let our real intent and our real purpose be known. When the evil has been done it is often too late to say, "That is not the real us." If the "real us" kept quiet all the while the "wrong us" was doing violence and attracting attention, the "real us" has difficulty being heard, especially when the clamor of an evil and wicked deed fills the air.

This is true of States, as well as counties or communities. It is true today in Washington. I tried to make this fact crystal clear in reporting the convention of the party at Philadelphia. There, too, the South tried to speak honestly for States Rights. But the voices were suspect.

Suspicion The tone of the filibuster in Washington is not one

ironic fr[illegible] human rights, should be in so bitter a controversy over principles in which most of us, including most Southerners, believe. It is the mechanics of their appearance which has caused the struggle.

SOUTH LOST IN FIGHT, TWO SENATORS CLAIM

Thu. 3-17-49

McKellar And Eastland State Compromise Accepted To Halt Stronger Rule

By [illegible]

From The Commercial Appeal Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON, March 16.—Two MidSouth senators Wednesday said the South was the loser in the so-called compromise that ended the 15-day Senate filibuster against the proposed rules change.

This viewpoint was directly opposite that expressed by Majority Leader Senator Lucas (D., Ill.) and certain of the more vocal supporters of the rules change that would have put a gag on the Senate by making it easy to limit debate.

Not On Vote Victory

"The compromise was just that," Senator McKellar (D., Tenn.) declared. "The South was the only one who actually gave up anything. Those who are charging victory for the South just haven't studied the matter thoroughly."

"We have given up the right of unlimited debate on a motion to take up a bill," Senator Eastland (D., Miss.) declared. "We were forced to do so to prevent adoption of a much stronger cloture rule. Now we have no rule to keep the other side from invoking cloture and passing the so-called civil rights bills.

"I agreed to and favored the compromise as did the other Southern senators because we thought the compromise rule would place us in a stronger position for the civil rights fight that is certain to come.

"My judgment is that it will gain

set by the late Bilbo and Huey Long. But much of the nation looks on with suspicion and is not too sure as we say, "Always before it was the worst of us speaking. Now it is the best of us."

If this has about it an atmosphere of platitudinous sanctity, I can only say, "Look at the Senate filibuster and witness the truth of it." The debate is on limiting debate itself. But so twisted has it become that it is regarded as a vote on civil rights—not on debate itself.

Plans Not being privy to the plans of the strategists, one can only assume they mean to do a thorough job of talking and then retire from the field with their position soundly established—namely, that the proposals are unconstitutional and will be voted in the Supreme Court.

They finally must go there anyhow. So, there seems no good reason to drag out the filibuster until physical exhaustion has given each member of the group from the floor and the reaction of ill-tempered and exaggerated. This situation may be avoided if enough Republicans join with the Southerners in opposing the Hartley ruling that cloture can be applied against a motion to take up a motion. There is a chance for the filibuster to win on this point.

That the Truman "Fair Deal" is at stake is true, but then it has been at stake. Forcing of the rule to limit debate has changed a single vote. That line was as tightly drawn before the filibuster began as now. Now, as before, a coalition of Republicans and Southerners can block much of the legislation which [illegible] before the Congress. That also was true in the former [illegible] filibuster fails the rights legislation will be passed. The

of two or three votes when an effort is made to cut off debate by invoking cloture and it was to the best interests of the South to agree to the compromise.

Strengthened Position

"Frankly, without it, in the light of the vice president's rulings we would have been sure to have been whipped when the civil rights fight starts."

Under the "compromise" closure can now be applied to shut off debate on a motion to take up a bill. Heretofore the Southerners have depended on their ability to talk at length on a motion to keep unwanted legislation from reaching a vote.

By agreeing to the compromise the Southerners strengthened their position in that it will require 64 votes or a constitutional two-thirds of all members of the Senate to invoke cloture. Heretofore cloture could be invoked by a two-thirds vote of the senators present and voting.

Truman Stirs Filibusterers To New Rage

WASHINGTON—(AP)—President Truman made Senate filibusterers mad all over again [redacted]

He remarked to reporters that if he had anything to do with it he would favor ending extended debate by a simple majority vote.

The South's oratorical experts—filibustering to hold the legislative dikes against Mr. Truman's racial legislation—exploded. Their theme, sounded in a shout by Sen Russell, Democrat, Georgia: The President wants to "control the Senate."

The word flow passed its fourth day. Immediately at issue is a motion to consider a change in Senate rules. This would permit ending debate on any subject by a two-thirds vote. Technically the filibuster is against the move to end the filibuster. Southerners know that if the rule is changed, Truman lieutenants will swarm in with the Civil Rights bills.

There was no sign of Southern weariness, but Mr. Truman predicted the filibuster would peter out soon.

In the House, a 15-month extension of rent controls was voted by the Banking Committee, 23 to 2. Final action was delayed. The bill is not as strong now as Mr. Truman asked, but it has some new features.

The committee voted to allow controls to go back on apartments in residential hotels. It lacked one vote of adding an amendment to require that rent ceilings provide a "reasonable return on fair value" to landlords. Its author, Rep. [redacted] Georgia, said he would offer this on the floor. In the Senate, Sen. Tobey, Republican, New Hampshire, said he will oppose extension unless a fair return is assured owners. The law will expire at the end of March unless extended.

Mr. Truman made it plain he will insist on extension of authority to regulate consumer credit despite Wednesday's Federal Reserve order easing up on installment buying restrictions. The law runs to June 30.

Filibuster Doubts And Reservations

DISPATCHES from Washington commented that "Southerners were jubilant over the outcome of the late Friday night votes which presumably ended possibilities of Civil Disturbance legislation this session."

But something the rest of the country seems unable or unwilling to understand is that a very great many Southerners jubilant over the instant outcome had in the back of their minds some reservations and questions. These reservations and questions have to do with the totally unlimited debate weapon which had to be used. "Thank God this one came out all right, but I hope we never have to use the weapon again," one respectable Southern gentleman was overheard to say yesterday.

Of course, with political pledges having been made by both Republicans and Democrats seeking minority votes, pledges made without much regard for good sense or the good of the country, the Civil Disturbance legislation had an excellent chance of passage this year if the filibuster had not stopped it.

★

PERHAPS with another year to educate the rest of the country, the South can risk a change in the rules which would permit cloture to be invoked to stop debate on motions as well as on bills. Never, of course, for the safety of our nation should cloture be imposable by less than three fourths of the Senate.

It is not really the Southern desire to continue to use legislative technicality to prevent the Civil Disturbance disaster. We want the assistance of informed and perceptive people from all over the nation. The essential chicanery of the whole Civil Disturbance program must be exposed and explained.

Hop-headed opportunists such as Senator Hubert Humphrey and the stomping herd of morbid "liberals" must be shown up for what they are. His philosophy is, "To hell with the rest of the country, I want to get elected and Civil Disturbance doesn't affect my people."

★

THE cloture process is a reasonable and fair one. Because this year's political climate of Truman outbidding Wallace for minority support affected so many senatorial candidates, cloture could have set the juggernaut of Civil Disturbance on its way.

Perhaps in less heated circumstances, the Senate can debate a change in rules without the South feeling that it is merely being tied up for a public flogging.

Truman Plays Sunday Politics

[redacted] President Truman's legislative program looks like something the cat dragged home, with the inevitable cheering on one side and gnashing of teeth on the other.

[redacted] might be well for both the cheerers and the gnashers to curb their feeling for yet a while. Mr. Truman has paid a price for his legislative strategy in the 81st Congress, but it remains to be [redacted] will be [redacted] there [redacted] will emerge the winner on points.

In taking this stand, Mr. Truman was resorting to unorthodox legislative strategy. The normal strategy would have been for him to push the easy and relatively non-controversial issues through Congress first, leaving the difficult ones for the end of the session.

INSTEAD of doing that, he has forced the highly controversial issues over both civil rights and the filibuster. This has caused early difficulties within his own party ranks. It also has delayed action on Marshall Plan appropriations, housing, rent control, and Taft-Hartley Act revision. As of today, it would almost seem as if Mr. Truman's obstinacy had risked these measures for the sake of a losing fight on the filibuster and civil rights.

But what is the basic legislative situation? I would submit that it is as follows:

For better or for worse, most of the "Fair Deal" program is popular and politically irresistible. No matter what delays Mr. Truman has incurred by attacking the filibuster and what animosities he has roused by pressing his civil-rights program, he is bound to obtain eventually the major portion of his "Fair Deal." Irrigation, reclamation, conservation, power projects, higher minimum wages, more social security — these are all popular measures.

The same goes for housing, rent controls, and Marshall Plan appropriations.

None of these measures is in serious jeopardy. If action becomes urgent on any one, the filibuster always can be laid aside to obtain it, and would be if it lasted that long.

BUT civil rights are not as popular as they would appear to be. Nor is the cause of breaking the filibuster. Almost every member of Congress purports to be for "civil rights." And almost every member is for "majority rule." But when it comes to forcing the pace of Negro emancipation in the South, most congressmen, even from the North, would rather make speeches than vote for action. And when it comes to breaking the filibuster, most of our legislators feel a certain reluctance to do more than talk. Deep down in each legislator's bosom is a feeling that sometime he may want to filibuster for his own purposes. It should be remembered that the filibuster is not a monopoly of Southerners. It has been used more frequently by others for different reasons.

It seems to me that Mr. Truman was bound to lose on both civil rights and the filibuster whether he brought them up early in the session or let them ride to the end after other matters had been cleared away. In effect, what he really has done has been to elect a spectacular defeat early in the session in preference to a non-spectacular defeat late in the session when Congress might have evaded the issues altogether by merely adjourning.

THE price almost can be measured already. The President's minimum wage is likely to be cut from 75 cents an hour to 60. And his rent-control authority is likely to be extended for only one year instead of for longer. But if this is his loss, will it outweigh his gain? If prices continue dropping, rent controls will become superfluous. Expensive houses already are renting below the ceiling. And if jobs get scarcer, the 60-cent minimum wage will be more realistic and more enforceable than the 75.

Against this is the probable political gain from the spectacular defeat over civil rights and the filibuster. Mr. Truman will be the man who tried to speed the pace of civil rights and tried to curb the filibuster. And since it always is good politics to be against sin, even if unsuccessfully, Mr. Truman will have the approval of all those who are against sin, while those who defeat him will be embarrassed to explain their deed.

On balance, Harry Truman still [redacted] an excellent prospect of emerging [redacted] political winner from the tourmoil [redacted] relations with the 81st Congress.

Hasn't Lost Faith

To all mankind's sorrow, we will see more destruction due to the victory of the Southern Senators.

It's two chances to one that the civil rights bill wouldn't have passed anyway, but the Southerners and the Republicans wouldn't give it that meager chance.

We Negroes will not renounce our faith in God for He said that the world would get wiser and wicked. I think the Republicans overplayed their hand, trying to saddle the blame on the Democrats. Thanks to God, the world is not that blind.

When we see a wolf we know what is [illegible] able to happen, but a wolf in sheep's clothing can fool some of the people some of the time, not all of the time.

The filibuster is going to hurt more than those it was intended to hurt.

GEORGE W. JONES.

Hopkinsville, Ky.

THOMAS L. STOKES

Says Civil Rights Legislation a Mandate

Atlanta Constitution

WASHINGTON—A lot of dust and noise and high-level constitutional confusion, mixed with ordinary political sand, has been kicked up to obscure the very simple issue involved in the current Senate battle over proposals to curb filibusters. All that the Senate Democratic leadership is trying to do is what the Senate thought it was doing 32 years ago when it adopted the rule—Rule 22—which permits limitation of debate by a two-thirds vote upon presentation of a cloture or closure petition signed by 16 members.

That rule has become unworkable under a decision from the chair in the last Congress by then President pro tem of the Senate, Sen. Vandenberg, Republican, Michigan, that it did not apply to motions to take up a bill. This allows a filibuster against a mere motion to bring a bill before the Senate for consideration, so that the legislative process can be completely paralyzed. The current Southern filibuster, correspondingly, is against a motion to take up a resolution reported by the Rules Committee which does nothing except make Rule 22, adopted in 1917, applicable to filibusters against such motions.

The Michigan Senator publicly regretted his ruling, but said it was all he saw he could do. He urged the Senate to close this loophole, whereupon Sen. Taft, Republican, Ohio, pledged his party to do that at the first opportunity in this Congress. Democrats, in control of this Congress, have accepted that responsibility.

That is the only direct issue involved in all the uproar in the Senate. It is very simple, yet it is presented as complex. All sorts of circumstances have been exploited for politics' sake to confuse this simple issue and blow it into something titanic on which our republic might stand or fall, which is, of course, pure nonsense.

The Southerners, alone, are simple and direct in purpose, which is to stave off, by any means available, the consideration of civil rights legislation, though if there ever was a mandate on any subject there was one on this issue in the last election. For both major parties were committed to civil rights legislation.

Republicans have been acting very strangely and very timidly, for all their bold public pronouncements. It will be to their advantage, naturally, in the congressional elections two years hence, if President Truman has failed to realize at least a part of his civil rights program. Some of them are very much aware of this political factor and are cuddling up with the Southern Democrats, an old, familiar alliance, with the idea also of nourishing this alliance against other Truman measures later.

They sought an excuse, first, in the fact that it was a Republican, Sen. Vandenberg, who made the ruling which will become the first test, and they must stand by a party man, mustn't they. Vice President Barkley is expected to reverse the Vandenberg ruling, when the matter is raised soon, and hold that the cloture rule is applicable also to motions. That will bring an appeal from the chair. A number of Republicans are planning to join Southern Democrats to overrule the Vice President, despite the Taft pledge of the last Congress.

Republicans also have capitalized on President Truman's remark at a press conference that he favored imposing cloture by a mere majority, instead of two-thirds. That may have been impolitic in the midst of a fight, but it was honest. There are only a handful in the Senate for majority cloture, logical as a majority rule might seem in a democracy, so Republicans are only building up a straw man here, and they know it.

President Truman deserves high commendation for ordering an all-out fight on the filibuster, which holds the blockade against his civil rights program, for he takes certain risks about the rest of his program. But it overshadows all else. Until it is settled, nothing really is settled.

There comes a time when a man must fight, and the President has recognized that clearly. The filibuster could be broken if his Senate leadership was sincere about it, hammered right through, and kept the Senate in session day and night. That is, if they are helped by Republicans, as they should be. For this is a national issue beyond party lines.

Backstage With The Filibuster

BOTH SIDES IN THE SENATE ARE maneuvering to bring the new, 64-vote rule to a test.

Southerners have let it be known they won't fight too vigorously against an anti-poll tax law, but will oppose to their last breath a fair employment practices act. Therefore, Republicans are angling to bring up the anti-poll tax to prove that their compromise rule will work. Administration Democrats, on the other hand, are trying to bring up fair employment—to prove that it won't.

MEANWHILE, here is the inside story of how a phony peace feeler to end the filibuster kept administration Democrats from ending it before it ever came to a vote.

By this clever strategy, a showdown was held off until the GOP-Dixie coalition could bring up their compromise. This was the compromise by which 64 senators must sign a cloture petition before debate can be cut off. Truman Democrats charge that it is next to impossible to muster 64 votes against a controversial issue, and that the new rule has put the Senate in a worse straitjacket than ever.

The truth is that this GOP-Dixie compromise would never have come to a vote if Senate Majority Leader Scott Lucas hadn't been misled, and if the coalition hadn't thrown out their phony peace feeler.

Crowded by a backlog of legislation and unable to come to terms with the Southerners, Lucas was ready to throw in the towel. He intended to drop the filibuster, wipe the legislative slate clean and start over again at a later date.

But at the last minute he got a peace feeler via quiet-spoken Rules Chairman Carl Hayden of Arizona. Hayden reported that he had received word from Michigan's Sen. Vandenberg that Sen. Byrd of Virginia, co-spokesman for the South, was ready to give in. Byrd would agree, Lucas was told, to shutting off debate by a simple two-thirds vote—with one exception, that any further tightening of the rules would require 64 votes.

So Lucas held off his motion to take up other business, thereby dropping the filibuster—which the South in the end would have been obliged to support. Instead, he agreed to another recess. But when Lucas met with Republican and Southern leaders next day, Byrd claimed he had been misunderstood. This gave the Republicans and Southern Democrats time to continue the filibuster and work out the compromise solution.—O.

The Ugly Filibuster

The filibuster in operation convicts itself. Every argument for unlimited debate falls before the demonstration in the Senate. With a destroying impact, the filibuster flays in all directions. If any large interest was ever served, the evidence escapes us. Even the Southerners must wonder if their own special cause will not suffer in the end. When Senator Ellender declaims twelve hours with a relief battalion waiting on the sidelines, the country at large is entitled to speculate indignantly just how long such a rock of obstruction should endure by its peculiar rule and tradition. The American people have a tolerance for hot air, but not without limits.

This filibuster has resulted in a certain amount of education, destructively administered. The threat to the nation in delayed consideration of rent control, European recovery appropriations, a labor law and other pressing matters may yet turn out to be less serious than is feared. But there is cause to be perturbed. After the Democratic confusion, torn between two natures, and the differences within the Republican party, the net result is that the filibuster is a futility that cannot endure. The cause of civil rights is far from defeated; its strength and necessity will rise redoubled. The filibuster, in its flush of dubious victory, stands exposed as an ugly and unworthy weapon.

GLADSTONE WILLIAMS

To Sen. Russell Goes Credit for Victory

WASHINGTON—To Sen. Richard B. Russell of Georgia, must go the lion's share of the credit for the successful coup put over by a coalition of Southern Democrats and Republicans in defeating Administration efforts to tighten up the rules of the Senate against filibusters as a means of passing the President's controversial civil rights legislation. It fell his lot to direct the fight against the proposed change in the Senate rules.

Southern Democrats chose the Georgia Senator as the floor leader of their forces at the start of the battle. He served in that capacity throughout the hectic period of the filibuster and that in the negotiations over the compromise proposal that was forced upon the Administration.

And a highly effective floor leader Senator Russell turned out to be, too. As such it meant that he had to remain in constant attendance on sessions of the Senate giving generalship to the moves and countermoves for keeping the filibuster going. He performed brilliantly his role.

Directing a filibuster over a prolonged period involves a lot of work and careful planning. Care must be taken to have someone ready at all times to take over the floor in case a rap appears. A filibuster, in order to be successful, must be well organized. Those who are out to break it up are constantly on the alert to take advantage of some parliamentary profeet for breach of some procedure.

For that reason the floor leader of any filibustering group must be a skilled parliamentarian. Senator Russell qualified eminently for the job in this respect. He long has been recognized as one of the ablest parliamentarians of the Senate. It is a subject he first mastered while serving as Speaker of the House in Georgia long before he came to Washington. He has increased his knowledge during the years he has been in the Senate.

When the fight over the rules changes first started out, Majority Leader Lucas was entirely confident of victory. He thought it would be a comparatively easy task to wear the Southerners down after a week or so of debate. At that time it looked as though there would be no more than 20 or 25 Senators opposing the change.

But Senator Lucas reckoned without a proper appreciation of Senator Russell's leadership abilities. The first jolt he received was when the Georgia Senator appealed from a ruling by Vice President Barkley, which would have given Administration forces a short cut to the new rules sought. The Southerners, by compelling enough Republican support, were able to upset the Barkley ruling by a vote of 46 to 41.

Thereafter Senator Russell and the new coalition he had formed was able to take over complete control of the situation. Senator Lucas, realizing that he was defeated, was willing to drop the fight over changing the rules and forget the matter for the time being, hoping to bring it up again at a later date.

The Georgia Senator showed superb generalship by not accepting a half loaf of victory, as he well might have been tempted to do. Instead, he pressed his advantage for all it was worth. His next move was to come out with a "compromise" proposal which was anything but a compromise, since it was the last thing Administration forces wanted.

The so-called compromise called for making it far more difficult to impose a gag rule or cloture against a filibuster than the Administration-supported measure contemplated. Refusing to allow the Senate to adjourn, he and the new coalition forced the proposition through with a bang. Henceforth it will require a two-thirds majority of the entire Senate membership, or 64 members, to invoke cloture. Under the old rule as few as 33 Senators might have brought it about. *The Constitution*

And so what was put forth as a "compromise" was that in name only. It was a clear-cut victory for the Southern forces. This is evidenced enough by the vigorous manner Majority Leader Lucas opposed the move to the end.

Atlanta, Ga.

As a result of the battle that has raged over the antifilibuster rule for the past three weeks, the Senate is now spoken of as having not two but three floor leaders — Senator Wherry, of Nebraska, for the Republicans; Senator Lucas for the Majority, or Administration Democrats, and Senator Russell for the Southern Democrats.

By virtue of it all, the Georgia Junior Senator has arisen to a new position of power and prestige in the Senate. In the future he may be relied upon to exercise a more dominant influence in affairs of the chamber. Georgians have a right to be proud of the way Dick Russell handled himself.

An Editorial

The Great Dilemma

Pittsburgh Courier 6-24-

Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

THE mockery, in the form of a filibuster against changing Senate rules, which has plagued the United States Senate for the past two weeks, reveals the dilemma facing the Negro people. It is clear that neither the Democratic nor Republican party can be trusted to enact Federal legislation for the benefit and protection of Negroes.

The fight to change Senate rules so that filibusters can be outlawed or controlled by that body is as momentous an issue to the Negro people of America as any that has come before the Senate since the Civil War amendments, more than eighty years ago. For as long as Senate filibusters are uncontrollable, there is no possibility of enacting into Federal law guarantees and protections for the civil liberties of the [illegible]lion Negroes of this Nation.

While there [illegible]mult and shouting over the victory, Negroes [illegible]ver the South in the Democratic national convent[illegible]n a strong civil rights plank was included in the [illegible]tic platform, The Courier warned that this was a [illegible]kirmish, and that the decisive battle [illegible] halls of Congress—a battleground [illegible]th has yet to be defeated on a racial [illegible]

Later when the Dixiecrats were routed at the general election many assumed that this victory assured the enactment of needed civil rights legislation. At that time The Courier revealed the irony in the position of Negroes. The Democratic victory gained through Negro support [illegible] the South in Congress by elevating Southerners to important committee chairmanships. Negro votes in the North had put Southerners in positions where they can more effectively defeat the legislative aims and aspirations of Negroes.

It now appears that the South, having lost all of the preliminary political skirmishes to Negroes of the North, is about to win the decisive battle to prevent the enactment of any civil rights legislation in this session of Congress, or at any time in the foreseeable future.

The importance of this issue is hidden by the battle being dramatized as a fight to change the rules on limiting debate, when in fact the rules would have been changed without any fuss or conflict if it were not a necessary preliminary measure for the enactment of civil rights legislation.

At the present time, there is no way to effectively limit debate in the United States Senate. Any small group of willful Southerners can "talk to death" proposed civil rights legislation. Prior to the ruling of Senator Vandenberg two years ago, a limitation on debate could be imposed by a closure petition. This petition had to have the signatures of two-thirds of the members of the Senate. Senator Vandenberg ruled that even a closure petition duly signed could not limit debate on routine matters coming before the Senate—such as consideration of the previous day's calendar, or debate on whether a bill should be considered by the Senate.

The changes proposed were that a closure petition should apply to all matters coming before the Senate, and that such a petition should only require the signature of forty-nine members—a majority of the Senate, instead of sixty-four signatures, or two-thirds of the Senate which is presently required.

Negroes must win both of the proposals if Federal civil liberty legislation is to be enacted. It is needless to extend the application of closure to all matters before the Senate unless closure can be applied at the request of forty-nine signers. Experience has shown that it is impossible to obtain the signatures of two-thirds of the Senate. The Senators from sixteen Southern and border States, all of whom think alike on racial matters, start off with thirty-two votes. All they have to obtain is one more vote to prevent a closure petition based on two-thirds of the membership.

It is likewise necessary that closure be extended to all matters coming before the Senate. For if closure did not apply to all Senate business it would leave loop holes for a filibuster in matters where closure did not apply. The Senate filibuster of the last two weeks is on a motion to consider legislation, and according to present Senate rules, closure has no application.

The strategy to change these rules is to have a closure petition presented to Vice President Barkley, the presiding officer of the Senate, and have him rule that closure applies to all business coming before the Senate. The difficulty is that those favoring change in rules have not been able to obtain the signatures of two-thirds of the members of the Senate to make the test. If they could pass this hurdle it would only require a majority vote of the Senate to later change the number of signatures required on a closure petition to forty-nine.

It is almost certain that the Senate will not accept both of these changes, for substantial support from Republican Senators are needed and this support will not be given. At a recent caucus of Republican Senators, each Senator was permitted to vote on this change of rules in accordance with his own convictions. If the Republicans had bound each Senator to support the changes in these rules, they would now be laws of the Senate. The Republican chieftains did not want to give sufficient support to effect a change in these rules because they knew that if the rules were changed, civil rights legislation would be enacted, and that the Democratic party, which promised these laws, and won an election on the strength of these promises, would be given credit for their enactment. Consequently, Republican Senators in States where Negro votes are the balance of power, strongly support the change of rules, while Republican Senators from Midwestern States, where the Negro vote is negligible, are opposed to changes in the rules.

Give no credence to the various excuses Republican Senators are giving for their failure to support a change in the rules. These Senators thoroughly understand that the "change of rules issue" is irrevocably bound to the passage of civil liberties legislation and that unless these rules are changed civil rights legislation is doomed.

The present spectacle in the Senate presents a dilemma to Negro voters of the Nation. The Democratic party cannot enact civil liberties legislation which Negroes sorely need to protect their manhood rights. And the Republican party won't pass such legislation.

The Democratic party cannot enact civil rights legislation for Negroes because Southern Senators have to firm a grip on the Democratic party to permit such legislation to pass. When the Democratic party controls Congress, the Southern Democrats control most of the important positions in Congress. In addition, Southerners are chairmen of eight of the fifteen Senate standing committees. These eight committees, chaired by Southerners, are the most powerful in the Senate and include the appropriations, finance, foreign relations, executive expenditures, armed services, banking and currency and agricultural.

The Democratic party has never enacted a single Federal law for the advancement or protection of Negroes in the entire history of this Nation, and it never will, so long as the South has a stranglehold on Congress and the Democratic party organization.

On the other hand, the Republican party, which is a Northern party and therefore free from dictation and control by Southern Senators or party leaders, would appear to be the ideal party for Negroes to support in national elections. But the Republican party has shown no disposition to champion the cause of Negroes. The Republican convention was afraid to go even as far as the Democratic party convention in its platform pronouncements on civil liberties. The National Chamber of Commerce and other pro-Republican organizations strongly oppose a Federal Fair Employment Practice Commission. The action of the Republican Senate caucus in the "rules fight" shows that the Republican party is absolutely indifferent to the interest of Negroes.

In national elections Negroes are orphans of the political storm raging about them, and neither the Democratic nor Republican party is a safe haven. There is talk of Walter Reuther and other labor chiefs establishing a labor party which would eventually break up the Democratic solidarity of the South. Maybe this will, in time offer an alternative from the "great dilemma" now facing the Negro people.

Kefauver Says That Filibuster Not Best Defense For South

Montgomery Advertiser
Sun 3-6

WASHINGTON, March 5.—(AP)—Senator Kefauver (D), Tennessee, said tonight that his Dixie colleagues have a better defense against civil rights legislation than the filibuster they are carrying on.

Montgomery

The way to block anti-lynching, anti-poll tax and similar civil rights bills, he said, is to cite proof that the South is solving its racial problems.

Kefauver has taken no part in the Southern filibuster, now a week old, against a proposed Senate rules change under which two-thirds of the senators voting could shut off debate at any time.

Kefauver, in an address for an alumni banquet of the George Washington University Medical Society, said Southerners "have something more to offer than the filibuster method as a defense against the civil rights program."

"To my mind," he added, "blocking this legislation on merit, rather than with a 'talkathon,' will accrue greatly to the benefit of the South."

Cites Lynching Figures

As an example, Kefauver said "the most eloquent argument against passage of anti-lynching legislation is a statistic. Statistics show only two lynchings in the South last year. One of these was a white man.

"That figure becomes a fact; the fact is, the South is solving its lynching problem."

Kefauver said the South is "making great headway" in its own way in solving its racial problems and deplored what he called the effort to enforce moral rights "by legislative fiat."

"Southerners can be led, but not forced," he said, adding "there are sound reasons why Congress should not disturb our progress in the matter of inter-racial relations."

Sun 3-6-49

But, he said, "I think we stand a good chance of settling this political issue for a long time to come on the merits of the case."

He noted that some of his colleagues desagree with him, but he said that "a man must stand for what he feels deep in his heart."

Dixie Wins Round In Filibuster Battle

Montgomery Advertiser

Senate Defeats Lucas' Motion To Stop Talk

Sat. 3-12-49

Party Lines Split Open In Rejecting Barkley's Ruling On Debate Gag

Vote Is 46 To 41

Southerners Figuring That Civil Rights Plan Is 'As Good As Dead'

WASHINGTON, March 11—(AP)—Vice President Barkley's ruling that the 11-day filibuster can be halted was overturned by the Senate tonight, 46 to 41.

This was a tremendous, possibly decisive, victory for the Southerners in their battle to save the right of filibuster and defeat President Truman's civil rights program.

The vote came on an appeal by Senator Russell (D), Georgia, from the Barkley ruling last night that a two-thirds majority of those present can clamp down on the 11-day-old Dixie filibuster if they wish.

Russell's appeal was upheld, with a number of Republicans joining with the Southerners in a vote that split party lines wide open.

Just a few minutes before a move by Senator Lucas, of Illinois, the Democratic leader, to lay Russell's appeal on the table and thus kill it, was beaten down by the same 46 to 41 vote.

This was a heavy blow to the Truman administration, which has been battling for a change in Senate rules so filibusters can be curbed.

Southerners, fighting to retain the filibuster weapon so they can talk President Truman's civil rights legislation to death, were jubilant. They figured they had the anti-lynch, anti-poll tax and other civil rights legislation as good as whipped.

Sat 3-12-49

The parliamentary tangle that led up to the test was complicated. This was the sequence of events:

1. Last year Senator Vandenberg (R), Michigan, then the presiding officer, decided that under the rules no limit can be clamped on debate on a motion.

2. Eleven days ago Lucas moved to take up a proposal, sponsored by Northern Democrats and Republicans, to change the rules so two-thirds of those present could limit any debate. The Southerners started filibustering.

3. Last night Vice-President Barkley ruled that, even with out a change in rules, a two thirds majority could limit debate on Lucas' motion.

4. Senator Russell (D), Georgia, leading the Southern forces, appealed Barkley's ruling to the Senate membership.

5. Lucas moved tonight to lay Russell's appeal on the table.

It was this last-named Lucas motion which was beaten down.

The Southerners were joined tonight by a number of Republicans, including several who have declared themselves in favor of civil rights and a curb on filibusters. They argued that if filibusters are to be ended, it should be done through a change in the rules, not by an interpretation of the rules by the presiding officer.

"Grave Danger"

Senator Hickenlooper (R), Iowa, said Barkley's decision was like "writing the rules of the game while the runner is between third base and home."

But Senator OMahoney (D), Wyoming, declared that senators must not become "slaves to rules" and impotent to carry on their task of legislating.

"Our parliamentary government stands in grave danger at this hour," O'Mahoney said.

Senator George (D), Georgia, said: "Rules are the shelter and protection of the minority. If you do not constantly strengthen minorities, you are heading toward a government that has no minorities."

Lucas answered, with a shout, that George talked about protecting the rights of minorities in the Senate, but made no mention of minority groups outside the Senate.

"Civil rights!" Lucas said. "That's the issue here and you know it."

Sat-3-12-49

Galleries Jammed

Spectators jammed the Senate galleries as the showdown neared.

Senator Vandenberg (R.), Michigan, taking the floor to argue against Barkley's ruling, said he favors a change in Senate rules so that a two-thirds vote could limit debate on any legislative procedure.

But, he said, it should be done by "due process of law" and not by a ruling from the chair.

"The Senate must no longer leave itself in a legislative straitjacket," Vandenberg said. "It cannot longer be condoned in these dangerous days."

But he told his colleagues that the Senate's rules "as they exist and as they have been clinched by precedent should not be changed by the interpretive action of the presiding officer—even with the sanction of a transient majority."

"Unless the Senate itself makes the rules," he went on, "no rule is worth the paper it is written on. They will be at the mercy of every change in parliamentary authority."

Vandenberg, as presiding officer in the 80th Congress, made a ruling directly opposite to Barkley's in a somewhat similar situation last year.

The Michigan senator said he was not questioning the "good faith" of Barkley, but he also noted there was no appeal to the Senate last year when he (Vandenberg) ruled in the other direction.

By a curious twist, it was up to Lucas to swing the majority needed to rout the Southerners in this initial skirmish.

Missing no bets, the Dixie field generals forced Lucas to attack. In parliamentary language, that meant that in order to get a vote, Lucas had to make a motion to lay Russell's appeal on the table.

Without such a motion, the appeal would remain the pending business—and Dixie strategists let it be known they were willing to talk until Christmas on that point.

If, however, Russell had asked for a vote on his appeal, then it would have been up to the Southerners to rally a majority to overturn Barkley's ruling.

A vote to uphold Barkley's ruling would automatically lead to another, all-important vote at 12 o'clock, Montgomery Time, Saturday on the question of aplying debate limitation. That vote would require a two-thirds majority to break up the current filibuster.

Senators could still talk for one hour each after Saturday's vote, if the administration won; but it would be little more than a rearguard action after the battle had been lost by the Southerners.

Sat-3-12-49

Thereafter they would be hard put to block passage of President Truman's proposals for anti-lynch, anti-poll tax and other civil rights legislation.

AFRO Goes Behind Scenes to Give a Graphic Story

Afro-American 3-4

Reporter Finds Only 8 Senators Listening to Long-Winded Harangues

By REVELLA CLAY

What actually goes on during a filibuster?

At 2:30 p.m. Monday, the U.S. Senate Chamber looked more like a deserted lounge than the scene of one of the most crucial fights in Congressional history.

I had climbed the Capitol steps, expecting to witness an embittered verbal battle over the filibuster in the Senate. Like every other citizen who reads the papers and listens to the radio, I knew that the filibuster had held the legislative cogs of this nation in a straitjacket for 12 days.

My head was filled with mental pictures of the Frumanites banded together in one corner showing the strength behind the move to outlaw unnecessary talk by a two-thirds vote, and the Dixiecrats huddled with the coalition Republicans while one of their band expounded in colorful oratorical style.

The Punch Missing

If there had ever been any punch in the Senate fight, however, it had moved out into the caucus rooms with the Senators by Monday. There were only eight solons in the Chamber when I entered, and they seemed to be as free from affairs of the State as kindergarten kiddies taking noon-day naps.

A few were sprawled on the lounge chairs, one I didn't recognize, looking somewhat legal with black-rimmed glasses and a lapful of manila envelopes that he kept fingering.

A couple were looking into space while their jaws worked over chewing gum, and a few more were sitting at their desks.

Ellender Dry and Boring

In the center of the room, Senator Ellender, Democrat of Louisiana, was staging a one-man show

in a dry, boring and monotonous voice. No one seemed interested but that didn't seem to bother States Righter Ellender. As a matter of fact, he didn't even seem to care whether he was heard or not.

He had taken the floor at 12:20 p.m. and served notice that he was prepared to talk for 20 hours. He had also declared that the proposed change in Senate rules "is dictated solely by the agitation of pressure groups to throw a political sop to certain minorities, particularly the colored one."

Armed with a pile of clippings, a book, and three bulging manila envelopes, Ellender just droned on, while the galleries emptied and filled. Spectators, many of whom had come in eagerly, left looking slightly dejected and sleepy.

Dynamite in Words

While Ellender's casual, leisurely manner gave his soapbox oratory the appearance of harmlessness, if you listened carefully to the words the droning voice intoned, you learned that they were packed with dynamite.

It was dynamite for the 14 million colored citizens who have been victimized by racism and for any Federal legislation that sought to give minorities a better opportunity at living.

In effect, the voice was arguing that the South is a good place for black America—just as good as the North; that Dixie harbors no terrorism since lynching is moribund and colored Southerners completely satisfied; that the Federal Government has not legal nor moral right to meddle in affairs that are purely Constitutionally and inherently concerns of the State; that he, Ellender, was for civil rights, BUT . . .

Page From Schuyler's Book

At this point the wiry Louisianan, rocking on the balls of his feet, called on George Schuyler to put words in his mouth to the effect that the South is progressing and harbors no racism.

Ellender read two of Schuyler's editorials that have become fodder for Dixiecrat racists, and concluded the lengthy reading with the pointed statement that hurt a colored spectator in the Senate galleries:

"Those are not my words, but those of the eminent associate editor of the Pittsburgh Courier."

It was 4 p.m., but Ellender only sipped from a soft drink cup, wiped his eyeglasses and proceeded to orate — and kill the Senate's precious time.

Whole Book of Holley

This time, Ellender decided to hide behind the skirts of another colored segregation-supporter "the eminent Joseph Winthrop Holley, founder and president emeritus of Albany State College, Georgia.

Apologizing because time did not permit him to kill more of the Senate's time than the 20 hours he'd decided to use by reading all of Holley's book, "You Can't Build a Chimney From the Top," Ellender decided to read only passages of it.

These pages told of a colored man's finding his own people his worst enemies on jim-crow cars, with found the segregated school system of the South the best medium for colored youth of that area to get an education instead of in mixed schools, though he sent his own daughter to Philadelphia to school, and other such whitewash, typical of a frightened man writing behind the iron curtains of Georgia.

Little Change of Scenery

That was what Ellender fed into the Congressional Record. While he droned on, the Senate scene changed little. The galleries kept filling up, then emptying; the Senators, never more than eight present, kept coming and going. At about 4:40, one began to read the evening daily, while his companions continued to lounge.

Ellender was interrupted twice, each time by a crony who only emphasized that civil rights was not the concern of the Federal Government.

It was 5 p.m., Ellender's voice was getting a little husky, but he paid no mind and unheathed a stack of papers, which he said would explain the history of the poll tax.

I left, unable to digest more. I don't know how he did it, but Ellender filibustered past 12:30 that night, and only relinquished his soapbox with some reluctance then.

I've been plagued since my visit to the Senate galleries with fearful apprehensions about the state of the Union, and, for the love of this country, I can't understand why the legislators haven't been moved by sheer boredom years ago to outlaw the filibuster entirely.

THE WASHINGTON MERRY-GO-ROUND

PRESIDENT TRUMAN SPURNED RUSSELL'S COMPROMISE—NOW LOOK

WASHINGTON.

IT'S SUPPOSED to be a deep secret among Southern senators, but overtures were made to President Truman in advance of the filibuster which might have avoided the bitter North-South Senate snarl.

The overtures came from Senator Dick Russell of Georgia who did not join the Dixiecrats in the last election and who called at the White House a week or more before the filibuster.

PEARSON

"You've got everyone stirred up and worried down in the South," was the gist of what the Georgia senator said. "You'll probably win part of your program and we might not oppose some parts of it. But what we want to know is where is it going to stop?"

The President, perhaps taken by surprise and not realizing that he had a chance to head off a bitter sectional battle with the Southern wing of his own party, replied that he did not want his program to have any terminal.

Senator Russell went on to repeat that many Southern senators might go along with part of the civil-rights program provided they knew what Truman's "terminal" was.

Russell has in mind the fact that many Southern states, including Georgia, have already abolished the poll tax but are worried over the ultimate intermarriage of the races. That, Russell feared, was what the Truman program would eventually lead to if no terminus was fixed.

The President gave no definite answer and Senator Russell departed not happy with the results of the conference.

TRUST FUNDS INVESTIGATED

THE Senate Banking Committee has just issued a highly revealing report on how a big textile company—Textron—built up a charity foundation to avoid paying taxes. One of the most significant things about the official report is that the name of one prominent trustee is omitted—Senator Howard McGrath, chairman of the Democratic National Committee.

All other trustees are identified by name but fellow senators in deference to a member of the club, left out McGrath's name. Senator McGrath, when queried by this column, said he would have much rather had his name mentioned.

"I suppose Senator Tobey (Republican of New Hampshire) thought he was doing me a favor by leaving it out," McGrath said.

For serving as trustee of the Rhode Island Charities Trust, actually the creature of the Textron empire, McGrath gets a salary of $15,000—the same as his Senate salary. Significantly the other trustees, Benjamin Sturges and Godfrey Simonds, are also directors of Textron or its affiliates.

The Senate report minces no words in branding the Textron charity setup as a tax-evasion scheme. It is the largest of several trusts, says the report, created ostensibly for charitable purposes but in reality it is for the purpose of tax avoidance and providing risk capital to Textron.

The trust was founded in 1937 by Royal Little, president of Textron, who paid in the only contribution it ever received—$500. This pittance has been built into a multimillion-dollar fund by astute financial manipulations.

The sole beneficiary is the Providence (R. I.) Community Chest. Yet the Chest has received only $85,000 from the trust from the day it was founded until the Senate report was written. This was considerably less than was paid out for salaries and fees alone.

UNFAIR ADVANTAGE

THE Senate report charges that six trusts founded by Textron for the benefit of charity were actually operated to buy and lease equipment and make substantial loans to Textron and its affiliates.

"Over and over again the trustees have demonstrated that they have been at the beck and call of the president of Textron," the report continues, "to make available the trust funds for the benefit of this company.

"These trusts have never paid a cent of income tax," continues the report. "Thus, by this system of using charitable trusts, Textron has gained an unfair competitive advantage over the orthodox textile manufacturers and the burden of taxation has been thrown more heavily upon the shoulders of all other taxpayers."

The report also reveals that the Bureau of Internal Revenue wrote to the Rhode Island Charities Trust in 1947 calling attention to its activities and warning that it was not entitled to federal income-tax exemption.

Yet, charges the Senate report, 18 months have passed since the bureau's ruling and no action whatever has been taken by the bureau to enforce payment of the taxes which it claims are due. Furthermore, none of the trustees has taken any steps to set aside a reserve fund for the payment of the taxes which, if enforced by the bureau, will amount to several millions of dollars.

"The commissioner testified," continues the report, "that the bureau was still of the opinion that current and back taxes are owing the government. Yet the bureau has taken no steps to enforce collection."

DENIES TRUST IN TAX ARREARS

SENATOR McGRATH denied to this column that the trust owes any taxes. The letter from the Bureau of Internal Revenue, he explained, was the result of a technical mixup which has been cleared up. He brought political pressure upon the bureau, he stressed.

The Rhode Island Democrat insisted that he had nothing to hide. He was invited by Textron to serve as a trustee four years ago when he was governor of Rhode Island, he explained. The Providence Community Chest, he also maintained, is satisfied with the way the money was being handled. The reason more cash has not been given the Community Chest, McGrath naively claimed, was that the money was being held in reserve. He had no explanation, however, for the manner in which Textron had used this reserve to finance new machinery.

NOTE—Senator Tobey recommended that the trustees of all charitable trusts in the future be required to submit annual itemized accounts of the beneficiary and that the government make a periodic report to Congress. He also urged that no charitable trust be exempted from paying income taxes unless it has actually paid 85 per cent of its gross income to the beneficiary during the taxable year. Tobey pointed out that the practice of taxes is widespread by the country.

(From The Bell Syndicate, Inc.)

Senate Ends Filibuster; Votes 78-0 To Take Up Proposed Rule Change

Dixie Leaders, GOP Team Up On Compromise

Their Plan Will Okeh Unlimited Debate On Rules Change Motion

Russell Likes It

It Would Allow Curbs On Debate On Other Issues With 64 'Ayes'

WASHINGTON, March 15 —(AP)—Moving toward a compromise of the 15-day filibuster battle, the Senate voted 78 to 0 tonight to end the talkathon and take up a proposed change in its rules.

The action, taken on a roll call vote, came as Republicans and Southern Democrats claimed they have 52 members pledged to support a compromise which is opposed by administration leaders. Under the compromise, offered by Senator Knowland (R), California:

1. Unlimited debate in the Senate would be permitted only on a motion to take up a rules change.

2. Debate on all other matters could be curbed by the "yes" votes of 64 of the chamber's 96 members.

The administration had been battling for a rules change under which a simple two thirds majority of those present could curb filibusters on any session.

The big break in the filibuster fight came after Senator Olin Johnston (D), South Carolina finished a speech of four hours and 24 minutes.

When no one arose to speak, Vice President Barkley called for a vote.

When he announced the result as unanimous, Senator Wherry of Nebraska, the GOP floor leader, introduced the compromise favored by Southerners and Republicans.

Then the Senate recessed at 10:13 p.m. Montgomery time until noon tomorrow.

The compromise plan obviously had strong support.

Senator Russell (D), Georgia, leader of the Dixie filibuster forces, indicated approval of the move. A similar proposal, made by Senators Tydings (D), Maryland, and Kerr (D), Oklahoma, was being circulated among Democrats. Russell said Southerners are signing "as fast as we can get the petition around."

Rapped By Lucas

Dixie orators were expected to stop talking so that the issue could be brought to a vote, providing enough signatures indicated a chance of success.

But Majority Leader Lucas (D), Illinois, attacked the Knowland compromise, reached at a two-hour conference of all Senate Republicans, as "a move to perpetuate the fillibuster."

"Of course I'll oppose it," Lucas told newsmen. "It's an effort to take the Senate back 40 years.

However, Lucas conceded that the Dixie-GOP coalition might have the strength to force a vote.

"If they want to do it, they probably can," he said. "I think they'll be sorry for it later."

Knowland said 15 Republicans signed the petition during the first hour after it began circulating tonight.

LOTS OF TALK SEEN

The Californian said Republican signers were being pledged not to vote for any changes in it later as an assurance to the Southerners that no attempt would be made to amend it to provide for a majority rule gag.

Leaders of all three factions said there was bound to be extensive debate on the Knowland compromise, and that an early showdown was not expected.

Meanwhile the Truman Democrats, who were balked in an effort to run up the white flag temporarily, were reported launching a new parliamentary move to clamp down on the debate.

The Southern filibuster is aimed at blocking a rule change whereby two-thirds of the senators voting could limit debate on any subject.

HOPES TO CHANGE VOTES

Last Friday, the Senate overturned a ruling by Vice President Barkley that discussion of the motion could be ended if desired. The vote was 46 to 41.

Tonight Senator Lucas was reported circulating a petition designed to get another debate-can-be-cured ruling from Barkley. The hope apparently was that last Friday's 46 to 41 decision could be changed. It would take only three switches to reverse it.

Meanwhile, the talk went on. Senator Robertson, (D), Virginia, spoke for six hours, and then Senator Olin D. Johnston, (D), South Carolina, took over.

Johnston told newsmen he could talk all night, if necessary.

"If they want to be here when the sun comes up, I'll be here," he said.

The 53-year-old South Carolinian said he had enough ammunition to talk more than 18 hours, including 10 hours on the U. S. constitution.

Administration leaders were willing to drop the present fight so that the Senate could get to work on pressing legislation, including rent controls.

However, this would leave the door open for renewing the deep-rooted struggle, involving civil rights proposals, later in the session.

Southern senators flatly rejected an armistice and demanded a complete and final settlement of the bitter dispute.

In a day of busy behind-the-scenes negotiations, parleys and full-fledged conferences, repeated attempts to end the talkathon collapsed.

Senator Millikin, (R), Colorado, a GOP leader, announced that a two-hour meeting of Republicans had decided:

1. To support 24-hour sessions until the issue is settled.

2. To oppose a motion to adjourn—which would shelve the filibuster dispute and clear the way for other major matters.

Milliken told reporters there were stories that the Republicans were engaged in "undercover deals" in connection with the filibuster. He denied this emphatically.

Morse Stalks Out

A few minutes before the GOP conference broke up, however, Senator Morse, (R), Oregon, stalked out of the meeting and told newsmen angrily:

"I would rather sit in the Senate and hear a filibuster than sit around and listen to my party's leaders discuss how to make political gains out of this question."

Senator McGrath of Rhode Island, Democratic national chairman, told reporters that if the Southerners were holding out for a promise that the administration would drop its civil rights program, "they are going to have a long wait."

"It would be a great mistake for anyone to write off civil rights legislation," McGrath said.

Asked about the possibility of bringing up civil rights measures later, in the form of amendments or riders to other bills, McGrath replied.

"That's just what I mean. We don't like to do it that way and we don't want to, but we will if we are forced to."

It is possible to limit debate on an amendment or rider.

Lucas, after a mid-afternoon meeting of all action leaders, said the Southerners turned down a compromise offer and the situation remained just about where it was between midnight and dawn when the Senate recessed after a 12-hour and 20-minute speech by Senator Ellender (D), Louisiana.

Earlier, Lucas told newsmen he had not yet given up hope for a compromise. But he conceded that his anti-filibuster forces lacked the votes needed to end the stalemate as long as the Southerners insisted on a fight to the end.

MINORITY'S OUTLET,
Chicago Defender
SAYS SEN. RUSSELL
Chicago, Ill

WASHINGTON __ (AP)- Southern legislators opened a filibuster to save the historic right of filibuster in the Senate yesterday after President Truman himself signaled a showdoen to curb such talkathons.

All Senate legislative machinery came to a n immediate standstill. It may remain blocked for weeks, so long as Dixie orators hold the floor.

Mr. Truman told Senate Democratic leaders to meet the issue "head on," and Southern Democrats quickly accepted the challenge. Their firs-day drive was short-lived, however, as the Senate adjourned at 5:14 p. m. until today, when it will start again.

At issue was an attempt by a number of Northern Democrats and Republicans to change the Senate rules so that a two-thirds majority vote can limit debate at any time.

As lead-off man in the fight to save the filibuster-the parliamentarian device of talking a bill to death Sen. George, Democrat, Georgia, said the issues raised are "bound to have repercussions here after," and declared:

"The results no man can quite see at this time."

George began speaking at 4:26 p. m. Alternately shouting and lowering his voice to the gravest tones, the Georgian charged that civil rights legislation "offensive to the American Constitution" was the "real driving power" behind the anti-filibuster move.

One by one George ticked off President Truman's civil rights proposals and summed them up as "absolutely unconstitutional."

He said anti-poll tax legislation is not warranted because the Constitution expressly gives each State the right to determine the qualifications of its voters. Moreover, he said, the poll tax is already "on the way out" in the six or seven States where it still exists as a requirement for voting eligibility.

On the question of anti-lynch law, George said he opposes mob violence "with all the vigor of my soul."

But, he said, "you cannot give the Federal government the power to prevent it in the States unless you are willing to profess that the Federal government possesses total and absolute police power."

"Now," he shouted, "here is a proposal to grant that power. We have the right to resist the power to manacle and to muzzle."

The upshot of the struggle, he said, will influence the future course of politics in America.

"That is not a threat. I make no plain declaration of what to expect," he went on.

Fair employment practices legislation, George continued, represents a "glaring" effort to say to a man whom he shall have as his personal and business associates.

"Every man under the American Constitution has the right to choose his associates," George explained. Oct. 3-5-1949

He insisted that he was not filibustering—that he had never resorted to such tactics in his whole career—but a number of his Southern colleagues had made plain that they intended to carry on the fight as long as their voices hold out.

Democratic Leader Lucas, Illinois, told the Southerners the Administration leaders plan to push for a shodwdown until "we get a final disposition of this matter."

Republican Floor Leader Wherry, Nebraska, co-author of the kill-the-filibuster motion, said the Southerners were hurting their own case by terming the proposed rules change a "gag rule."

Wherry said that any time two-thirds of the Senators are willing to end debate, he is sure all the lawmakers would have had a fair chance to express their views.

Sen. Russell, Democrat, Georgia, countered that the Senate is "the last forum of free debate on earth." He said the filibuster has never been "abused," but has been the means of getting minority views before the public.

Without the present rules, Russell said, "a minority would be absolutely helpless."

Waiting to bolster the Southern effort was 30-year-old Sen. Russell Long, Democrat, Louisiana, whose father, the late Sen. Huey P. "Kingfish" Long, held the Senate floor in a lone filibuster for 15 hours and 35 minutes in June, 1935. It was one of the longest talks in Senate history.

Key Senators Fail To End Filibuster By Dixie Group; Compromise Hopes Dimmed

Montgomery Advertiser

Montgomery Alabama

13th Day Of Talkathon Begins Today; Progress Hinted At Unusual Talks; Major Bills Pile Up At Senate Door

WASHINGTON, March 13.—(AP)—Key senators tried today to settle the filibuster fight, but they failed.

High hopes of a quick compromise suddenly dimmed. There was mention of "progress" but nobody would explain.

So the 13th day of talk was expected to roll on Monday with the biggest bills on President Truman's legislative program stacking higher at the Senate's door.

The conferees who held an unusual closed Sunday session may try again Monday afternoon.

Over it all hung an ominous administration threat of an all-out, round-the-clock battle. If it develops it would be an attempt to wear out the Southern filibuster which seeks to block a proposed change in debate rules.

Against this strategy the Truman forces must weigh the chances for success of the President's huge legislative program, which hasn't even begun to pass the Senate.

Mr. Truman himself smoothed the way for the settlement talks. Senator McGrath (D), Rhode Island, Democratic national chairman, said Saturday night the President was pleased that the point was reached where the opposing sides could sit down together.

Progress Seen

Earlier Mr. Truman had called for a showdown by telling Senate party leaders to meet the issue "head on." That was when the fight began. The test came Friday night. And the Senate failed 46 to 41 to back up his forces in a move to crush the filibuster.

For nearly two hours today leaders of administration Democrats, Southern Democrats, and Republicans conferred in the office of Democratic leader Lucas, of Illinois.

"We have reached no understanding, but we believe we are making progress," Lucas told reporters after the conference.

Lucas has warned that if the compromise negotiations fizzle, he will hold the Senate in round-the-clock sessions.

Both Senator Wherry (Nebraska), the Republican floor leader, and Senator Byrd (D), Virginia, a leader of the Dixie forces, told reporters they are "hopeful" that some compromise can be worked out.

All Are Quiet

Senator Russell (D), Georgia, said they all eight conferees had bound themselves not to disclose any details. He didn't appear to be downcast.

A round of separate conferences will be held Monday morning. The Southern Democrats will have a huddle; the northern and western Democrats will have another. And the Senate Republican Policy Committee also will meet.

Leaders of these groups who conferred today were acutely aware that even if they reach an agreement they will have to get approval from the senators they represent.

Among the different factions are some senators who so far have shown no willingness to compromise. They include those who bitterly oppose any change in Senate rules and others who are demanding the rules be changed to permit a simple majority to shut off debates.

Because of the snarled parliamentary situation, a rocky road may lie ahead even for a compromise rules change. A few senators might turn on that and start another filibuster.

Bloomed Suddenly

Compromise talk bloomed suddenly Saturday. As the filibuster plunged ahead into a night session, Lucas announced that a settlement was possible, and the session abruptly recessed to await today's talks.

Lucas warned at that time that nothing definite had been worked out.

The Southerners held the upper hand. They had defeated the administration in a vote. And the only other weapon against them was the uncertain wearing down process—to let them talk until exhausted.

The Dixie contingent, angry over the Truman civil rights program, is battling to prevent a rule weakening the filibuster as a weapon. If they gave way to it, their chances of halting passage of the civil rights racial bill would be greatly lessened.

The proposed change would permit limitation of debate on any subject by a two-thirds majority of senators voting. At present, debate on a motion cannot be halted, and that is how the filibuster gets by. Under debate before the Senate is a motion—to take up the question of changing the rule.

A feature of one compromise proposal reportedly under discussion would amend Senate rules in such a way that they could not later be changed to permit to be gagged by a majority vote.

The Southern Senators are dead-set against allowing debates to be shut off by majority vote. In this they apparently have the support of many other senators.

Piled up at the Senate's door, along with the civil rights legislation, were some of the biggest bills in the administration's program.

These included a new labor bill to replace the Taft-Hartley Act, authorization for a $5,580,000,000 extension to the Marshall Plan to mid-1950, a nationwide long range housing program, extension of the reciprocal trade treaty program—and survival of rent controls.

Mon 3-14-49

Foes of Curbing Filibusters May Force Special Session

South Could Outvote Barkley With G.O.P. Aid

By JOHN F. DAY

The Courier-Journal Washington Bureau

Washington, Feb. 19.—If the Southern senators and their Republican supporters actually have the strength they now feel sure they have, they will be able to override Vice-President Barkley on a cloture ruling and filibuster on the antifilibuster resolution for an unlimited period.

That would mean the Administration either must be prepared to let the Southerners talk themselves out—and thus automatically let important legislation languish—or else give up the hope of getting a stronger cloture rule and subsequent civil-rights legislation during this session.

Lucas' Ideas Unknown.

If the Administration chooses the latter course, a special session in August would be in the cards. At that time the hot air of the filibuster could be added to the hotter air of Washington so long as the filibusterers chose to talk.

Whether Majority Leader Scott Lucas has considered a special session for this purpose is not known. He has said, however, that he did not think it advisable to permit a filibuster to hold up such important legislation as a labor law, rent control, housing, public health, and the like.

The Senate is taking up the filibuster right at the same time vital points of President Truman's program are before it, Drew Pearson says on Page 6 of The Passing Show.

If Barkley, as Senate president, makes a ruling that would in effect, reverse one made August 2 by Arthur Vanderberg when he was president pro tem, it is probable that Kentucky's Senator Virgil Chapman will vote to override him and that Senator Garrett L. Withers will vote to support him.

Barkley Objected.

Here is the background of this complicated parliamentary maneuvering:

A motion to take up the Hayden-Wherry resolution is scheduled for February 28. Under this resolution, cloture (limitation of debate) by a two-thirds vote of the Senate would be extended to all motions rather than just to actual debate on a bill.

Vandenberg held last August that Rule 22 (the cloture rule) applied to cloture on a "measure" and that "a motion to take up" did not appear to be a "measure." It was this ruling that produced the Hayden-Wherry resolution, for under the ruling a matter can be talked to death before it is even brought to the floor for debate. At present there is no way to stop a filibuster on a "motion to take up" except to let the senators talk themselves into exhaustion.

Foes Claim Upper Hand.

At the time of Vandenberg's ruling, Barkley, then senator, objected strenuously. He said: "I have not any doubt that when the Senate adopted Rule 22 it intended to make it possible for the Senate to bring to a termination debate upon any matter before it. If we cannot bring discussion to a conclusion upon the preliminary motions which may be regarded as measures toward that end, then the effectiveness of the rule is completely destroyed."

Thus it can be expected that when a motion to take up the Hayden-Wherry resolution is made, Barkley will rule that motion is subject to debate limitation.

It is at this point that the Wherry resolution but who feel they should uphold Vandenberg's ruling. This group probably includes Vandenberg himself.

If the anticloture senators should fail in this maneuver, they still could filibuster until cloture is applied on the motion to take up the resolution, and again until cloture is applied to debate on the measure itself.

Here is how the anticloture senators figure their strength:

1. They can count on 20 Southerners, losing only Pepper of Florida and Kefauver of Tennessee.

Sat. 2-20-49

2. They feel they can count on Chapman's vote. They also have sought Withers' vote, but it is known definitely that Withers agrees with Barkley on the Vandenberg ruling.

3. They can expect a few votes from Democratic senators outside the South. For instance, Downey of California, McCarran of Nevada, and possibly a couple of others.

4. The rest of their votes, they believe after much buttonholing, will come from Republicans who actually are for the Hayden-Southern senators and their Republican supporters feel they can gain the upper hand.

By a majority vote of the Senate, Barkley can be overruled. And the Southerners say that by actual nose count they have such a majority. Thus they could filibuster indefintely because the two-thirds cloture vote could not be applied to shut them up.

for the foreseeable future? Senator Stennis believes that the victory will endure for a generation at least.

"The newly adopted rule leaves open how long this victory will endure. Is the price a brief respite from efforts to enact an FEPC and shatter segregation? Or is it victory

a generation," Senator Stennis says.

"I believe that this virtually assures no FEPC or anti-segregation laws for many years to come.

"This agreement, however, is no assurance against the passage of the anti-poll tax bill and the anti-lynch bill, or similar

Victory Appraisal

The filibuster over, the victory won, now becomes a question of how long this victory will endure. Is the price a brief respite from efforts to enact an FEPC and shatter segregation? Or is it victory

the door for what I think will be at least ta

lar measures. The fight on such legislation must continue unabated, for the effort to pass these measures will be immediately renewed and intensified."

Senator Stennis evidently is quite right in his forecast insofar as Congress is concerned. What his forecast does not reckon with are possible rulings of the U. S. Supreme Court.

But there is warrant for reassurance even on that point. The court is being spoken of as a "new court." Lately, as in the upholding of a state's right to forbid the closed shop, the court has reverted to a posture astonishingly like that of a states righter. That is notably true of Justices Black and Frankfurter.

The 'Republicrats'

We have long recognized the fact that Republicans and Southern Democrats have repeatedly joined forces in the Congress to defeat liberal legislation. It was no surprise to us that this same unholy alliance would raise its head in the fight on the filibuster in the Senate. The die-hard Negro-haters of both major parties have cloaked their crimes in a web of technicalities and they seek to justify their actions on noble principles of one sort or another.

These "Republicrats" are adept at trickery but they are not kidding us nor are they fooling the American people. They lie in their teeth when they say they are protecting minority rights by insisting on the unlimited debate rule in the Senate and all of us know it. Indeed, who does not know their motives? Vice-president Barkley's eloquent argument on behalf of a change in Senate rules could not convince men against their will.

The real issue before the Senate is civil rights and every effort is being made by the Dixiecrats in collusion with Republicans to defeat the program of President Truman. The filibuster permits the Dixiecrats to paralyze the Senate of the United States and thwart the will of the majority of the American people. The tory Republicans who fear civil rights as keenly as the Dixiecrats are determined to preserve the filibuster.

On this issue our sentiments are well expressed in a recent editorial in the New York Times which concludes: "The end is not yet. Whatever may be the opinions of the present Senators, the nation cannot tolerate indefinitely a situation in which a small minority may defy not only a majority in the Senate but a majority in the country at large."

The liberal Democrats and enlightened Republicans in the Senate who are fighting to give expression to the will of the majority of Americans who voted for the Truman program cannot now give up the battle. We too must recognize that it is up to us to vote the Republicans out of Washington. President Truman has never wavered and neither can we. We may lose a battle but we will win the war. Indeed, the end is not yet.

SOUTH FIRMLY BACKS FILIBUSTER IN SENATE

Public Sentiment Supports Fight on Truman's Civil Rights Program

By GEORGE HATCHER

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

ATLANTA, Ga., March [illegible]

Southerners in general, approved their Senators' filibuster stand this week as the first engagement in the battle against President Truman's civil-rights program.

To the average Southerner it appeared that there was no issue of more importance at the moment than the civil-rights question. Since the President insisted upon a showdown in the effort to limit Senate debate and clear the path for his civil-rights proposals, most people in this section took the position that responsibility for delay on important pending legislation must be placed upon the shoulders of Mr. Truman himself.

In spite of the attitude of the majority, there were some expressions of opposition to the Southern Senators' stand. But the great mass of Southerners oppose the civil-rights program and feel that it would set up a dangerous system of bureaucracy.

The Atlanta Journal, owned and published by James M. Cox, the 1920 Democratic party nominee for President, represents this view. It commented editorially that "certainly the proposed Fair Employment Practices Act would give to a Washington bureau powers potentially as dangerous in some respects as those wielded by Moscow over personal affairs and relationships. Indeed, all parts of the [civil-rights] program look to an extension of Federal police powers that would jeopardize the foundations of state and local self-government."

Controlling Prejudices?

Many Southerners, including a great many of this section's progressive liberals, agree with Senator Walter F. George's declaration that prejudices, however ugly, will never be controlled by legislation.

They point to the vast gains of the last decade in lessening racial discriminations and in the same breath voice the belief that enactment of civil-rights laws would play into the hands of demagogic politicians, result in reactionary legislation on state levels, and bring about an unprecedented wave of Ku Klux Klanism that would make Federal statutes practically unenforceable.

These same Southerners point to the fact that Southern Negroes today are getting an increasing share of education, health, housing and other public welfare benefits; they are obtaining better jobs and improving their economic position in many other ways; their right to equal justice under the law is slowly but surely being more generally recognized, and their right to vote also is being accepted, however reluctantly.

There are factors involved in the civil-rights program which intelligent Southerners feel would set back racial progress tremendously and create no end of strife. One of these is resentment against "outside interference."

Another is the South's attitude toward segregation, which has not changed and probably will not change for some time. Any forcible attempt to alter this attitude, it is argued, may lead to trouble and waves of terrorism. The Ku Klux Klan's rise to its greatest prominence since its peak activity of the Twenties is believed to have been due considerably to the Federal civil-rights proposals.

Welfare and Progress

On the other hand, there are many influential white Southerners in that minority group of liberals who favor Federal civil-rights legislation, not only on grounds of morality and justice, but in the conviction that this area's general welfare and progress are jeopardized so long as large segments of its population are denied equal privileges and protection as citizens. These Southerners emphasize that the individual states have failed to provide these guarantees, and there is no reason to expect them to do so in the foreseeable future.

They say that civil-rights opponents are putting too much energy into obstructive action and not enough on honest self-criticism and constructive self-improvement. They also point to the increasing Ku Klux Klan activities and condemn officials in their state governments, as well as local authorities, for inaction in protecting Negroes' lives, property and rights.

The ranks of these critical Southerners include many church, civic and educational leaders who would rather see positive civil-rights actions on the state and regional levels, but seem convinced that the Federal Government will have to lead the way.

By and large, Southerners feel that national civil-rights legislation is supported by self-righteous reformers who are too far removed from the crux of the problem to share some of its realities. The proposed legislation is looked upon as a form of persecution of the South, since it has 35 per cent of the nation's Negro population.

Effective Cloture

Reform of Senate rules without smashing a basic constitutional provision has now been accomplished as a result of the Southern fight against the Civil Disturbances Program.

As noted here a few days ago, there have been many Southern doubts and reservations about the propriety of using unlimited debate on a motion to prevent unwanted legislation. After all, it was a proper reform of Senate rules which provided the machinery of cloture to curtail debate on legislation. Under the compromise now reached, the machinery of cloture extends to motions to consider legislation as well as actual consideration of legislation.

However, the right of the Senate to unlimited debate on changes of the rules is still preserved. This is an important reservation and a proper protection of minority rights.

This is an honorable compromise and Senator Russell of Georgia is to be praised on his generalship which brought it about. A less resolute general in the

tion of the national good against the whim of five or six senators banded together to stall the nation into disaster and yet the preservation of the right of a minority of 34 senators to prevent precipitious action.

The rights of minorities were of great concern to the makers of the constitution, and the construction of the Senate itself is a monument to that concern. It is doubtful if the Federal Government could have come into being if small states had not been given a voice absolutely equal to that of the big states in the major legislative body.

Despite the complaining walls of some of the demagogues pushing the Civil Disturbance program, the fact that we now have effective cloture without the possibility of tyranny by a temporary majority will in the end serve well all minorities susceptible to persecution by the majority.

measures. The fight on such legislation must continue unabated, for the effort to pass these measures will be immediately renewed and intensified."

Senator Stennis evidently is quite right in his forecast insofar as Congress is concerned. What his forecast does not reckon with are possible rulings of the U. S. Supreme Court.

But there is warrant for reassurance even on that point. The court is being spoken of as a "new court." Lately, as in the upholding of a state's right to forbid the closed shop, the court has reverted to a posture astonishingly like that of a states righter. That is notably true of Justices Black and Frankfurter.

The Republicrats

We have long recognized the fact that Republicans and Southern Democrats have repeatedly joined forces in the Congress to defeat liberal legislation. It was no surprise to us that this same unholy alliance would raise its head in the fight on the filibuster in the Senate. The die-hard Negro-haters of both major parties have cloaked their crimes in a web of technicalities and they seek to justify their actions on noble principles of one sort or another.

These "Republicrats" are adept at trickery but they are not kidding us nor are they fooling the American people. They lie in their teeth when they say they are protecting minority rights by insisting on the unlimited debate rule in the Senate and all of us know it. Indeed, who does not know their motives? Vice-president Barkley's eloquent argument on behalf of a change in Senate rules could not convince men against their will.

The real issue before the Senate is civil rights and every effort is being made by the Dixiecrats in collusion with Republicans to defeat the program of President Truman. The filibuster permits the Dixiecrats to paralyze the Senate of the United States and thwart the will of the majority of the American people. The tory Republicans who fear civil rights as keenly as the Dixiecrats are determined to preserve the filibuster.

On this issue our sentiments are well expressed in a recent editorial in the New York Times which concludes: "The end is not yet. Whatever may be the opinions of the present Senators, the nation cannot tolerate indefinitely a situation in which a small minority may defy not only a majority in the Senate but a majority in the country at large."

The liberal Democrats and enlightened Republicans in the Senate who are fighting to give expression to the will of the majority of Americans who voted for the Truman program cannot now give up the battle. We too must recognize that it is up to us to vote the Republicans out of Washington. President Truman has never wavered and neither can we. We may lose a battle but we will win the war. Indeed, the end is not yet.

SOUTH FIRMLY BACKS FILIBUSTER IN SENATE

Public Sentiment Supports Fight on Truman's Civil Rights Program

By GEORGE HATCHER

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

ATLANTA, Ga., March 4.—Southerners, in general, approved their Senators' filibuster stand this week as the first engagement in the battle against President Truman's civil-rights program.

To the average Southerner it appeared that there was no issue of more importance at the moment than the civil-rights question. Since the President insisted upon a showdown in the effort to limit Senate debate and clear the path for his civil-rights proposals, most people in this section took the position that responsibility for delay on important pending legislation must be placed upon the shoulders of Mr. Truman himself.

In spite of the attitude of the majority, there were some expressions of opposition to the Southern Senators' stand. But the great mass of Southerners oppose the civil-rights program and feel that it would set up a dangerous system of bureaucracy.

The Atlanta Journal, owned and published by James M. Cox, the 1920 Democratic party nominee for President, represents this view. It commented editorially that "certainly the proposed Fair Employment Practices Act would give to a Washington bureau powers potentially as dangerous in some respects as those wielded by Moscow over personal affairs and relationships. Indeed, all parts of the [civil-rights] program look to an extension of Federal police powers that would jeopardize the foundations of state and local self-government."

Controlling Prejudices?

Many Southerners, including a great many of this section's progressive liberals, agree with Senator Walter F. George's declaration that prejudices, however ugly, will never be controlled by legislation.

They point to the vast gains of the last decade in lessening racial discriminations and in the same breath voice the belief that enactment of civil-rights laws would play into the hands of demagogic politicians, result in reactionary legislation on state levels, and bring about an unprecedented wave of Ku Klux Klanism that would make Federal statutes practically unenforceable.

These same Southerners point to the fact that Southern Negroes today are getting an increasing share of education, health, housing and other public welfare benefits; they are obtaining better jobs and improving their economic position in many other ways; their right to equal justice under the law is slowly but surely being more generally recognized, and their right to vote also is being accepted, however reluctantly.

There are factors involved in the civil-rights program which intelligent Southerners feel would set back racial progress tremendously and create no end of strife. One of these is resentment against "outside interference."

Another is the South's attitude toward segregation, which has not changed and probably will not change for some time. Any forcible attempt to alter this attitude, it is argued, may lead to trouble and waves of terrorism. The Ku Klux Klan's rise to its greatest prominence since its peak activity of the Twenties is believed to have been due considerably to the Federal civil-rights proposals.

Welfare and Progress

On the other hand, there are many influential white Southerners in that minority group of liberals who favor Federal civil-rights legislation, not only on grounds of morality and justice, but in the conviction that this area's general welfare and progress are jeopardized so long as large segments of its population are denied equal privileges and protection as citizens. These Southerners emphasize that the individual states have failed to provide these guarantees, and there is no reason to expect them to do so in the foreseeable future.

They say that civil-rights opponents are putting too much energy into obstructive action and not enough on honest self-criticism and constructive self-improvement. They also point to the increasing Ku Klux Klan activities and condemn officials in their state governments, as well as local authorities, for inaction in protecting Negroes' lives, property and rights.

The ranks of these critical Southerners include many church, civic and educational leaders who would rather see positive civil-rights actions on the state and regional levels, but seem convinced that the Federal Government will have to lead the way.

By and large, Southerners feel that national civil-rights legislation is supported by self-righteous reformers who are too far removed from the crux of the problem to share some of its realities. The proposed legislation is looked upon as a form of persecution of the South, since it has 15 per cent of the nation's Negro population.

Effective Cloture

Reform of Senate rules without smashing a basic constitutional provision has now been accomplished as a result of the Southern fight against the Civil Disturbance program.

As noted here a few days ago, there have been many Southern doubts and reservations about the propriety of using unlimited debate on a motion to prevent unwanted legislation. After all, it was a proper reform of Senate rules which provided the machinery of cloture to curtail debate on legislation. Under the compromise now reached, the machinery of cloture extends to motions to consider legislation as well as actual consideration of legislation.

However, the right of the Senate to unlimited debate on changes of the rules is still preserved. This is an important reservation and a proper protection of minority rights.

This is an honorable compromise and Senator Russell of Georgia is to be praised on his generalship which brought it about. A less resolute general in the fight might well have taken the offer of the majority leadership to put the question off last Saturday night. At the time (during Senator Ellender's remarkable performance) it seemed that it was pressing the Southern advantage too far to continue the filibuster when the offer was made to adjourn. Adjournment would have left the Senate free to take up any matter it desired to consider when reconvened, that is, to drop the motion to amend the rules.

However, in pressing for a final solution, Senator Russell fashioned a reform of lasting worth to the nation, a protection as well as the majority of five or six senators banded together to stall the nation into disaster and yet the preservation of the right of a minority of 34 senators to prevent precipitious action.

The rights of minorities were of great concern to the makers of the constitution, and the construction of the Senate itself is a monument to that concern. It is doubtful if the Federal Government could have come into being if small states had not been given a voice absolutely equal to that of the big states in the major legislative body.

Despite the complaints of some of the demagogues pushing the Civil Disturbance program, the fact that we now have effective cloture without the possibility of tyranny by a temporary majority will in the end serve well all minorities susceptible to persecution by the majority.

Truman Wants Filibuster Spiked By Simple Majority; New Demands Draw Blasts

Montgomery Advertiser

Montgomery Alabama

Dixie Senators Accuse Chief Executive Of Trying To Gain Control Of Senate; Talkfest Still Goes On, Strong As Ever

Fri. 3-4-49

WASHINGTON, March 3—(AP)—President Truman said today that he favors breaking up Senate filibusters by a simple majority vote—a step which Southerners denounced as meaning "the end of free debate."

An immediate storm of protest rolled up on Capitol Hill in the wake of Mr. Truman's remark. It came in the midst of a bitter four-day-old Senate filibuster against a proposed rules change curbing filibusters.

Under this proposal, backed by a number of Northern Democrats and Republicans, debate could be cut short at any time two-thirds of the senators so voted.

The CIO and some other organizations would go further—limiting talk by a simple majority—and today the President disclosed that he personally favors that course, too.

Even some administration lieutenants on Capitol Hill bucked at going along. Senate Majority Leader Lucas (D), Illinois, said:

"I regret that I am compelled to disagree with my chief."

And on the Senate floor, Senator Russell (D), Georgia, shouted that the President's statement makes it clear Mr. Truman wants to "control the Senate."

"Appalling Thought"

"It is an appalling thought," said Russell, who is quarterbacking the Dixie filibuster forces, "if the Senate is so far degraded that it cannot settle what is purely an internal matter—a change in its rules—without the President interposing his views.

"If the President can work his will, he will be in absolute control of the Senate and there will be an end to government of checks and balances."

Similarly, Senator Byrd (D), Virginia, decried Mr. Truman's suggestion. The Virginian said it only makes "those of us who are fighting this thing more determined than ever."

"If he has his way," Byrd said, "the Senate will cease to be a deliberative body and become a rubber stamp for the executive."

Holland Leads Attack

Senator Holland (D), Florida, leading the day's filibuster attack, told the Senate that passage of a majority cloture (debate limit) rule, as favored by Mr. Truman, would "destroy the prestige of the Senate."

"It would destroy its usefulness and ability to carry out the high duty entrusted to it," Holland said.

Mr. Truman said he believes the Senate battle over the filibuster will run its course soon and permit passage of his legislative program.

Describing himself as a veteran of many a filibuster during his Senate days—but always on the side trying to break it—Mr. Truman said if he had anything to do with the present fight, he would personally favor a simple majority vote to end debate.

Lucas said, "I feel that a constitutional majority is proper."

A constitutional majority requires 49 of the 96 senators. A simple majority would be one more than half the number of senators present on the floor.

Meanwhile, Dixie orators breezed through the fourth day of their "anti-gag rule" fight, elated over fresh signs of apparent indecision in the opposite camp.

Senator Holland held the floor for a total of 4 hours and 52 minutes—the longest single speech so far—and when he sat down at 5:15 p.m., he remarked dead-pan:

"I don't think there's been the slightest semblance of a filibuster up to this point."

Other Southerners were reported loading up a heavy stockpile of ammunition to continue the fight.

At least one of the group, 30-year-old Senator Russell Long (D), Louisiana, was working on a speech that could go a solid 24 hours. Others in the 22-man filibuster team are noted for their ability to talk endlessly off the cuff.

Proceed With Caution

Against this background of a solid and unflagging Southern front, the administration's Senate leaders proceeded with extreme caution in their drive to change the rules so that debate could be cut off at any time by a two-thirds vote.

Fri. 3-4-49

Southerners contend that such a change would not only destroy the filibuster but would open the way for anti-lynch, anti-poll tax and other civil rights legislation they consider unacceptable.

Despite President Truman's renewed call for a quick showdown, administration Democrats showed no signs of being in a hurry. Lucas said today he is undecided just when he will move for a test of strength. Previously, he had said he would file a debate-limiting cloture petition today, then changed the date to next Monday.

To Meet Saturday

Lucas said he may postpone the action until even later. He explained that he wants to give the Southerners a full chance to air their views. Lucas said, however, the Senate will definitely meet Saturday, usually an off-day.

Lucas did not say so, but there appeared to be growing doubt among administration lieutenants whether they can command enough votes to win a preliminary test. That would come when Vice-President Barkley, as presiding officer, is called upon to rule whether the present debate can be cut off by use of the existing cloture rule.

If Barkley rules that it can, the issue would still have to be settled by a two-thirds vote before the battle of the filibuster is decided.

Senator Wherry (R), Nebraska, the GOP floor leader, told reporters that a conference of all Republican senators probably will be called after the cloture petition is put before the Senate.

"I don't see much use in the Republicans trying to decide what their position is until after the petition is actually filed," Wherry said.

When he was presiding officer last year, Senator Vandenberg (R), Michigan, ruled that a debate-limit petition can be applied to a bill but not to a motion. The current dispute is over a motion to take up the rules change measure.

Fri. 3-4-49

Taft Throws Aid Against Filibusterers

Montgomery Advertiser

GOP Leader Declares He'll Follow Barkley In Senatorial Fight

Tues. 3-8-49

'No Party Matter'

Anti-Dixie Spokesmen See South's Victory In Rule On Debate

WASHINGTON, March 7 —(AP)— Senator Taft, (R), Ohio, today threw his weight behind a crumbling administration effort to break a Southern Democratic filibuster in the Senate.

Taft, who heads the Senate GOP Policy Committee, told reporters that if Vice-President Barkley rules that debate can be limited on a motion to take up a proposed Senate rules change he will support that ruling.

Administration forces have made a motion to take up a proposed rules change under which debate could be curbed at any time that two-thirds of those present so decided.

Prelude To Civil Rights

The proposed rule was offered as a prelude to an attempt to pass civil rights legislation, and Southerners are filibustering against the motion.

Last year Senator Vandenberg, (R), Michigan, as presiding officer, decided that there is nothing in the Senate's rulebook which permits any kind of debate limits on a motion.

Administration forces have been counting on Barkley to reverse that ruling if the question again is raised. They believe he will decide that under the rules, a two-thirds majority can limit debate.

But if Barkley should so decide, his ruling would be appealed to the Senate as a whole. And an administration lieutenant, who asked not to be quoted by name, said today that leaders have become convinced they can't muster enough votes to make Barkley's ruling stick. Only a majority would be necessary to uphold such a ruling.

Failure May Mean Defeat

If the administration leaders fail in that move, there is some doubt that they will try seriously at this time to wear out the 19 Southerners who are primed for lengthy talks.

The filibusters will get a rest Tuesday. They are yielding to Senator Cain (R), Washington, to let him discuss President Truman's nomination of Mon C. Wallgren for chairman of the National Security Resources Board. Cain bitterly opposes appointment of the former Washington state governor and has plenty to say on the subject.

Administration measures—particularly rent control — are coming up against the gun of time deadlines.

Senator Lucas, of Illinois, the Democratic leader, had to agree with the opinion expressed today by Senators Sparkman, (D), Alabama, and Taft that if rent controls are allowed to lapse March 31 they can't be revised later.

Taft made it plain he was speaking only for himself in supporting Barkley's expected ruling. A score of Republican senators already have announced publicly they will oppose it, as will Southern Democrats.

"This is not a party matter at all," Taft said.

Truman Asks Quick Action On Filibuster

But Theres No Sign Yet Of Southern Talkfest Relenting In Any Way

Montgomery Advertiser

Gaining Strength

Fri. 3-4-49

Republican Joins Dixie In Opposing Talk Gag; Long Leads Off Debate

Montgomery Ala.

WASHINGTON March 2—(AP) — President Truman called for a quick decision in the three-day-old filibuster in the Senate today, but there was no sign of the talkfest running out.

Administration cries of "shame" only spurred Southern orators in their fight against a Truman-backed proposal under which Senate debate could be cut short any time two-thirds of those present to vote. The Southerners assailed this as a preliminary move to "crucify" the South with civil rights bills.

The Dixie bloc, originally 22 strong, actually gained strength as the debate went on.

Senator Langer, North Dakota Republican, announced that he will vote against the proposed debate curb. Langer explained that he fears small states and minorities would be damaged by limiting debate.

Late in the day, Chairman Taft, Ohio, announced that the Senate Republican Policy Committee had agreed to keep hands off on the voting of individual GOP senators in the filibuster controversy.

"We decided it is not a matter for party policy," Taft said, after a 90-minute committee session behind closed doors.

Taft said the reason why people should not vote their own opinions," he added.

Previously, Senator Wherry of Nebraska, GOP floor leader, had predicted that "quite a few" Republicans would vote against any ruling to choke off debate until the issue has been thoroughly aired.

Dixie oratorical gales were still blowing strong when the Senate recessed at 6:05 p.m. until noon Thursday.

President Truman, closely following developments, showed a keen interest in the Senate battle over the curb-the-filibuster proposal.

Senator Elbert Thomas (D), Utah, after a White House conference, said that Mr. Truman is anxious for a prompt decision. He said they talked at length about the Southern filibuster against the rules change.

"I told the President," Thomas

Gales Still Blow

said, "that any country that can send its people to war on a bare majority vote ought to be ashamed of itself when it takes a nearly unanimous vote to change a rule of procedure in the Senate.

Gain Fresh Cheer

"The President said I was right."

But the Southerners stuck to their guns, gaining fresh cheer from a revision of earlier administration plans to force a test of strength Thursday.

In a change of tactics, Senate Majority Leader Lucas (D), Illinois, said he will not circulate or file a cloture (debate limiting) petition Thursday as originally contemplated. Such a petition signed by 16 senators, would call for Vice-President Barkley, the Senate presiding officer, to rule whether such a move is acceptable.

Even if Barkley ruled in favor of the petition, the issue would still be subject to a two-thirds vote of the Senate before the filibuster could be choked off.

On this point, Senator Langer commented:

"If Vice - President Barkley rules against the precedents upheld by Senator Vandenberg, I shall most certainly, if no one else takes an appeal, do so myself."

As presiding officer last year, Vandenberg threw out a cloture petition during a similar talkathon.

Barkley gave no indication how he might rule. A year ago, he opposed Vandenberg's decision that there's no way under the present rules to stop senators from talking about a motion.

Langer said he favors Mr. Truman's civil rights program—the proposals for anti-lynch, anti-poll tax and fair employment practices legislation. But he said he's against debate curbs just the same.

Carrying on the Southern fight, 30-year-old Senator Russell Long (D), Louisiana, attacked the proposed rules change as a wedge to wipe out "one of the great balances in our republican government . . . one of our most precious heritages."

Long, son of the late Senator Huey P. (Kingfish) Long, who made filibuster history two decades ago, spoke out in his maiden Senate speech. Calling cloture in any form "an evil, a gnawing termite at our very vitals," he shouted:

"Today I ask for the right of unlimited debate for the defense of my people, for the defense of their customs, their traditions, their very society, from ruthless dictation and control by a sovereignty that heeds too much the advice of pressure groups from afar."

Long fell far short of his father's mark for sheer duration of speech. In 1935, battling for an amendment to the National Recovery Act (NRA), the late Senator Long read from the Bible, gave advice on love affairs and told how to make pot likker in a one-man talkathon lasting 15 hours and 30 minutes. Young Long talked only 55 minutes.

Meanwhile, on the other side of the Capitol, Republicans and Southern Democrats teamed up in the House and defeated a proposal that would have ended racial segregation in Washington schools.

Majority Leader Lucas told newsmen he had abandoned his plan to file a cloture petition Thursday because it might appear he was not giving the Southerners a chance to explain their side.

"I don't want to be accused of that," he said.

"But we're going to get a vote on this thing, and that is final—regardless of which way Barkley rules on the petition."

Senator Hoey, (D), North Carolina, took over as the fifth member of the Southern filibuster "relay" team.

Hoey declared that adoption of civil rights proposals would "do violence to the constitution" and "invade the rights of individuals.

"It is very frankly admitted," he said, "that the sole purpose of the contemplated (rules) change is to enable the Senate to pass the so-called rebel civil rights program advocated by many pressure groups."

Next came Senator Holland, (D), Florida, who pointed out there was no limit on Senate debate for 128 years.

"The clear reason was," he said, "a great majority of each Congress recognized the duty of the Senate as the defender of state rights—as the defender of minorities."

Dixie And GOP Coalition Shoves Compromise Plan Through Senate, 63 To 23

Peace Formula Ends Great Filibuster; Demos Claim All Civil Rights Dead; Republican Leaders Challenge Them

WASHINGTON, March 17—(AP)—A coalition rolled over Truman Democrats tonight to write into the Senate's rules a compromise anti-filibuster provision.

The vote was 63 to 23.

Southern Democrats combined with a majority of the Republicans and some Western Democrats to force adoption of the compromise peace formula that ended a great filibuster battle. Several attempted amendments were slapped down.

The first major amendment to be defeated tonight was offered by Senator Baldwin (R), Connecticut, and Saltonstall (R), Massachusetts. They proposed that two-thirds of those voting be empowered to gag debate at all times, except on rules changes. In the latter case it would require 64 of the 96.

The vote against this amendment for 57 to 29.

Next, the Senate batted down, 69 to 17, a proposal of Senator Myers (D), Pennsylvania, assistant majority floor leader. It would have provided for debate to be cut off by a vote of a "constitutional" majority—49 of the 96 senators.

Clearing the way for the climactic vote, the Senate then rejected, 80 to 7, an amendment by Senator Morse (R), Oregon, to provide for debate limitation by a simple majority of those voting.

Meanwhile Senator Taft of Ohio and Senator Vandenberg of Michigan, Republican chieftains previously uncommitted, came out in favor of the compromise. Nobody had any doubt that it would pass when the showdown came.

Under it two thirds of the entire Senate (64 out of 96) would be required to limit debate, except on future rules changes, which would be subject to uncurbed talk.

The compromise was reached after Southerners conducted a 15-day filibuster against an administration-backed proposal under which two thirds of those voting could limit debate. Southerners feared this would lead to passage of civil rights bill, such as anti-lynch, anti-poll and anti-job discrimination.

Senator Lucas (D), Illinois, told the Senate tonight there would be no chance of passing any civil rights legislation under the compromise.

'Can't Be Done'

"There's not a Chinaman's chance—not a chance—to pass an anti-poll tax bill when it comes to the floor of the Senate if this (compromise) rule is adopted.

"I know it can't be done."

An anti-poll tax measure would be the mildest of all the civil rights proposals.

Republican Leader Wherry (Nebraska) accused administration leaders of "a campaign of misrepresentation" to convince the public that the compromise would doom civil rights legislation.

"I challenge the majority leader to bring to the floor of the Senate anti-poll tax legislation," Wherry said. "Stop talking about the substitute cloture rule (debate-limitation) being no good and come here and give it a test."

Senator Calls Agreement On Filibusters 'Sellout'

The compromise agreement which ended the Senate filibuster last week on the cloture rule was called "the greatest sellout in political history" yesterday by Senator Hubert H. Humphrey, Democrat, of Minnesota.

During a lecture at Town Hall, 123 Forty-third Street, Senator Humphrey said the Dixiecrat position on President Truman's "fair deal" civil rights program always had been clear. But the Democrats and Republicans, he said, voted civil rights planks into their campaign platforms, only to repudiate them in the compromise. The coalition which defeated the Truman program will have a major test in the vote on rent control, he predicted.

The thirty-seven-year-old Senator said he personally favored the broad outlines of the proposed North Atlantic pact, but expected a fight on treaty provisions which may weaken powers of the Senate over declaration of war.

He explained the difficulties of a freshman Senator trying to find his way around Washington and urged that Congress grant itself enough funds to conduct legislative business without heavy reliance on the executive department.

Threaten To Let Rent Curbs Die

Southerners Demand End to Filibuster Battle as Price

Special to The Constitution

WASHINGTON — Southern Senators yesterday threatened to shut off hearings on rent control legislation and let the law die on March 31 if the Democratic leadership does not give up its fight to curb filibusters.

"And you will never get rent control back on the books if you once let it expire," they warned Major Leader Lucas, Democrat, Illinois, at Senate committee hearing.

The threat came from Chairman Maybank, Democrat, South Carolina, of the Senate Banking and Currency Committee, and Sen. Sparkman, Democrat, Alabama, Chairman of a rent legislation subcommittee, who have the power of throttling action on the rent bill, if they decide to use it.

More than 500 small property owners, most of them here from Chicago and New York to protest continuance of rent control, cheered this development.

Then they swept out of the Senate Office Building and down Constitution Avenue, flaunting banners marked "S. O. B." in big, black letters. Smaller letters explained that the initials, reminiscent of President Truman's label for newspaper critics, in this case "Sufferers of Bureaucracy."

The landlord demonstrators also buttonholed Senators and Representatives in their offices and passed out handbills while capitalate police herded them along.

Sen. Sparkman, presiding at the rent bill hearing, pointedly noted that present rent control

"Of course, there will be no control would die if not extended committee hearings possible at all by March 31, but said he didn't that happens. Our Democratic think that would happen because leaders apparently think rent control is as vital in Alabama is of secondary importance to the rest of the country.

"We can get along better without changing the Senate rules. Who'll blame if rent control dies on March 31?"

"It will be gone forever if it's not on the books after March 31," said Maybank.

Lucas conceded that Sparkman might be correct in thinking rent control would be acted upon.

"There is some talk about holding a little more than three weeks and that 300 witnesses have requested to appear at the Senate hearings.

"Rent control legislation was having its troubles in the House at the same time. A bill continuing the law for 15 months has been reported there but must obtain Rules Committee approval before it can be brought to the floor for consideration.

Majority Rule Un-American

Today is the day that Vice President Barkley is expected to make the pivotal ruling for or against the Southern filibuster.

The filibuster, which exists to forestend Civil Disturbance legislation but which hinges on a change in Senate debate rules, assumes major importance when it is considered in light of the last rules change.

Not since 1917 has the Senate changed its rules governing length of debate. At that time the Senate adopted a rule providing cloture by a two-thirds debate. Senators were filibustering against the arming of American ships against German U-boats. Civil Disturbance legislation now takes on an importance equal to that war issue.

Meanwhile, it seems to us, the righteousness of the filibuster, or any filibuster, is a very broad and ramified question, susceptible to quick settlement only in the minds of the untaught.

There is the view that a few iron-lunged filibusterers, if determined and durable enough, can defeat the will of the majority, and exercise the right of veto. Perhaps a great many of us are inclined to think that way when the depraved Senator Glen Taylor of Idaho is filibustering against the draft act; or in principle, when the Russians exercise their veto in the United Nations.

The objection to a minority defeating the majority assumes that this is wrong and therefore un-American. But even if it's wrong, it is not un-American. It is indeed very American, for as Walter Lippmann states so aptly:

"In the American system of government the right of 'democratic decision' has never been identified with majority rule as such. The genius of the American system, unique I believe among the democracies of the world, is that it limits all power—including the power of the majority. Absolute power, whether in a king, a president, a legislative majority, a popular majority, is alien to the American idea of 'democratic decision'."

The principle is not unlike that of our jury system, which requires a unanimous verdict.

Mr. Lippmann further makes the point that even though the majority overwhelms an unreconciled minority, the results are not necessarily attained. He cites prohibition, which begat only lawlessness and contempt for law. He believes that the same thing would be true in the case of imposing Civil Disturbance on an unreconciled and coerced South—and that is precisely what we believe.

With that illustration, Mr. Lippmann makes his point secure. But how would that have applied in the case of the filibuster against arming our merchant ships in 1917 against U-boat attack? That was an issue, involving the survival of this republic, that could not await acceptance of the minority.

All of which brings us back to Vice President Barkley's ruling today, which will have a lot to do with present and future filibusters. We hope to see the filibuster defeat the Civil Disturbance program for all the obvious reasons.

But we decline to make it out as a simple question, or to forget that America is the only major country in which the power to filibuster survives.

Equal Rights' Foes Eke Out Victory; Hint Compromise

Pittsburgh Courier

(Pittsburgh Courier Press Service)

WASHINGTON—President Truman's civil rights legislation is doomed! That was the general opinion of political observers polled here early Monday afternoon by The Pittsburgh Courier.

Meanwhile, Democratic leader Lucas of Illinois told The Courier that plans for a compromise growing out of the filibuster had not been given up.

He added that immediate action on rent control was necessary. This statement, observers said, was a hint that debate on the filibuster would be by-passed to give rent control the No. 1 spot on the Senate floor.

* * *

(Pittsburgh Courier Press Service)

WASHINGTON—Closed conferences held by key Senators Sunday night failed to settle the filibuster fight. Hopes of reaching a compromise on President Truman's "fair deal" legislation suddenly dimmed as the dawn of Monday morning approached.

* * *

(Pittsburgh Courier Press Service)

WASHINGTON—The Courier learned Monday afternoon that all efforts at compromise made up until Monday noon had been rejected by Administration leaders. The all-night sessions presumably were resumed Monday and it was thought at that time that the filibuster would go on. However, some Senate sources hinted that the filibuster may be displaced later if rent control seems jeopardized.

By LEM GRAVES Jr.

(Courier Washington Correspondent)

Sat. 3-19-49 Pittsburgh Courier

WASHINGTON—Following defeat, by a close 46 to 41 vote, in an effort to apply closure to the current Senate filibuster over a proposed Senate rules change, the Democratic Administration last Saturday decided to meet the filibuster head-on and stage round-the-clock, continuous sessions in an effort to wear down the Dixiecrat marathon.

This move, coming as it did after a coalition of Republicans and Southern Democrats had administered defeat to the Truman and liberal forces in the Senate, surprised most observers here as well as a majority of Senators who had expected the Administration rules fight to crumble early Saturday. However, the leadership of Northern and Western Democrats, with the backing of President Truman, decided on a fight to the finish.

Tough rules for the coming showdown with Dixiecrats have been outlined by the Administration forces. Quorum calls which give filibuster speakers rest will be eliminated. Speakers will be carefully watched to see that they keep their remarks germane to the issue and do not violate any of the technical Senate rules on debate under threat of loss of the floor. Speakers will be limited to two speeches on the subject and questions will be limited by strict adherence to Senate rules thereby preventing short rest periods for filibuster participants.

COTS FOR SENATORS

The administration has embarked on a determined fight to beat this filibuster according to Majority Leader Lucas who outlined the program on Saturday afternoon. Lucas advised that extra reporters and transcribers should be hired, that cots will be moved into the Capitol, and that beginning Monday, the Senate will probably be in session for "weeks or months." He said, "I had hoped to avoid this situation by (Friday) night's vote. But we didn't . . . We are now up against the gun and we are going to try to meet it . . . We will try to break up this filibuster."

He was complimented by Minority Leader Kenneth Wherry (R., Nebr.) "for quitting this pink tea stuff and showing real leadership." In a jocular vein, Lucas replied: "I am glad the minority leader has learned to recognize a leader when he sees one." Wherry, by voting against the closure effort on Friday night and persuading other Republicans to do the same, had been responsible, to a large extent, for the deadlock in the Senate. He is the author of the resolution to change the rules which is the subject of the filibuster.

The administration decision to force the filibuster issue was unpopular with a large number of Senators who dread the continuous session threat. The ordeal will be as hard on the administration as it will be on the Southerners since they will be required to answer quorum calls at all hours of the night for an indefinite time.

A move to effectt a compromise was launched by Massachusett's Senator Saltonstall on Saturday when he pleaded with the majority and minority leaders to get together and work out a compromise agreement. However, local observers believe there is little chance of success in this since the rules change under discussion is a minor one on which the administration forces could relinquish nothing without losing the entire fight. On the other hand, Southerners, victors in the showdown vote Friday, are not in the mood for any compromise and could not make any conceivable compromise without loss of their fight. However, a week-end conference for adjustment purposes was scheduled.

ONE MORE TIME

Under the Senate rules, speeches already made on this issue, before the Friday vote, count as one of each Senator's two allotted speeches. That means that Dixie Senators Long, Russell, George, McClellan, Holland, McKellar, Hoey, Stennis and Connally have all chalked up one speech and have only one more time at bat.

Senator Robert Taft, Republican leader, in a discussion with Walter White figured last Saturday that the limit of the Southerner's physical endurance is about 140 hours. However, so far the Senators have been getting help from conservative and reactionary Republicans. It remains to be seen to what extent the GOP members will dare to openly insist on facing public wrath by continuing to spell the Dixiecrats. Sat. 3-19-49

As the filibuster resumed Saturday, the Senate's number one Negro-phobe, James Eastland of Mississippi, took over.

The first administration defeat was suffered late Saturday night when twenty-three Republicans joined the same number of Dixiecrats to pile up a total of forty-six votes against a ruling by Vice President Alben Barkley to the effect that a cloture petition, filed Thursday night by Senator Lucas, was applicable to the current debate.

The debate is on a motion to bring up S.R.-15, the Hayden-Wherry resolution to amend Senate Rule 22 so that cloture can be applied to any parliamentary matter in the Senate. The rule, as now written, says cloture can be applied to the pending measure. Last year, in a filibuster on a motion to bring up the House-passed anti-poll tax bill, Arthur Vandenberg, president pro tempore, ruled that a cloture petition was not applicable since a civil aviation bill was the "pending measure." Mr. Barkley reversed that ruling last Thursday night but said that the situation this time was different since there was no pending measure before the Senate.

An appeal was taken by Senator Richard Russell of Georgia, who is quarterbacking the Dixiecrats. This appeal was debated all day Friday, with Senators Vandenberg, McKellar, Langer, Hickenlooper, Donnell and George speaking against sustaining Barkley. Senators Knowland, Ives, O'Mahoney, Pepper, Kefauver, Ferguson and Lucas spoke in favor of supporting the Vice President. Then Lucas made a motion that the appeal be tabled.

On this roll call, he was licked by the 46-41 score. A few minutes later, he was licked on the appeals roll call by the identical score with the same Senators lined up on both sides. The GOP-Dixiecrat coalition was responsible for this defeat. Sat. 3-19-49

The next day, administration leaders decided on the showdown and launched what may become one of the most historic and memorable debates in Senate history.

While all precedents indicate that a filibuster by as many as fifteen Senators cannot be beaten and while most political observers here think the odds are against the administration forces in this fight, the tenacity and stubborness of Harry Truman, which has previously embarrassed the pundits and the handicappers is not being lightly regarded in Capitol circles.

Split Party Decision May Settle Fate Of Filibuster

Washington Post Wed. 3-2-49

Close Senate Vote Foreseen as Cloture Petition Promises Action on Debate

By Robert C. Albright

Post Reporter

A split party decision, so close that a few votes either way may determine the future of Senate filibusters, was indicated last night as the Senate bogged down in a Southern talkathon.

A cloture petition, to be circulated today by Administration leaders and probably filed in the Senate Thursday, may clear the way for a short-cut decision on the marathon Senate debate.

The test vote hinged on these two "ifs":

1. That Vice President Alben Barkley will rule cloture applies to a motion to call up the anti-filibuster rules change. (Barkley has told no one how he will rule.)

2. That the Senate will override a contrary ruling last session by Senator Arthur H. Vandenberg (R., Mich.) and sustain Barkley's finding.

Question Bothering GOP

The second question already is giving Senate Republicans a lot of trouble. They are trying to decide whether or not to support Vandenberg's ruling. They will talk it over at a Senate GOP policy meeting today, and a full Senate Republican conference may be called later this week to discuss it.

Senator Vandenberg himself is expected to take the floor in the next few days to defend his original finding that the Senate cannot shut off debate on a motion to call up a bill.

In the same speech, Vandenberg may free Republican colleagues from any obligation to support his ruling by stand on grounds of "per-

Southerners at least certain to support an appeal from the expected ruling by Barkley.

A Senate GOP leader said last night that Senate Republicans, while overwhelmingly in favor of a permanent change in Senate rules, are as badly split as Democrats on any "short-cut" decision from the Senate chair.

He predicted the Senate vote on

George spoke for 44 minutes. Connally led off yesetrday with an 84-minute speech. Stennis spoke for 2 hours and 52 minutes. Senate Democratic Leader Scott W. Lucas (Ill.), who has threatened to hold progressively longer sessions, adjourned the Senate at 5:14 p. m.

Connally described the Senate as "the last great forum of free debate in the world."

"It is free from the dictatorship

Monday Mar. 3-1-49

Southern Democrats meanwhile concluded their second day of opposition to the new "hole-proof" two thirds cloture rule, still denying a "filibuster" is yet in progress.

Connally, Stennis Talk

Two Southern Senators, Tom Connally (Tex.) and John C. Stennis, picked up where Senator Walter F. George (Ga.) left off late

such a ruling will be "very, very close."

Wed 3-2-49

Friday broken, or run on indefinitely, key Truman bills, especially imperiled by the filibuster, will depend in the show-down on how Republicans vote.

Senate Democrats already are split down the middle with the 21

of totalitarianism," he said. "It is free from the tyranny of partisanship and group pressures. It ought to remain the one place where public servants can rise and express their views as representatives of their constituents without impairment and without invasion."

Civil Rights Bills

Like George, Connally charged the rules change is being pressed at this time to pass three civil rights bills—anti-poll tax, anti-lynching and fair employment practices legislation.

He said all three are unconstitutional invasions of State powers "but what's a rule of the Senate compared with a comfortable margin at the ballot box . . . We are going to pass this rule regardless of the Constitution, regardless of the precedents of the Senate."

Connally said the legislation was framed "for political purposes and political classes."

He argued the United States "is not now and never has been a pure democracy—it's a democracy of federated States." In cutting back the powers of the States he said the Senate risked "the danger of tyranny and arbitrary power."

As he concluded, someone in the gallery applauded and was cautioned by a guard. Connally shook a finger at his fan in mock rebuke, and said: "You can't do that. There's not enough of you."

'Gag Rule' Predicted

Following a 37-minute speech by Senator Wayne Morse (R., Oreg.) on the Taft-Hartley act, Stennis resumed for the Southern opposition.

Stennis said the rules change would "gag" the South and told the Senate: "Gag rule is the weapon of a legislative tyrant."

Like George and Connally, he charged that pressure for the change did not come from the rank and file "but from organized pressure groups who seek to serve what they mistakenly think is their personal gain."

The Mississippi Democrat said the South will be the first "victim" of the change "and I call for volnuteers—who will be the second victim? Who wants to be No. 2 on the list?"

He said big and little business, organized labor and even religious groups might some day be the "victims" of the rules change.

To Organized Labor

To organized labor he said: "Those who oppose you will be in a lot better position to get you under this rules change."

He concluded: "God forbid that in a thoughtless moment we surrender one of the fundamental structures of our government, freedom of debate."

Before the Senate recessed, Senator James P. Kem (R., Mo.) made a four-minute speech announcing his intention to vote for the two thirds cloture rule.

Said Kem:

"In my opinion, the right of so-called 'unlimited debate' has been abused to the point where the Senate has upon occasion made itself ridiculous not only in the eyes of our own people, but in the eyes of the world."

Senate Vote Is Due Friday On Filibuster

Montgomery Advertiser Montgomery Ala. Thur 3-10-49

'Unexpected' GOP Aid Given Gag Proponents As A Showdown Nears

33 Favor Change

Tthur 3-10-49

Debate-Limiting Petition Needs Only 16 Names; South Is Fighting Back

By ROGER D. GREENE

WAHSINGTON, March 9.—(AP)—Senate anti-filiguster leaders claimed "unexpected" Republican support tonight for a showdown attempt to break the Southern-led talkathon tomorrow.

The debate, directly involving the right of filibustering and indirectly keyed to the bitter Civil Rights controversy, has jammed the Senate's legislative machinery for nine days.

Majority Leader Lucas (D), Illinois, told newsmen late today that 33 senators so far had signed a petition to end the Dixie filibuster against a proposed change in Senate rules. The change would open the way to curbing filibusters and thus make it easier to pass Civil Rights legislation.

The list included three GOP senators—Flanders (Vt.), Reed (Kan.) and Smith (N. J.)—who had previously gone on record as saying they would vote against an attempt to halt the debate at this stage.

Only 16 more names are required on the so-called cloture (debate limiting) petition, which Lucas said he will file tomorrow.

Lucas reiterated his intention to file the petition as the Senate at 8:01 p.m. (Montgomery time) wound up its second consecutive night session.

"The Senate must get along with its business," Lucas said in making the announcement.

Only Majority Needed

He later told newsmen he thinks Vice President Barkley will rule tomorrow on whether the petition can be entertained. The Illinois senator said he expects a showdown vote on that ruling Friday.

If Vice President Barkley rules that the petition can be entertained a majority of those present will be necessary to uphold his ruling. And to put an actual limit on debate requires a two-thirds majority. The Senate has 96 seats. Thur 3-10-49

Among the signers of the petition were 17 Democrats and 16 Republicans.

The GOP signers included Senators Taft (Ohio), Knowland (Calif.), Ives (NY), Tobey (NH), Saltonstall and Lodge (Mass), Flanders (Vt), Ferguson (Mich), Baldwin (Conn), Brewster and Mrs. Smith (Maine), Thye (Minn), Morse (Ore), Reed (Kan), and Hendrickson and Smith (NJ).

Flanders said he had changed his mind because he believes the filibuster must be cut off so the Senate can get to work on vital legislation.

Senator Reed told a reporter there was "absolutely nothing inconsistent" about his planning to vote against Barkley's expected ruling and his signing of the cloture petition.

"I have always been for cloture," Reed said, "but if I think Barkley is wrong about his interpretation of the rule, I am going to vote against him."

Senator Alexander Smith (R), New Jersey, who signed the cloture petition, had told reporters previously that he would vote against the Barkley ruling unless he became convinced later that support of it was the only way to reach a vote on the rules change question.

He could not be reached immediately for comment tonight.

Democrats who signed were Anderson and Chavez (N. M.), Douglas (Ill.), Green (R. I.), Kilgore (W. Va.), Lucas (Ill.), Magnuson (Wash.), McGrath (R. I.), McMahon (Conn), Miller (Idaho), Murray (Mont.), Myers (Penn.), Neely (W. Va.), O'Mahoney (Wyo.), Pepper (Fla.), Taylor (Idaho) and Thomas (Utah).

McGrath Signs Up

Lucas said the number who signed the petition in the first hours indicated that the administration is "gaining."

Knowland, also working ot end the filibuster, said he had found "unexpected" GOP support for this move to end debate.

Meanwhile, the flow of Southern oratory rolled on unchecked, with Senator McClellan (D), Arkansas, telling his colleagues that the Communists will be "elated" if the right to save the filibuster is lost. Thur 3-10-49

"Every Communist in America and throughout the world, in my opinion, will applaud every vote for this (debate-curbing) resolution," McClellan said.

"But while applauding, they will be laughing at those who so easily but terribly blundered."

At one point, McClellan exclaimed bitterly:

"You couldn't compromise with the gang behind this (civil rights) legislation."

Lucas issued a statement "congratulating" Republican and Democratic signers of his petition.

Dixie Ready For Fight

Lucas announced tomorrow's critical test after a closed-door session of northern and western Democrats.

But Dixie legislators, ready for a last-ditch fight, were still confident of beating down the administration leader's strategy.

Senator Russell (D), Georgia, captain of the filibuster team, previously claimed 58 votes—a sizable majority—to defeat any attempt to cut off the debate at this time. But that was before Lucas began rounding up signaures.

Latest figures in an Associated Press survey showed 44 senators on record as saying they will vote "no" on this attempt to silence the talkathon, while 19 will vote "yes."

The test will come when Lucas seeks to file a debate-limiting cloture petition. That will force a ruling by Barkley, Senate presiding officer, whether such a petitions may not be filed in the midst of talk on a motion. Barkley, who has expressed opposition to that viewpoint, is expected to rule in favor of the administration's move.

In that event, it would require a majority vote to uphold Barkley's devision.

As the next step, if Barkley were upheld, cloture would be applied if two-thirds of the senators present so voted. Then each senator would be limited to one hour of talking—still on the motion to take up a filibuster-curb bill.

Finally, the debate could start all over again on the question of the rules change itself. A two-thirds majority again would be needed to limit debate on that.

Plan to Cut Off Filibusters Gets First Test Today

Senate Committee Likely to Approve Rules Change for Civil Rights Action

By Jack Steele

WASHINGTON, Feb. 1.—A further round in the Senate's civil-rights fight is slated to be fought out tomorrow when the Senate Rules Committee meets to act on proposals to curb filibusters.

The committee agreed today to vote tomorrow afternoon [illegible] series of proposed amendments [illegible] the Senate's cloture rules—[illegible] ments aimed to clear the way [illegible] action on anti-poll tax, [illegible] lynching, fair-employment [illegible] tices and other civil-rights legislation.

A majority of the committee appeared tonight to favor the Hayden-Wherry amendment to give two-thirds of the Senate the power to cut off debate on any pending business.

The committee is virtually certain to vote out this bi-partisan amendment, which would abolish the favorite filibuster device used by Southern Democrats in their long and so far successful fight to block civil-rights legislation.

This device is to filibuster against a motion or some routine business of the Senate rather than the actual legislation opposed. Present rules bar cloture action against any Senate business other than a pending bill.

Favorable committee action on the proposal, sponsored by Senators Carl Hayden, Democrat, of Arizona, and Kenneth S. Wherry, Republican, of Nebraska, will represent only a minor victory in a preliminary skirmish for the Administration Democrats and Republicans, who are equally pledged to enact civil-rights legislation. They will still face these major hurdles:

1. Getting the amendment to the floor. (The Southerners have threatened to bolt their party on other key items in Mr. Truman's program unless action on the rules change is delayed.)

2. Breaking a filibuster against the amendment. (The Southerners are prepared to block any cloture attempt and try to talk the amendment to death. If the filibuster can be broken, the Senate will unquestionably approve the amendment, which requires only a majority vote.)

3. Enacting any civil rights legislation even if the amendment is adopted. (It is by no means sure that a two-thirds majority can be mustered for cloture on the civil rights program.)

Charge Threat to Senate

Southern Democrats fired a series of blasts against the proposed curb on filibusters and the civil rights program this afternoon as the committee concluded a week of hearings on the rules changes. They charged that the Hayden-Wherry amendment—and stringent proposals to invoke cloture by a mere majority vote—would wreck the Senate as the world's last citadel of "free and unlimited debate" and open the way for "abuse of the rights of minorities.

They conceded, on the other hand, that any filibuster could be broken by any determined and "sincere" majority willing to hold the Senate in continuous session.

Senator Tom Connally, of Texas, declared that the Senate should preserve unlimited debate to "offset and counteract" radio propaganda inspired by "some outfit in [illegible] parts of congested areas."

Senator Irving M. Ives, Republican, of New York, asked if the [illegible] year—instead of one every twenty years—if the President's civil rights program were enacted.

Senator Lister Hill, of Alabama, pleaded for unlimited debate in the Senate, arguing that otherwise the character of the United States government would be changed and the rights of minorities would be imperiled.

Rise in Lynchings Forecast

Senator Olin D. Johnston, of South Carolina, warned the committee it was "fooling with dynamite" and predicted that his state would have at least one lynching

Southern Legislators Cry Filibuster Gag Is First In Move To 'Crucify' Dixie

Montgomery Advertiser

Montgomery Alabama

Connally Joins Russell In Condemning 'Unconstitutional' Sectional Bills Aimed At Agitation, Humiliation

By ROGER D. GREENE

WASHINGTON, March 1—(AP)—Southern legislators pumped bitter oratory into the two-day Senate filibuster today with cries that the Truman administration is attempting to "crucify" the South. Wed. 3-2-49

Senator Russell, (D), Georgia, quarterback of the Southern forces, injected that dramatic note into the lengthening debate over a proposal to curb the filibuster—the device of talking a bill to death.

The proposed rules change, backed by President Truman himself, would permit clamping a time limit on debate by a two-thirds vote of senators present on the Senate floor.

Russell declared that the anti-filibuster move was only the first of a series of "sectional bills" designed to "crucify" his section of the nation.

Interrupts Connally

Russell's comment came in the form of an interruption as Senator Connally, (D), Texas, opening the second day of the Dixie bloc's fight, said the attempt to limit debate was "for political purposes and political classes."

Connally said it was being pushed to a showdown as an opening wedge for three controversial bills — anti-poll tax, anti-lynch and the "so-called FEPC" measure, designed to prevent racial discrimination in employment. Wed. 3-2-49

All of them, he shouted, are "unconstitutional."

Then the 71-year-old Texan demanded to know when the South was going to be permitted to rest in peace, without being subjected to what he termed constant agitation, aggravation and humilitation.

"The people of my state want the freedom of debate preserved," he said. "They want the truth to counteract cruel representations that often are foisted upon them."

Blocks Aid Action

Meanwhile, the filibuster blocked the Senate Foreign Relations Committee from making a decision on the $5,580,000,000 European recovery bill.

Under Senate rules, the committee had to cut short its study of the proposed second installment in Marshall Plan funds when the Senate met at noon. Wednesday it will meet early, giving the committee two hours elections.

Senator Tobey (R), New Hampshire, jumped up in quick challenge.

"Very well," Connally said, "I accept the senator's statement. He ought to know the laws of his own state."

This drew laughter from senators and crowded galleries.

Turning next to proposed anti-lynch laws, Connally said this was an attempt to single out one type of crime under special circumstances and make it a Federal offense.

"We're Against Lynching"

"Of course we're against lynching—it's murder," he shouted.

He said lynching has waned to such an extent that there was only one case in the entire country last year.

At that point, Connally wheeled around to face Senator McGrath (D), Rhode Island, chairman of the Democratic National Committee and a backer of the civil rights and anti-filibuster proposals, and demanded:

"What are the rules of the Senate compared to a comfortable margin at the ballot box?"

This was an apparent reference to Southern contentions that the civil rights proposals are designated to attract the votes of Negroes and other minorities.

"I, for one, would never vote to strike down free debate to get a handful of paltry votes, some of them covered with slime and corruption," Connally said scornfully.

No Reason for Change

He argued that the Senate has operated with "remarkable smoothness" for 32 years under the present rules and there is no reason to change them now.

He added: "No filibuster that has not large sections of public support can ever succeed."

Connally spoke for one hour and 25 minutes. As he finished, applause crackled in the gallery. Connally looked up with a smile, waved an arm, and said: "Don't do that. You can't do that."

A responding burst of laughter drew a warning from Vice President Barkley, Senate presiding officer, against any show of approval or disapproval of speeches on the part of spectators.

A threat of late night or even round-the-clock sessions—voiced by Majority Leader Lucas (D), Illinois — failed to develop as the Senate recessed.

Barring the unexpected, the talkathon will continue at noon Wednesday.

Stennis Carries On

Senator Stennis (D), Mississippi, one of the 22 Southerners who have vowed to talk until they win, picked up where Connally left off in the anti-filibuster debate.

Stennis made the longest speech of the day, talking in an easy, free-wheeling style that showed no signs of flagging. He yielded at length to Senator Kem (R), Missouri, who took the floor to announce his support of the time-limit resolution.

"Free debate is man's greatest political invention," said Stennis. "Gag rule is the weapon of a legislative tyrant. The two principles clash in this resolution, and the Senate must make a decision between the two."

Stennis said he admits that the privileges of free debate in the Senate have been abused in the past and "I know it all reason that they will be abused in the future and I expect them to be.

"I can further say that I will guess that some harm can come from this abuse and that some harm may come. But I believe that at worst this harm will certainly be neither serious nor far reaching."

Whatever harm may come, he continued, "will be far far less than the certain harm that will surely flow from this gag rule they now seek to impose."

Rules Compromise Heads for Passage

Herald Tribune

Ives and Morse Attack Plan; Lucas Says He Cannot Control Moves

Thur 3-17-49

New York, N.Y.

By David McConnell

WASHINGTON, March 16.—Administration Democrats abandoned hope tonight for passage of strong civil rights legislation at this session of Congress as a runaway Senate edged slowly toward certain passage of a compromise anti-filibuster resolution.

The [redacted] recessed at 8:05 p. m. until 11 a. m. tomorrow, when discussion of the compromise resolution will continue. Leaders hope that a vote on the measure will be taken tomorrow.

Senator Scott W. Lucas, Democrat, of Illinois, the majority leader gave up the cloture struggle today with the assertion that adoption of the resolution will mean there is not a "Chinaman's chance" of passing the Civil Rights program wanted by the Administration.

Senator Lucas, embarrassed and angered admitted on the Senate floor that the Democrats had gotten so out of hand that he could not tell what the members would do next as a result of the new coalition of Republicans and Democrats.

"New Political Party"

Senator Lucas's loss of control over the Democratic majority became so evident that at one point Senator Wayne Morse, Republican, of Oregon, asserted that backers of the compromise resolution constituted a "de facto new political party."

The Administration's plight developed last night when the sixteen-day-old filibuster of Southern Senators ended abruptly with the anouncement that fifty-two Democrats and Republicans had agreed to a compromise on an anti-filibuster resolution. Signed by twenty-two Republicans, eighteen Southern Democrats and twelve Democrats from border states and the North and West, the compromise constituted a watered-down version of the bi-partisan resolution which provoked the filibuster. Thur 3-17-49

The compromise would apply cloture, or the cuting off of debate, to all Senate matters by a vote of two-thirds of the upper chamber's membership. With a full Senate of ninety-six, this would mean that sixty-four members would have to vote for cloture if it were to be applied. As a safeguard for the Southerners the resolution also permits unlimited debate on any future attempt to revise the Senate rules. Originally Republicans and Administration Democrats provoked the filibuster by sponsoring a resolution to apply cloture to all Senate matters if two-thirds of those members present andn voting approved.

No Amendments Permitted

The backers of the compromise are committed to vote only for the substitute resolution and reject all amendments. For this reason onslaughts against the proposal this afternoon and tonight were, while admittedly impotent, highly vocal.

Shortly after the Senate opened at noon today with its customary prayer, Administration Democrats pressed with day-and-night sessions of the Senate to break the and such liberal Republicans as Senator Irving M. Ives, of New York, and Senator Morse voiced promise resolution a "step back- the [redacted] at the compromise wards." Senator Ives asserted that by passing the compromise "we are surrending all hope of obtaining subsequently any civil rights legislation which would be worthy of the name." He expressed regret that the Administration had not

Senator Lucas from the other side accused Senator Kenneth S. Wherry, of Nebraska, the minority leader, of "abject surrender." Senator Wherry had jointly sponsored the original anti-filibuster resolution with

Carl Hayden, Democrat, of Arizona. Both are backing the Senate Hubert H. Humphrey, Democrat, of Minnesota, announced that he was circulating a petition among members of the Senate pledging them civil rights legislation at this session of Congress. He did not say how many signers he expected to obtain.

Whose Victory?

With the defeat of plans to gain effective cloture, combined with other reversals in President Truman's program, it is plain that one chapter in the history of the present Congress has come to an end. Until now there had been among the President's supporters first an expectation and then at least a hope that he would be able to drive through Congress the measures characterized as the Fair Deal. These hopes were, in one sense, always an illusion. They assumed that the President had become overnight a masterful leader, that he had with him a united party, and that he had received from the people a clear mandate. The events of the past week make these assumptions no longer even remotely tenable, and they open up the whole question of how some coherent and constructive measures can be salvaged from the confusion, the deadlocks and the party divisions which now prevail.

It would be ridiculous to pretend that from this severe setback to President Truman either the people as a whole or the Republican party in particular has gained an immediate advantage. The triumph of the filibuster has meant the impossibility during the foreseeable future of civil rights legislation, and it has entrenched in the Senate rules a procedure which can do great mischief. For the Republicans it has meant being placed in an ambiguous position on the issue of civil rights—an issue on which, above all others, they should be united and unequivocal; and it has meant the division of their party between those who stand with the Southern dissidents and those who do not. A few of the Republicans who voted to defeat the crucial Barkley ruling undoubtedly shared with Senator Vandenberg a genuine desire to curb filibustering and a deep uneasiness over the company in which they found themselves. But many, it must be recognized, were entirely willing to make common cause with the most reactionary Democratic elements; and these cut themselves off from men like Lodge, like Ives, like Baldwin, like Aiken, who speak for what is best in the Republican party.

With the Truman program stopped dead in its tracks, with the opposition divided, there is a disposition to see the initiative and the power swinging to the conservative Republicans in conjunction with the Southern Democrats. This would in our view be an unrelieved misfortune. It is difficult to conceive anything positive or constructive emerging from such an amalgamation. It would be impossible to imagine the Republican party going before the voters in the next elections and arousing support or enthusiasm by pointing out that in all essentials it is one with the Southern wing of the opposition. Something better is expected of the Republicans than this; and if the opportunity is to be seized of curbing the excesses of the Fair Deal program, of introducing some reason, order and moderation into its proposals, it will have to be done by others than those who now claim the victory.

Fri 3-18-49

It can only be done by the forward-looking Republicans in the Senate (and in the House as well) who have kept a straight path from the beginning of the session—who have stood together for civil rights reforms and have been working out a sane, practicable stand on labor, social legislation and other issues. These liberal Republicans have now their chance and their responsibility. Stepping into the breach left by the breakdown of Democratic plans, they can give assurance to the nation of a fruitful legislative program. Winning back their colleagues from the misalliance with the South, they can do an incalculable service for their party.

The Filibuster Issue

The American people strongly disapprove of sheer, arbitrary obstruction of the ordinary processes of majority rule. This newspaper joins in such disapproval. But American sentiment and practice also strongly uphold full freedom of expression and the protection of rights of minority opposition. Not infrequently in our democratic system of government it is difficult to reconcile procedure with these two basic conceptions.

It is probably impossible to work out exact rules that will always adequately meet the requirements of these two principles. It is upon the consciences and spirits of our people and their representatives that we must rely fundamentally for the maintenance of real democracy and liberty in dealing with complex situations involving both majority and minority rights.

That is the case in the present struggle in the Senate over a suggested change in the rules governing debate.

* * *

The administration seeks clear establishment of authority to shut off debate at any time by a two-thirds vote. Such a rule now applies during actual consideration of a bill. But it has been held that it does not apply to a motion to take up a proposal. A move to take up the proposed rule change is now being opposed by Southern senators. They believe it is primarily motivated by the administration's desire to enact its highly controversial civil rights proposals.

Southern senators hold that enactment of these proposals would be profoundly disturbing to the South and to the country. So they are planning to maintain their opposition to the utmost limits by talking as long as they can against the motion to take up the rule issue.

They are, of course, delaying Senate action. It is to be assumed that the administration is confident that a majority of the Senate favors the change and its civil rights proposals, although exact sentiment on the civil rights measures themselves is far from clear. The Southerners will face widespread criticism as obstructionists. But forceful points can be made in their behalf.

* * *

The two-thirds provision in this rule proposal is another of many evidences that our system does not always operate simply by majority rule. Minority safeguards—as, for instance, in the adoption of constitutional amendments—are familiar in our procedure.

A two-thirds rule conceivably could be used to shut off opposition unduly. Surely its use would call for great discretion. It can be argued that it is better to rely on presently available means of meeting excessive debate tactics that to run the risks of an excessive cloture rule. Filibuster by a minority cannot be indefinitely effective.

Wed 3-9-49

It is obvious that the administration, in pressing the civil rights proposals, shares the responsibility for the present situation. No strong majority sentiment appears among the people for these particular proposals, although there is such a sentiment for the broad principles of justice for all citizens.

Why should the administration invoke such an intense and costly battle now over such questionable proposals?

It would serve the country much better if it pressed instead for a compromise and constructive solution of the whole matter.

President Says Dixiecrats Not Good Democrats

He's Still Hopeful Of 'Fair Deal' Action By Three-Party Congress

BY ERNEST B. VACCARO

KEY WEST, Fla., March 18—(AP)—President Truman turned the other cheek today to a rebellious Congress, but declared Dixiecrat opponents are not good Democrats.

In a news conference, he clung steadfastly to the hope of enactment of the major part of his "fair deal" program through what he termed a three-party Congress.

* * *

THE THREE PARTIES, he said, are the Democrats, the Republicans and the Dixiecrats.

"What happened to the Progressive Party?" he was asked.

"Ask Bob LaFollette," the president came back, "he buried it."

"Do you mean that Dixiecrats are not good Democrats," the president was pressed.

Of course they are not good Democrats, he came back.

But otherwise, the president spoke like a man who wasn't mad at anybody.

Even the tabling by the Senate armed services committee of his nomination of Mon C. Wallgren for chairman of the National Security Resources Board failed to draw fire, provoking only a no comment.

He held out again the threat that he may stump the country by train in an effort to save his legislative proposals. But at the same time, he said he had nothing to add to his Feb. 24 speech at Washington's Jefferson-Jackson Day dinner.

* * *

NO DETAILS FOR THE TRIP have been worked out, he said, and he has no announcement to make There are no further plans than those announced on Feb. 24.

Does he still see hope for the enactment of any of his civil rights proposals at this session?

That matter, the president said, has not reached a conclusion.

As for his setbacks in Congress, he attributed them to the three-party system in Congress, but he still has hope, he said, that Congress will see the light. He thought most of them will function all right. After all, he said, the new Congress has been in actual session little more than a month after organization, and we ought to give Congress a chance to act.

To the suggestion he might call a special Summer session to act on civil rights, Mr. Truman said it is a little early to talk of a special session.

The president said he did not regard the rebuffs from Congress as beginning of a groundswell against his fair deal program in its entirety. He said the acts have no significance in that regard at all.

He wouldn't comment on House passage of an administration opposed local option rent control bill.

He is going over the legislative program at the White House Monday, he said, with Vice President Barkley, Speaker Rayburn, Senate Majority Leader Lucas and House Majority Leader McCormack. And he is meeting with the cabinet later that same day.

Dixie Senators Bag Test In Fight for Filibuster; See Civil Rights Beaten

Atlanta Constitution
Atlanta, Georgia
Sat. 3-12-49

WASHINGTON—(AP)—Southern Senators won a major test last night in their battle to carry on their 11-day-old filibuster.

A motion by Democratic Leader Lucas, Illinois, aimed at an eventual halt to the talkathon, was defeated on a vote that split party lines wide open. The vote was 46 to 41.

This was a heavy blow to the Truman Administration, which has been battling for a change in Senate rules so filibusters can be curbed.

Southerners, fighting to retain the filibuster weapon so they can talk President Truman's civil rights legislation to death, were jubilant. They figured they had the anti-lynch, anti-poll tax and other civil rights legislation as good as whipped.

The parliamentary tangle that led up to the test was complicated. This was the sequence of events:

1. Last year Sen. Vandenberg, Republican, Michigan, then the presiding officer, decided that under the rules no limit can be clamped on debate on a motion.

2. Eleven days ago Leader Lucas moved to take up a proposal, sponsored by Northern Democrats and Republicans, to change the rules so two-thirds of those present could limit any debate. The Southerners started filibustering.

3. Thursday night, Vice President Barkley ruled that, even without a change in rules, a two-thirds majority could limit debate on Lucas' motion.

4. Sen. Russell, Democrat, Georgia, leading the Southern forces, appealed Barkley's ruling to the Senate membership.

5. Lucas moved last night to lay Russell's appeal on the table.

It was this last-named Lucas motion which was beaten down.

WASHINGTON— (AP) —The Administration acknowledged temporary defeat in the great filibuster battle and sought to throw in the sponge last night—but Southerners went right on filibustering early today.

Moreover, Republicans decided to try to keep the fight going, and thus block an Administration move to call it off for the time being.

Shortly before midnight attendants brought cots into the cloak rooms off the main chamber, apparently in anticipation of what may be the Senate's first all-night session this year.

Southern Democrats sworn to defeat civil rights bills and Northern Republicans who advocate such legislation apparently were joining to block the Truman Democrats' attempt to lay the fight aside.

However, the two forces arrayed against the Administration gave altogether different reasons for their actions. Jnls. 3-15-49

The Southerners said they feared the move of the Truman Democrats was only strategic. They suspected the Administration would revive later in this congressional session its attempt to change the Senate rules to make it easier to curb filibusters and thus pass civil rights bills.

The Southerners seemingly hoped that if they kept the filibuster going awhile they could wring some sort of binding concession from the Administration men. As one Southerner put it, the Dixie senators wanted to "hold the Administration's feet to the fire."

As long as the filibuster went on the Administration had no chance to get an extension of the rent controls expiring March 31. Likewise, the second installment of the Marshall Plan and other major bills would be bottled up.

Republicans denounced last night's move by the leadership of the Truman Democrats as a "surrender."

Earlier in the evening, Democratic Leader Lucas, of Illinois, acknowledged that the Southerners had already won a thumping victory. He announced that the Administration would halt for the time being its drive to change the Senate rules so that a two thirds majority can curb debate on any subject. Jnls. 3-15-49

"We are aware the filibuster could run on for weeks," he said. "They have the manpower to do it."

Lucas' plan was to move to adjourn the Senate instead of recessing it as has been done during the filibuster. This parliamentary device would wipe the slate clean of the question now being discussed. Then the Senate could go on to other business.

But Sen. Taft, Republican, Ohio, went into a huddle with the GOP Policy Committee which he heads and announced later the Committeemen had decided to vote against adjournment.

On the Senate floor Sen. Ellender, Democrat, Louisiana, current ballcarrier for the Southern bloc, had been speaking for more than 12 hours, and showed no sign of weakening.

There were reports that the Democratic leaders had made the decision to call a temporary halt after tepephone consultation with President Truman at Key West, Florida.

Yesterday, many Southerners were reported favorable to a compromise under which two-thirds or 64 of the whole Senate (not just those voting) could curb debate. But last night Truman Democrats turned this down.

Sen. George, of Georgia, one of the Southern leaders, said he was opposed to adjourning and dropping the fight.

"The program to adjourn means that as soon as they get the pressure legislation out of the way, they'll take up the fight again. They haven't kept faith with us," he said.

Anti-Filibuster Leaders to Try Night Sessions

Herald Tribune
New York, N.Y.
Mon. 3-7-49

They Fear Threat to E. C. A. and Rent Controls May Force Southern Victory

By David McConnell

WASHINGTON, March 6.—Administration leaders were frank to admit today that it is any one's guess whether they will be able to break the week-old filibuster of Southern Senators without jeopardizing the passage of other important Administration measures.

With the odds currently favoring the talking Senators, Administration leaders went forward today with plans to hold the Senate in night sessions this week in an attempt to wear down the filibuster. Many leading Democrats, while publicly proclaiming their determination to break the filibuster, privately were expressing concern over the fate of other vital parts of their party's campaign commitments.

They added the situation up as follows:

1. When the civil rights program, primary object of the filibuster, is balanced against other major items in the Democrats' platform it is not weighty enough to tip the scales in favor of an all-out, lengthy fight.

2. If the Democrats let rent control expire on March 31 because of the filibuster they will be deluged by protests, especially from the large metropolitan centers where housing remains a major problem. Although the demands for action on President Truman's strong civil rights program come in a large part from the large cities, Democrats feel the financial pinch of a sudden boosting of rents would result in a storm of protests from the same areas. News 3-7-49

3. The Economic Co-operation Administration's appropriation of $5,050,000,000 last year expires on April 3 and many Senators feel that any delay in renewing the European aid commitments might provide explosive fuel for the Russians in the cold war. As of last Thursday the Administration had committed all but $274,582,000 of its current appropriation. The E. C. A. is requesting $5,580,000,000 to carry it from April 3 through June 30, 1950.

The Democrats' predicament is further darkened by increasing pressure from the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations for a down payment, in the form of action on repeal of the Taft-Hartley law, on what the unions feel is a campaign debt. Labor also wants passage of legislation increasing the current minimum wage of 40 cents to $1 an hour. An Administration bill providing for a 75-cent minimum is under consideration.

With the legislative log jam piling up each day the Southerners continue their filibuster, Senator Lucas, of Illinois, the majority leadere, warned again tonight that it may be necessary to hold Congress in session well beyond the July 31 deadline now contemplated. Senator Lucas also announced that the Senate will recess tomorrow in tribute to Senator J. Melville Broughton, Democrat, of North Carolina, who died this morning at Bethesda Naval Hospital. News 3-7-49

The Democratic leader remained uncertain as to how late he would insist the Senate remain in night session, but he repeated the assertion that the Administration forces were continuing in their efforts to break the filibuster. He promised last week to demand night sessions starting Tuesday.

Whether the Democratic party leaders can break the filibuster or not it appeared virtually certain that the Administration will have to postpone until early summer any attempt to put through its civil rights program. Although the filibuster is aimed at Administration attempts to pave the way for the civil rights program outlawing extensive talking on the Senate floor, each of the civil rights measures undoubtedly will come in for extensive debate before a vote can be taken.

Both the House and Senate will continue to prepare legislation in committees although most Senate groups must adjourn at noon to permit members to attend the filibuster sessions.

Is Our Real Voice Too Late?

of a Federal police system. The fact that he probably is correct makes the tragedy of the South's position the more acute.

Here, at last, is the best the South has in Congress speaking for the South. There are no Bilbos, no Rankins, no shysters. But, unfortunately for the South and the nation, this comes a little late. For years the best the South had sat back and left

politics and

unpredictable effect on our

The bell has rung for the first round of our Government.

We agree, too, that Sen. George is very likely correct in his opening statement in the Senate of the United States.

We agree with Sen. George, that the poll tax legislation is unconstitutional and the anti-lynch and federally policed FEPC would mark the beginning

Returns Victory, Talks On

Atlanta Constitution

such fights to its demagogues of little reputation even in their own communities. The legal and constitutional problems have never been presented as the real reasons for opposition.

Never before have spokesmen for the South advanced as did Sen. George, in a really masterful presentation, the intelligent and easily understood analysis of the present lack of a limit on debate. Always in the past we have had as our spokesmen the men who cried "nigger! nigger!" and who flooded the Senate with vulgar and coarse language, offensive to all. The inevitable result was that slowly but surely the South came to be known by its spokesmen. The South was made to appear as an enemy of any social reform. The South was presented as a region dedicated to injustice. We allowed these Bilbos actually to defend lynching and mob violence. We did not rebuke them as they put on us a false face.

Now, at this late date, we have pushed what remains of this kind into the background. Sen. George and Mississippi's Stennis are typical of the men now speaking for the South.

The next few days will determine whether or not the South has waited too late. The tragedy is that we did delay until now presentation of the Southern position which has integrity and logic—as opposed to offensive vulgarity.

There are two proposals. One would allow the Senate to halt debate with a majority vote. Another requires a two thirds majority. The conservatives of both parties favor the latter. The Southern Democrats oppose both.

This again is a weakness, perhaps fatal, to the filibuster. In filibustering the South offers no program. The South may win. Only time and the degree of determination on the other side will tell.

Talk of a split is not accurate. The split is there. It has been there all along. It will not be worsened by the present debate.

Meanwhile, all legislation will wait. That, too, will be used to arraign public opinion against the Southern position. Housing, rent control, education, social security—even civil rights—will remain on the shelf until the historic fight, now in progress, is resolved.

Precious Heritage, Says Long of Filibuster

WASHINGTON—(AP)—Sen. Russell Long, Democrat, Louisianna, whose father made filibuster history nearly two decades ago, told the Senate yesterday the right to filibuster was "one of our most precious heritages."

The 30-year-old son of the late Sen. Huey Long was making his first Senate speech. He carried the South's battle against an anti-filibuster change in the Senate's rules.

In the same Chamber, Huey Long, talking of "pot likker" and other matters, made a long personal filibuster in the early days of the Roosevelt Administration in battling for an amendment to the National Recovery Act.

While the younger Long carried on the South's present filibuster to save their filibuster, there were these other developments:

1. President Truman nudged the Senate indirectly to get on to a decision on the matter. Sen. Elbert Thomas, Democrat, Utah, said after a talk with the President that Mr. Truman hoped the Senate would decide its fight promptly.

2. Sen. Langer, Republican, North Dakota, lined up with the Southerners in the fight. He said in a statement he favored civil rights measures but feared small States or minority groups would suffer if unlimited debate ended in the Senate.

3. Sen. Lucas, of Illinois, the Democratic leader, said he would not try to force a showdown today, but might by this weekend or Monday. The move Lucas contemplates would be an attempt to invoke cloture, or debate limitation, on his pending motion to take up the proposed rule change.

For Lucas to succeed, Vice President Barkley would have to reverse a ruling Sen. Vandenberg made last year. Vandenberg, at that time the Senate's presiding officer, ruled debate could not be limited on a motion.

The Guest Writer

Mr. Truman Unhappy

(From The Nashville Banner)

If Mr. TRUMAN undertakes a presidential sashay into the hustings to "tell the people on Congress" every time he encounters rebuff and experiences disappointment by the lawmaking body, he is liable to be away from home considerably from now on. And if, as hinted in his "JEFFERSON-JACKSON" speech, he entertains ambitions as a "purger," he might profitably read up on how such things usually turn out, if, indeed, he doesn't remember his own experience when he essayed that role the last time.

Mr. TRUMAN is unhappy about it all. It just hasn't turned out according to specifications, this "mandate" business. The label is on the bottle, scrawled there by Mr. TRUMAN's own hand, and he has quaffed heavily of it—only to discover that his quaffing has no effect at all on Congress.

Congress hasn't repealed the Taft-Hartley Law. It has manifested no delight for his high tax formula as a stepping stone to Utopia, or his Socialistic program of Government-over-all as the gate to economic and political bliss. It hasn't come to heel with an enactment of his force bill, and he's grinding his uppers against his lowers about that. All in all, with the exception of his raise, Congress has done nothing to instill itself in Mr. T.'s bosom, and his reflexes are positively violent.

Should Mr. T. make a sashay of the sort hinted, he necessarily would confine it in its speech-making opportunities to those premises wherein his language of indignation would be appropriately received. There would be no point, naturally, in delivering himself of furious rhetoric in areas that didn't echo sympathetically; and that being true, he could acquire the same exhilarating effect by simply reading his fan mail, or consulting those surrounding him who will readily agree that he is a great man and Congress a cad and what-chamacallit.

Or, if he wants to get really stirred—and test the validity of that "mandate" he might vary his itinerary (we assume as a "Democrat" he won't permanently shun the Democratic area) and come South to register a complaint on Congress' treatment of his force bill. Maybe he could launch a "purge" of Southern congressmen who oppose it.

Congress is the law-making body—531 representatives of the people; its functions properly outside the domain of executive responsibility. Its sin in foregoing executive dictation is less than would have been its sin in surrendering to it.

progressed more rapidly than he has in any other section.

What the South needs to do is to tell the balance of the country about the "affirmative program which has obtained marvelous results, particularly during the past two decades."

The truth of the matter is that in the 13 Southern States many progressive steps have been taken and many forward-looking programs have been initiated to better the condition of the Negroes and both white and Negro leaders are fully aware of the advancements that have come about. The Negroes have better educational advantages than ever before. They have splendid opportunities in business and industry and there is a rapidly improving health program for them.

As the South improves the economic, educational and industrial standards of its white citizens, the Negroes are advanced accordingly.

If the do-gooders in other parts of the country will keep hands off for a time, the South will solve all of its problems, racial and otherwise.

TURNER ROCKWELL

The South Is Solving Its Own Problems

Valdosta Times

The debate, or thunder if you choose to call it that, now under way in the Senate over President Truman's civil rights program—although this is not the direct issue involved—has brought forth a lot of interesting and timely information as to the progress that has been made in the South in the pending proposal threatens to throttle the rights of the States and individuals and place in the hands of the Federal Government complete control over many activities that are wholly individual.

The Southern Senators have enlisted the support of a number of Northern Republicans and this support has not come about altogether by reason of opposition on the part of the Republicans to proposals from a Democratic President. There are a number of Northern Republicans who feel that the Southern Democrats are fighting for a principle and that this principle must be supported.

In this connection, Sen. Stennis, Democrat, of Mississippi, has assembled a mass of information which shows that the South is making progress toward a solution of its Negro problem and that the Negroes in the South are receiving more sympathetic aid than they are in any other part of the nation.

As Sen. Stennis contends, the great trouble is that the rest of the country is not aware of the progress that the Negro has made in the South and there are many erroneous beliefs and many conditions about conditions in the South and the problems that beset this area.

Throughout all the debate, however, there runs the question of racial relations. There are numerous charges that the South has sought to oppress the Negro and has not given him a chance to grow and move ahead. Of course, such contentions are not based on fact and much of this belief springs from lack of information.

The finger of scorn is pointed to the "backward South" when in reality on a comparable basis, the Negro in the South has

FOES OF FILIBUSTER DELAY SHOWDOWN ON 'GAG' RULE MOVE

New York Times

Fear Hasty Action Against Southerners Might Help Their Closure Fight

34

ACTION SLATED NEXT WEEK

GOP Avoids Taking Party Stand—Taft Says Members Must Vote Convictions

By WILLIAM S. WHITE

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, March 2—The northern Democratic - Republican Senate coalition put off today, in fear that action now might harm its cause, its frst scheduled sortie in force against the Southerners in the filibuster fight.

Leaders of the Republican side of the alliance formally abstained from offering any assurance that their party colleagues generally could be counted on to stand solidly with Administration Democrats even when the showdown comes with the Southerners. It is slated for next week.

The Southerners, who have the advantage of being deeply allied on a single program of opposition, went forward quietly on the floor with their movement of resistance to the proposal, which is the center of the controversy.

This is an amendment to harden the closure, or "gag," rule against filibusters—or the tactic of deliberately time-consuming and not necessarily relevant debate to prevent Senate action. It is a weapon that the Southerners have used, and want to use again, against President Truman's civil rights program.

The position tonight was that the bi-partisan coalition was still unwilling to stigmatize as having itself became a filibuster this national counter-attack against the anti-filibuster rule. The Southerners were publicly committed in [illegible] filibuster [illegible]

they could, but their antagonists believed that it was not feasible to take the position as yet that a filibuster was in fact at hand, particularly since much of the day was taken up by non-Southern speeches.

Accordingly, Senator Scott W. Lucas of Illinois, Democratic majority leader and the Truman Administration's spokesman, decided to withhold until Monday the filing of a petition seeking to present the present and alleged impossible closure rule on the Southerners.

Mr. Lucas acted, it was said, after several Senators, including some who have taken a leading position for stiffening the closure procedure, had declined to sign the petition as yet.

They said that action so soon, before there had been any indisputable indication of irrelevancy or prolonged time-killing, would create sympathy for the Southerners, who from the start had argued that they were about to be unfairly "gagged."

Some members of the pro-closure forces privately indicated, in fact, that they feared the outcome of a test now, since the Southerners might successfully appeal to uncommitted Senators that they were being roughly handled.

All the day's events thus indicated a rather strong present position for the Southerners. They would have preferred, however, a decisive struggle this week, rather than next, on the Lucas closure petition, and for the same reasons that their opponents decided to withhold action.

Decision Up to Barkley

Mr. Lucas' thrust, when it does come, will put up to Vice President Alben W. Barkley the most significant decision in the struggle to date. This is due to the fact that Lucas' petition will seek to put on closure where, under the existing interpretations as issued last year by Senator Arthur H. Vandenberg, Republican, of Michigan, as the presiding officer, it may not be put down in any circumstances.

The Southerners are attacking a "motion" to bring up a measure—the proposed rules change—and not that measure itself. Mr. Vandenberg held with declared reluctance that motions were immune.

If Mr. Barkley is to shut off the Southerners, therefore, he must reverse Mr. Vandenberg. When the Senate's Republican Policy Committee met today it had this circumstance before it.

Mr. Vandenberg, a member of the committee, earlier released his party colleagues from any obligation of loyalty they might feel to vote to uphold him if his ruling should be repudiated by the Vice President.

Thu. 3-3-49

"I want the Republicans to vote the way they think is right," he said, "without any thought of whether they are upholding me or Mr. Barkley."

The policy committee, which met for an hour and a half, took no position at all, Senator Robert A. Taft, Republican, of Ohio, said, adding:

"This is not a party matter. People have fixed and different opinions about the rules. I don't know how one can ask them to vote against their convictions." He declined to say how he would vote himself.

During the day, Senator William Langer, Republican of North Dakota, declared that he would vote to override Mr. Barkley if he departed from the Vandenberg interpretation.

"My entire record shows that I am in favor of the civil rights program," he said, "but this proposed (rules) change will militate against the influence of the small states."

Other Republicans were known to be ready to go along with the Vandenberg ruling.

Lucas Forces Face Test

This brought into question the ability of the Lucas forces, which include a substantial number of Republicans, to sustain any decision that would put the closure down on the Southerners so long as motions are involved. It is to make it plain that motions are not to be immune that the pending rules amendment was drafted.

Private checks among the Southerners led them to claim twenty-six "reasonably" certain Democratic votes, in addition to an unknown but not negligible number of Republican ballots. If they could marshal as many as thirty-three, they could defeat or indefinitely delay the closure amendment, regardless of what might happen in intervening matters.

Under the most favorable of circumstances the bipartisan coalition would require two-thirds to put on closure, even if "motions" were successfully declared under the ban. Only by closure, or by wearing the Southerners out physically to the possible fatal harm of much else in the Truman legislative program, could the coalition even reach a vote on the amendment itself.

As to the Senate floor, the scene there today was again one of ill-attended discussion in which three Southern Senators talked against the closure alteration.

They were Senators Russell Long of Louisiana, Clyde R. Hoey of North Carolina and Spessard L. Holland of Florida. Mr. Long, who led off, asserted that the closure stiffening would "destroy one of the great balances in our Republican form of government—the right of unlimited debate. The other speeches were in similar vein.

Mr. Long spoke for fifty-six minutes, Mr. Hoey for one hours and twenty-five minutes, and Mr. Holland, who had not finished at the day's recess, for forty-five minutes. This brought the total time consumed so far by all Southern speakers on the issue, from Monday onward, to eight hours and sixteen minutes.

Other speakers today, on non-Southern and non-filibuster issues, took one hour and fifty minutes. They included two of the most active advocates of the Truman Civil Rights program, Senators Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota and James Murray of Montana, both Democrats.

FILIBUSTER GOES ON; FOES MOVING TODAY FOR BARKLEY RULING

New York Times

Lucas Will Circulate Petition Seeking to Silence Southerners by Use of Present Code

Wed. 3-2-49

TRUMAN SETBACK RISKED

Civil Rights

Democrats Fear GOP Allies Would Desert Closure Edict in Vote by Full Senate

By WILLIAM S. WHITE

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, March 1—From noon to dusk today, with but two brief intervals, Southern Senators cried out against the proposed hardening of the closure, or "gag," rule against filibusters.

All was put in readiness for the beginning tomorrow of an effort by the northern Democratic-Republican coalition arrayed against them to silence them.

The ultimate issues of the great controversy—whether and when the Southerners would in fact be stilled and whether the Truman Administration's general legislative program would ultimately suffer—were obscured in opaque sus-

Sixteen Signers Necessary

Tomorrow Senator Scott W. Lucas of Illinois, the Democratic leader and the Administration's spokesman, will begin circulating a petition, for bipartisan signature, proposing that the present closure rule be applied as a step toward making a stiffer one. This will be a start toward the frist showdown.

It likewise will be the official signal that the bipartisan majority now considers that the Southern campaign to save the right of the filibuster—the tactic of unending debate to prevent action—has itself become a filibuster warranting the "gag."

The Lucas petition, when signed by sixteen Senators, will require Vice President Alben W. Barkley, as the Senate's presiding officer, to decide whether the Southerners in any present circumstances may be shut off at all.

The Southerners are attacking now a "motion" to bring up a measure, the rules amendment, and not the measure itself, and under existing intrepretations closure may not be put on in such cases.

Indeed, it is this very circumstance that is the reason for the proposed amendment, which would spell it out that closure could be thrust down hereafter at any time, on a motion, a measure, or anything else, by a two-third vote of the Senate.

Mr. Barkley's finding, which may not be handed down until early next week, will be subject to appeal to the whole Senate, no matter which way he rules.

If he should hold that the closure process was applicable presently to the Southerners, and if this should be sustained on appeal to the Senate, he would reverse a ruling of last year by the then Republican presiding officer, Senator Arthur H. Vandenberg of Michigan.

Mr. Vandenberg held with declared regret that he was powerless under the precedents to let the so-called "gag" go down in such circumstances. The effect was to leave the Southern opposition immune from closure in wide areas in its successful efforts to prevent a vote on the Truman civil rights program, which is thus wholly intermeshed with the rules fight. It is for the preservation of this immunity that the Southerners struggle now.

Because of Senator Vandenberg's decision, the Administration's Democratic supporters spent

pense

Mr. Barkley's ruling if it meant a pile-up of other legislation in this program.

It likewise would raise the question for the Administration, which left the South-[illegible] authority, that the Administration immune to the "gag" matter of motions, would be a heavy blow to President Truman civil-rights program in this position was reported Congress and go to the country. Lucas, gave the signal with the argument that it could campaign to harden clo-never pass until the Republicans begin at once and bewere retired from office.

Connally Flings Challenge

to reject Mr. B[illegible] should run cou[illegible] Vandenberg.

A defeat for the Administra[illegible] tion's forces wh[illegible] erners still im[illegible] on the matter [illegible] be a heavy blo[illegible] man. The Pres[illegible] day, as his pos[illegible] by Senator Luca[illegible] that the campa[illegible] sure should beg[illegible] pressed to a dec[illegible] information, as considering voting

34

Democrats Show Concern

No secret was made that in high [illegible] cuss all eventualities.

The policy committee could not [illegible] man. The Pres[illegible] day, as his pos[illegible] by Senator Luca[illegible] that the campa[illegible] sure should beg[illegible] pressed to a dec[illegible] information, as considering voting

All these heavy considerations were in the background during the day, so far as the Senate floor was concerned.

There, Senator Tom Connally of Texas, chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, and Senator John C. Stennis of Mississippi carried forward the Southern counter-attack against the rules change.

Mr. Connally, a white-haired veteran of 71, spoke for an hour and twenty-five minutes. Mr. Stennis held the floor from 2:39 P. M. to 5:30 P. M., or just under three hours.

All the intervening time was occupied in indispensable routine and by two non-Southern speeches. One of these, by Senator Wayne L. Morse, Republican, of Oregon, dealt with labor legislation. In the other, Senator James P. Kem, Republican, of Missouri, declared his intention to vote for the hardened closure rule.

"In my opinion," Mr. Kem told the Senate, "the right of so-called unlimited debate has been abused to the point where the Senate on occasion has made itself ridiculous not only in the eyes of our own people but in the eyes of the world."

Senator Connally asserted that all the President's civil-rights proposals—the poll-tax repealer, the anti-lynching bill and so on—were "obviously unconstitutional."

Facing Senator J. Howard McGrath of Rhode Island, chairman of the Democratic National Committee, Mr. Connally shouted:

"What are the rules of the Senate compared to a comfortable margin at the ballot box?

"I shall not vote to wipe out, to strike down, the freedom and liberty of debate in the Senate in order to obtain a handful of paltry votes—paltry votes, some of them covered with slime and corruption," he cried.

Sees Minorities Menaced

Senator Stennis asserted that the drive to change the rule was being pressed by "pressure groups." He contended that unlimited Senate debate was so imbedded in the American system of government that to abridge it would be to "strike at the fundamental structure itself."

Arguing that such debate was the greatest existing protection for minorities, he went on:

"The South is to be the first victim in this change, a change to destroy its social order. But who is to be second? Organized labor, do you wish to take your place on the list? Those who oppose you will be in much better poition to gag you, once this rule is passed, than they are now.

"And what about the religious groups—the Protestants, the Catholics and all the rest? Do you want to be on the list?

"Your great place of refuge now is the floor of the United States Senate, because of the forum it is. What makes it great is the

Filibuster Champion Former 5-Mile Runner at Tulane

By Morris Siegel
Post Reporter

Allen Ellender, the U. S. Senate's new marathon champion, comes by his new honor quite naturally—he was a marathon runner in college.

The former Tulane University five-miler hung up a new record in the noun, adjective and verb league yesterday when he spoke for 12 hours and 21 minutes without getting off his feet once.

And he wasn't tired at the finish, because he trained for the event.

"I underwent a dehydration process for two days before I spoke," the 58-year-old Senator from Louisiana explained. "Result was that I needed only two glasses of water and a glass of orange juice for my filibuster speech. You just can't go into these things unprepared any more than a fighter can go into a fight without training.

"I started training last Friday when Senator Russell told me he was throwing me against the opposition Monday. I drank only four glasses of water Saturday and Sunday and trimmed my diet down to sandwiches. I was in great shape."

The haranguer from Houma, La., likened his performance to that of a baseball pitcher who worked an 18-inning ball game.

"We bot hhad to pace ourselves. The pitcher had to bear down on the good hitters in the lineup—the boys who could hit one over the fence and break up the game. And I had to be ready for the parliamentary tricks the opposition threw at me. One little slip and I'd have been batted out of the box. But I had it in the pinches.

"I was prepared to go 20 hours, but Senator Russell—he's our coach in this battle—asked me to stop speaking four times and I finally gave in on the fourth request. Guess you'd have to say they walked me intentionally."

In addition to the two glasses of water and one glass of orange juice he drank, Senator Ellender also ate seven chocolate bars and "a few tablets of asperex—they kept my throat lubricated."

"Felt comfortable all the time," he said. "I was a little hoarse at the finish, but that's all. I knew it would be a question of stamina and that's something I've got. When I was a youngster back home it was nothing for me to walk five or 10 miles a day and eat only a sandwich."

Senator Ellender is a small man. He weighs 166 and stands 5 feet 8, but "I'm pretty durable. Guess what I ate when I got through—One apple, an dsix pecans, that's all."

Ellender's non-stop session started shortly after noon Monday and ended at 12:47 a. m. Tuesday. The 12 hours and 21 minutes he consumed eclipsed the record held by the late Senator Smoot of Utah, in 1915, for going without a quorum call, which gives the speaker a rest of about 20 minutes.

The new champ stayed fast at his desk, never moving, and speaking in the same tone a civic club secretary uses in reading minutes of a previous meeting. His voice was even and he was as uninterested in what he was reading as were the Senators who made pretense of listening to him.

But He Stuck it Out!

MAYS

Dixiecrats Maintain Filibuster to Defend South's Ownership of Negroes With GOP Aid

By Benjamin E. Mays

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of the Pittsburgh Courier. — The Editors.)

THE FILIBUSTER over Civil Rights is not only wicked, but it is nauseating. If I thought the twenty-three Democrats and the twenty-three Republicans who voted to over-rule Vice President Barkley's ruling were sincere, I could respect them. But I am convinced that the Republicans were playing politics. They do not want a Democratic administration to get credit for putting over a civil rights program. Then, too, they think they will need the Southerners on some other measures. A third reason is, civil rights involves the Negro and the Republicans on the whole are not particularly interested in the Negro. They are after voters and power. So I am compelled to doubt the sincerity of the twenty-three Republicans.

Dr. Mays

As for the twenty-three Democrats, I have reason to doubt their sincerity, too. It is my candid belief that their filibuster is aimed directly against the Negro. It is not to protect the minority against majority rule. It is not to protect State rights. It is aimed to prevent the passage of any legislation by the Federal Government which would take away the will of the South to deal as it pleases with the Negro. The South is determined to deal with the Negro in any way that it sees fit. Most of the filibustering in the Senate comes up only when something is up that might benefit the Negro or take away the South's ownership of the Negro.

• • •

THE SENATE COULD break this filibuster if it wanted to. The majority of the Republican Senators are too much in sympathy with the Southern Democrats' point of view to join the Northern Democrats in breaking the filibuster. Even a moron has sense enough to know that to require sixty-four Senators out of ninety-six to break a filibuster means that the filibuster will never be broken. The bloc-voting South could almost begin with thirty-two or thirty-four Senators and the South can always count on several Republicans to help them do their dirty work.

It all goes to show that the Negro is not only a political football, but he doesn't count much in the eyes of Democrats nor Republicans. If the Jews were segregated by law, I believe something would be done about it. If Jews were being lynched, I believe something would be done about that.

It matters little to too many Republicans and little to too many Democrats that Negroes are segregated and lynched. To many of them, the person lynched and segregated is nothing but a Negro.

• • •

AS FOR THE vast majority of Southern Democrats, it is my belief that the defeat of Truman's civil rights program is more important than rent control, more important than the defeat of communism, more important than peace, and more important than the Marshall plan.

I believe that the Southern Democrats would be willing to filibuster forever and let all other legislation go by default, if they can only succeed in defeating Truman's civil rights program. I hope I am wrong. But history sustains this pessimistic outlook. If I am correct in this, the South will never grow to be a truly great region. It will never develop to the height of its potentiality. It will never develop great universities like Harvard, Yale or Chicago.

If Truman's civil rights program is defeated it will be a victory for the Dixiecrats. Though dead politically as a party, they will have won a great victory from the South's point of view.

• • •

IN THIS SENSE the Dixiecrats are not dead. Their spirit goes marching on just as, I understand, the spirit of Hitler lives on in the minds of millions of Germans. And yet, the Governor of Georgia can accuse the Negro of bloc voting when, as a rule, the Southern Democrats in Congress bloc vote almost all the time when it comes to the Negro. Pepper of Florida must have in him elements of greatness to stand alone against the South in this.

The terrible thing is that the Southern press seems to support the filibuster.

Make no mistake. The Negro is not on trial in the United States Senate. Truman is not on trial. Honor and integrity are on trial. The soul of America is on trial. And some day, unless there is a change, America will be weighed in the balance and found wanting.

Most Senators Do Not Want a Ban On Filibuster, Teachers Are Told

He implied that much of the talking on the subject of the filibuster in the Senate was largely sham and indicated that in his opinion no effective measure to shut off this type of debate would be introduced at the present session.

Appearing with Mr. Catledge in a discussion of interpretive reporting was W. H. Lawrence, a member of THE TIMES' Washington Bureau, Delbert Clark acted as moderator at the meeting, which is one of a series on news evaluation THE TIMES in cooperation with the Board of Education.

Mr. Lawrence said there was some thought in Washington that if President Truman wanted to kill the filibuster and force through his civil rights program he should let the Southern Senators will the present fight without compromise. If this were done, he said, all other legislation could be disposed of at this session and the President could recall the Congress in October or November and have a "knock down, drag out fight" limited to civil rights alone.

Mr. Lawrence, in response to a question, said he thought there was something "phony" about the cur-licans, "if they can stick together." Lewis mine holiday. He predicted some revision of the Taft-Hratley Act but not a labor law as tough as President Truman wanted. The price of coal gone down, would go up as the size of the coal piles decreased. and the unions want.

Turner Catledge, assistant managing editor of THE NEW YORK TIMES, told 500 school teachers yesterday that a majority of the Senators was not seriously concerned with establishing rules to stop a filibuster.

If so, he said at the 1949 Teachers In-Service Course held at Times Hall, they could have virtually achieved their aim last week by supporting Vice President Alben W. Barkley's ruling that a majority could call for a two-thirds vote to limit debate on a motion.

Mr. Catledge, who spent many years in the Washington bureau of THE TIMES, ridiculed the idea that the Senators were seriously concerned with "legalisms," and said, "I've never seen a time yet when a Senator couldn't find a legal way to do something if it was something he really wanted to do."

Washington, D.C.

Washington Post

Washington Post

Washington Post

AS SOUTHERNERS KEPT THE SENATE IN SESSION MONDAY NIGHT

Senator Kenneth S. Wherry, Republican floor leader, indicates to porter where to place pillows for use by Senators during filibuster.

Senator Allen J. Ellender, Democrat from Louisiana, gets a kis from his wife after speaking on the floor for 12 hours and 20 minutes.

The New York Times (by George Tames)

RALPH McGILL

The GOP Can't Be Too Happy

After peering at filibuster's end result—the Senate rule requiring a two-thirds vote of the entire Senate membership to end debate, certain deductions are possible.

Sen. Richard B. Russell, of Georgia, conducted the most skillfully organized and parliamentary-adept defenses in the entire history of the Senate, which has indulged infrequently in the filibuster, opinion to the contrary notwithstanding. Even his opponents must admit this.

Not the least effective measures by any means was to have Georgia's senior Senator, Walter F. George, open the debate and pitch it on constitutional grounds. It was a new-type Southern filibuster, and a refreshing one. Former delaying actions were led by the late Bilbo and Huey Long, both of whom embarrassed the nation with their vulgarisms.

Influences The South might have lost despite the skills, but for the statement by the President and the efforts of Walter White, of the NAACP, to end debate by a simple majority vote. Whatever the faults of the present settlement—a constitutional majority—it is not as disturbing as would have been a simple majority agreement. That would have allowed as few as 25 Senators to rule should an issue arise with as few as 51 Senators present. One cannot escape the fact that our nation, by welcoming many peoples and because of its vast size, with the inevitable regional economy pressures, will always have substantial minority groups. To have created a situation where an all-powerful majority could gag them at will would have been to do great damage to our system of government. Let the liberals think back to how little they would have liked a simple majority rule when the elder Bob LaFollette was resisting the huge majority of the Coolidge-Hoover-type Congress. Issues of the future will not always be civil rights. Walter White insisted on a simple majority and has lately publicly rowed with Sen. McGrath and has had McGrath say to him that he—White—was more interested in White than the issue. This suspicion long has been held about Walter White, even on the part of those who respect his ability and courage. Certainly large minorities must be persuaded, not coerced.

Effect Another inescapable deduction is that the reverse will greatly undermine effective government. The Administration's leadership, especially that on the floor, has been proved inept. All types of opposition are gleefully encouraged. By the same token, the Republican leadership has eased the blow which otherwise would have fallen entirely on President Truman's head. The Southern attitude was entirely anticipated. The vigorous support given it by the Republicans was not. It had been the Republicans who had been goading the Truman Administration to bring the issue before the Senate, saying they didn't dare. When it did come, the Republicans, putting their own pledges aside, went whooping in to get revenge on the President. Consequently, much of the wrath is falling on them. The GOP National Committee cannot be too happy. Their Senators were more interested in splitting the Administration than in carrying out their own platform planks on the civil rights issue and thereby create a convention issue for 1952.

Parties As a consequence, both the Democrats and Republicans look rather sick as parties. What we have, in effect, is a conservative and a liberal party. If the members would keep party labels off, as they now are off, and continue in the same alignment, the old parties would indeed be gone. But they will not so continue.

As a matter of fact, the present rule may not be as damaging as some of the Administration Jeremiahs now are saying.

Local pressures will now begin to operate on specific bills. Heretofore we have had a split on rule changes. Few Americans would have chosen to allow a simple majority to end debate. The compromise is the best one that could be made.

Bills Not all the Southerners and Republicans who voted for the compromise will hold the same lines on individual bills. It is a good bet, for example, that a properly prepared anti-poll tax and antilynch bill will have excellent chances of passing. An FEPC measure, such as has been proposed with Federal police powers, will not. It is interesting to note that 15 States have recently refused such a bill at the State level.

At any rate, it is folly to assume the vote on the Senate rules indicates a firm line-up on legislation which will be introduced. But it does mean that all opposition will, in the future, be more determined and to that extent the efficiency of the Government will be limited.

Crucifying Dixie Truman's Aim, Russell Asserts

WASHINGTON—(AP)—Southern legislators pumped bitterly into the two-day Senate filibuster yesterday with the charge that the Truman Administration was attempting to "crucify" the South.

Sen. Russell, Democrat, Georgia, quarterback of the Southern forces, injected that dramatic note into the lengthening debate over a proposal to curb the filibuster . . . the device of talking a bill to death.

The proposed rules change, backed by President Truman himself, would permit clamping a time limit on debate by a two-thirds vote of Senators present on the Senate floor.

Russell declared the anti-filibuster move was only the first of a series of "sectional bills" designed to "crucify" his section of the Nation.

A threat of late night or even round-the-clock sessions — voiced by Majority Leader Lucas, Democrat, Illinois, failed to develop as the Senate recessed at 5:46 p. m.

Barring the unexpected, the talkathon will continue at noon today.

Russell's comment came in the form of an interruption as Sen. Connally, Democrat, Texas, opening the second day of the Dixie blast, said the attempt to limit debate was "for political purposes and political classes."

Connally said it was being pushed to a showdown as an opening wedge for three controversial bills—anti-poll tax, anti-lynch and the "so-called FEPC" measure, designed to prevent racial discrimination in employment.

All of them, he shouted, are "unconstitutional."

Then the 71-year-old Texan demanded to know when the South was going to be permitted to rest in peace, without being subjected to what he termed constant agitation, aggravation and humiliation.

Meanwhile, the filibuster blocked the Senate Foreign Relations Committee from making a decision on the $5,580,000,000 European recovery bill.

Other Senate committees similarly were stymied on important legislation.

Sen. Connally vigorously defended the Southerners' opposition to what he called "obnoxious and harmful legislation" under President Truman's proposed civil-rights program.

First he dealt with the proposed Federal ban on payments of a poll tax—still required in some states—as a requisite for voting in a Federal election.

"This is absolutely unconstitutional," he said. "Anybody who can read, knows that."

"The last election did not change the constitution," he roared. And he said if the states were left alone, the poll tax would "vanish" without Federal prompting. Only seven states now have the poll tax, he said.

Turning next to proposed anti-lynch laws, Connally said this was an attempt to single out one type of crime under special circumstances and make it a Federal offense.

"Of course we're against lynching—it's murder," he shouted.

He said lynching had waned to such an extent there was only one case in the entire couuntry last

Sen. Stennis, Democrat, Mississippi, one of the 22 Southerners who have vowed to talk until they win, picked up where Connally left off in the anti-filibuster debate.

Stennis made the longest speech of the day, in an easy, free-wheeling style that showed no signs of flagging.

Vital Bills Endangered By Filibuster, Leaders Say

The Post Washington D.C. Mon 3-7-49

Rent Control, ECA Involved, With Odds Favoring Talkative Southern Senators

By David McConnell
NYHT News Service

Administration leaders were frank to admit yesterday that it is any one's guess whether they will be able to break the week-old filibuster of Southern Senators without jeopardizing the passage of other important Administration measures.

With the odds currently favoring the talkative Dixie Senators, Administration leaders went forward with plans to hold the Senate in night sessions this week in an attempt to wear down the filibuster.

Many top Democrats, while publicly proclaiming their determination to break the extensive talkfest, privately were expressing concern over the fate of other vital portions of their party's campaign commitments.

Rent Control Nears Expiration

They added the situation up thus: Mon. 3-7-49

1. When the civil rights program is balanced against other major items in the Democrats' platform it is not weighty enough to tip the scales in favor of an all-out, lengthy fight.

2. If the Democrats let rent control expire on March 31 because of the filibuster they will be deluged by a stor mof protests especially from the large metropolitan centers where housing remains a major problem. Although the demands for action on President Truman's strong civil rights program come in a large part from the large cities, Democrats feel the financial pinch of a sudden raising of rents would result in a storm of protests from the same areas.

3. The Economic Co-operation Administration's appropriation of $5,050,000,000 last year expires on April 3 and many Senators feel any delay in renewing the European aid commitments might provide explosive fuel for the Russians in the present cold war. As of last Thursday the Administration had committed all but $274,582,000 of its current appropriation. ECA currently is requesting $5,580,000,000 to carry it from April 3 through June 30, 1950.

Press for Taft Act Repeal

The Democrats' predicament is further darkened by increasing pressure from the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations for a down payment, in the form of action, on repeal of the Taft-Hartley labor law, on what the unions feel is a campaign debt. Labor also wants passage of legislation increasing the current minimum wage of 40 cents to $1 an hour. An Administration bill providing for a 75-cent minimum is under consideration.

With the legislative log jam growing higher each day the Southerners continue their filibuster, Senator Lucas (D., Ill.) warned again last night that it may be necessary to hold Congress in session well beyond the July 31 deadline now contemplated. Lucas Democratic majority leader, also announced that the Senate would recess today in tribute to Senator J. Melville Broughton (D., N. C.), who died yesterday.

Te majority leader repeated that the Administration forces were continuing to sincerely break the Southern filibuster. He promised last week to demand night sessions starting Tuesday.

Whether the Democratic leaders can break the Southern talkfest or not, it appeared virtually certain that the Administration will have to postpone until early summer any attempt to put through its civil rights program. The Post

Although the current filibuster is aimed at Administration attempts to pave the way for the civil rights program by tightening the Senate's "gag" rule each of the civil rights measures undoubtedly will come in for extensive debate before a vote can be taken. Washington D.C.

Meanwhile, the House continued to bite into its legislative budget while the Senate shuffled through hours of tedious debate. Before the House this week is expected to be the "spy bill" establishing the Central Intelligence Agency with permanent powers and peritting it to bring into the United States aliens who have helped this Nation in espionage. Mon. 3-7-49

Both the House and Senate will continue to prepare legislation in committees, although the most Senate groups must adjourn at noon to permit members to attend the filibuster sessions.

SOUTH AGAIN BIDS FOR CLOSURE DEAL

New York Times New York Sun 3-27-49

Would Go Along With a Stiffer 'Gag' Rule if Necessary Vote Is Put at Three-Fourths

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, Feb. 11—The Southern Senators put forward today a third gesture of compromise in their determined effort to fight off limitations upon their essential power to filibuster against the President's [illegible] program.

The substance of the proposal was that the Southerners would consider withdrawing from their entrenched opposition against any stiffening of the Senate's closure, or "gag," rule if the majority would agree that closure could not be imposed in any case by less than three-fourths of the Senate.

A pending and heavily backed majority amendment would broaden the rule so that it could be applied at any point in a debate, rather than only at some points as at present, and would retain the present requirement that this could not be accomplished by a majority short of two-thirds.

The new Southern suggestion was not offered formally, nor was it discussed formally in a morning council of Southern Senators. It simply was allowed to arise unofficially.

Closure is the strongest counter-weapon against the filibuster, time-killing debate intended to prevent the Senate from reaching a decisive vote upon a measure.

The filibuster has been used successfully in the past against the President's civil rights bill, anti-poll tax, anti-lynching and similar measures.

A more important development of the day's caucus of Southerners, it was learned, was the emergence among them for the first tiime of some feeling of optimism, if only of the most cautious kind, on their forthcoming attack on the bi-partisan majority's attempt to change the filibuster rule.

One-man Southern "task forces" have been busy trying to persuade uncommitted Senators and Senators not unalterably committed not to vote for a hardening of the rule.

Preliminary reports to the caucus, it was learned, were felt by some of the Southern leaders to be encouraging.

Testing the Southern Triumph

New York Herald Tribune New York Sun 3-27-49

The question of civil rights shows life again. The Republicans, after teaming up with the Southern Democrats to solidify the filibuster, now return to the historic attack. A round-robin of thirty-five Republicans, including all intellectual stripes in the minority, proposes that it will stand together on a cloture petition to force a vote on outlawing the poll tax. This is only an opening sally, but it does suggest that the Southern triumph was not absolute and everlasting.

Under the Senate's new "Rule of 64," the Southerners got what they demanded. A filibuster continues until a two-thirds of the membership—sixty-four out of ninety-six—clamps down. Except for the great occasions of national emergency, this would appear to be an almost insurmountable handicap. The Southerners made their position as secure as they know how; such civil rights as might ever be enacted must first meet Southern approval.

But the "Rule of 64" did place a definite numerical control on the filibuster, which is an advance of sorts. Previously a filibuster could be worn down only by superior physical endurance and expert leadership. If sixty-four Senators now find themselves of a unified and compelling mind, they can stop the minority and come to a vote. At least the fogginess was taken out of the old situation. As matters developed—thanks to Democratic dallying, prevailing Republican disposition to play along with the Dixiecrats, and an inchoate reluctance to tackle civil rights in one swoop—the "Rule of 64" was about all that could be brought out of the bog.

Senator Wherry, defending his creation, promised stoutly that civil-rights legislation would yet emerge. Even the Democrats gave vague assurances that they would return to civil rights on some happy day when other passing business was surmounted. We are pleased at the faint sign of returning Republican responsibility. After the mixed Republican record on the filbuster, a mite of amends is in order. If the "Rule of 64" is really an effective instrument under stress, as Senator Taft is convinced, then by all means let us proceed to an honest test. The poll tax, an indefensible relic which lingers only in seven Southern States, is a good place to start. And besides, such a law can be passed.

TRUMAN SENATORS WILL PRESS ACTION ON RIGHTS PROGRAM

Move Would Answer the GOP Challenge to Test Proposed Rule on Filibusters

New York N.Y.

CLOSURE STILL DEBATED

Vandenberg, Taft Come Out in Favor of Compromise Backed by 52 Members of Senate

By WILLIAM S. WHITE

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, March 17—The Truman Administration's Senate leaders pledged today to try for action on the President's civil rights program even with the kind of an anti-filibuster rule that a Republican-Southern Democratic coalition was about to force on them.

The Republicans, defending the adequacy of the rule and arguing that it was much better than anything the Truman forces had been able to accomplish, challenged them to put it to the test by bringing up the civil rights measures.

The Administration spokesmen did not wholly exclude the possibility of a special session for such an attempt, though they asserted that such a meeting of Congress in all probability would be fruitless.

Bos 3-18-49

As debate continued on the proposed new closure, or "gag," process—a procedure backed by fifty-two Senators over the assertions of the President's followers that it actually would strengthen the filibuster—Senator Scott W. Lucas of Illinois, the Administration Democratic chief, told the Senate:

"An anti-poll tax bill (one of the items in the civil rights program) will be in [illegible] July 31.

Test of Rule Promised

"I am [illegible] now that in my study [illegible] there is not a chance to pass it when it comes to the floor if this rule is adopted.

"We will test it. We will test that rule after they fasten it upon us and then, at that time, see who was right."

The center of this controversy is a compromise closure plan worked out by Senator William F. Knowland, Republican, of California, and introduced by Senator Kenneth S. Wherry of Nebraska, Republican floor leader, with fifty other co-signers.

This group, made up of Republicans, Southern Democrats and twelve non-Southern Democrats, mostly from the border states, was still in control of the situation. Its fifty-two pledged votes were more than enough to pass the amendment, regardless of the Administration's objections. A simple majority of the Senate membership of ninety-six would be enough. The plan would operate as follows:

1. Closure, or the shutting off debate after a stated interval, could be invoked by a vote of two-thirds of all sitting members, or normally by sixty-four, on any matter before the Senate, with one exception. 3-18-49
2. This exception would provide that if any further attempt were made to alter the rule, a filibuster against it—or the tactic of prolonged discussion to prevent a vote—would be immune from any closure, by any vote, and could go on so long as physical endurance permitted.

Present rules permit the "gag" to be imposed on a "pending measure" by a two-thirds majority of those voting, as distinguished from two-thirds of all the Senate. It has, however, large escape hatches.

It may not, under existing interpretations, be applied to a filibuster against a "motion" to take up a bill and not that measure itself. The Southerners, in a filibuster from Feb. 28 to this Tuesday, used that tactic to prevent action on the closure rule change sought by the Administration forces. Under that proposal closure could be invoked by two-thirds of those voting on a motion, measure or, indeed, on a future rules change.

Twenty-six Republicans joined the Southerners and a handful of non-Southerners last week in repudiating an effort by Vice President Alben W. Barkley to hold that filibusters had no right to closure immunity on the matter of "motions."

By that vote, they upheld an earlier interpretation by Senator Arthur H. Vandenberg, Republican, of Michigan, then the Senate's presiding officer, that imperviousness to closure did in fact extend to motions.

Mr. Lucas and his associates argued today that the coalition amendment, far from aiding in breaking the inevitable future Southern filibuster on the civil rights program, actually would preserve and strengthen filibusters. The coalition opposition vehemently rejected that view.

Senator Robert A. Taft of Ohio, chairman of the Republican Policy Committee, said that he would have preferred closure by two-thirds of those voting. He insisted, however, that there was "no practical difference" between this requirement and two-thirds of all the Senate if the leaders were effective in marshalling all Senators to vote. Fri 3-18-49

At all events, he asserted, the Wherry amendment was the only alternative to "the right of unlimited filibuster." He argued that it would leave the civil rights program with prospects, "to all intents and purposes," as favorable as they would have been if the original closure alteration for a simple two-thirds majority had not been killed by the Southerners.

He "quite agreed," the Ohioan added, that the possibility for obtaining a future closure rule applicable by a simple majority of the Senate—that is, a mere majority of those voting, as against any sort of two-thirds majority—would be lessened.

It was "significant," he said, that those who were "protesting most vigorously" the coalition plan personally favored closure by a mere majority if it could be obtained. He put President Truman among that group.

Then, speaking of the outlook for the President's civil rights program under the Wherry rule, he asserted that "I believe that important features of that legislation can be adopted if the majority leader (Mr. Lucas) presses it for consideration."

Senator Vandenberg, another Republican leader, told reporters that the "supremely important" thing was to put the Senate in position where minorities could not obstruct business in "a national emergency."

"No one," he said, "can deny that the new rule is an infinite improvement in that direction."

He "earnestly hoped," he added, that the Democratic leaders would move "within the next few weeks" to test the effectiveness of the rule on the civil rights measure. He mentioned the anti-lynching bill, and said that he had "no doubt whatever" that two-thirds of the Senate would vote to put it under closure.

This reasoning was rejected by the Administration Democrats. Senator Paul H. Douglas of Illinois asserted that the compromise was "a surrender to the filibuster," then to the Republicans, he said:

"Don't tie up the United States of America for a little cheap partisan advantage."

Senator Lucas, accusing the Republicans and Southern Democrats of attempting to "shackle" the administration leaders, said that in originally moving to put the filibuster aside, leaving the Southerners triumphant, he had not proposed to do so permanently.

"I was willing," he added, "to ask the President to call a special session, after we had finished legislation vital to this economy and to the peace of the world, and sit down and fight it out up to Christmas, and beyond if necessary, to get the Civil Rights program."

He later told reporters that this had been his plan "before they (the coalition) began to put this new strait-jacket rule on us." Now, he added, he could foresee no reason for a special session since he was "convinced that the rule won't work against a filibuster."

"But we will test it," he repeated, "and see what we can do. There can be no final decision, one way or another, toward a special session until we see what happens."

Senator Taft and two other Republicans, Senators Knowland and William Jenner of Indiana, criticized an editorial in yesterday's editions of THE NEW YORK TIMES.

That editorial had stated that "under the present rule," referring to the existing procedure with its loopholes for "motions" and other parliamentary devices, it was "not at all unthinkable" that "a handful of determined isolationists" could long obstruct some urgent world matter, such as the Atlantic pact.

Mr. Taft said that "THE NEW YORK TIMES opposes" the compromise amendment, then added:

"THE TIMES states correctly the exact condition under the present rule, but it does not point out that, contrary to its own conclusions, if the substitute (compromise) amendment is agreed to, that condition can no longer exist and there can be no filibuster against an effort to take up an Atlantic pact, or any other security measure(or any civil rights measure, so far as that is concerned."

The editorial was based on the situation that obtained soon after the Adminisitration's original temporary surrender to the filibuster. It did not refer to the Wherry compromise, which developed overwhelming strength only late Tuesday night.

Responsibility for the capitulation was sharply debeated all today. Senator Wherry asserted that it was the Administration Democrats who had "run out."

"The record shows," he asserted, "that it was the majority leader who hoisted the white flag of surrender to the filibusterers. The record shows that it was the Republican leadership that fought to prevent scuttling of the closure resolution. Fri 3-18-49

"The record shows that it was the Republican leadership that finally succeeded in obtaining from the filibusterers agreement on a compromise that will work and do the job.

"I challenge the majority leader to bring to the floor the anti-poll tax legislation. Stop talking about the substitute closure rule being no good and come in here and give it a test."

Two Took Floor for Over 8 Hours

Baltimore Md

One Speech Not Even Urgent, Says Lautier

'A SHAM BATTLE'

Baltimore Md

Writer Urges Letting Southerners Tire Selves

By LOUIS LAUTIER

Sat 3-19-49

WASHINGTON (NNPA)—Even before voting with the Dixiecrat Senators against the Barkley ruling, Republicans were helping the filibusterers.

For example, on March 8, Sen. Arthur V. Watkins (Rep., Utah), held the floor for more than two hours demanding that President Truman make the North Atlantic Security Pact immediately available to the Senate.

Then Sen. Henry P. Cain (Rep., Wash.), spoke for 6 hours and 45 minutes against President Truman's nomination of former Gov. Mon C. Wallgren, of Washington, to be chairman of the National Security Resources Board.

Could Have Shut Up

Under Senate Rules, a Senator has the right to speak on any subject that he may choose at any time that he can obtain recognition from the presiding officer. It does seem that in the face of the filibuster, Senator Watkins could have cut short his remarks and Senator Cain could have deferred his speech until later.

That, however, is just one evidence that the filibuster is a sham battle. On March 4, J. William Fulbright (Dem., Ark.), was supposed to take up the filibuster at noon. But it was not until 3:37 p.m. that he actually began talking. He had been delayed by speeches by other Senators on matters unrelated to the filibuster. The roll call consumed 42 minutes. Sat 3-19-49

There are two solutions. The Democrats and Republican leadership could agree to postpone speeches which are unnecessary and which would only be giving aid and comfort to the filibusterers. The other alterative would be round-the-clock sessions seven days a week.

Four Much Too Old

At the most, there are only twice as many Senators who would become legislatively effective in a talkathon. Four of the opponents of a closure bill are over 70 and wouldn't be able to stand to talk long. They are Senators George, 72, of Georgia, 72, Senator Hoey of North Carolina, 72, and Senator Kenneth McKellar, of Tennessee, and Tom Connally, of Texas, both in their 80's.

Senate rules provide that no senator may speak more than twice on the same subject on the same day. A legislative day lasts indefinitely. The effective day lasts indefinitely. The effective day lasts indefinitely. The Senate now is in the legislative day of Feb. 21, the day on which the filibuster began, and will stay in that legislative day until it decides to adjourn.

been harmed directly or indirectly by unlimited (filibuster) Senate debate.

Meanwhile, as Sen. Tom Connally of Texas and Sen. Stennis brought the second day of debate to an end on the anti-filibuster proposal, Southern Democrats predicted they have "as of now" the proposed rule changes whipped.

A showdown on the Democratic leadership's move appeared likely to come early next week. Majority

Rules Change Is Whipped, They Declare

By EDWARD POLE

(The Times-Picayune Corresponding Writer)

Washington, March 1 — Sen. John C. Stennis of Mississippi during a challenge Tuesday at the administration to cite a single instance where the great majority of American people have ever

VICTORY IS SEEN BY SOUTHERNERS

Leader Scott Lucas of Illinois said he will file a cloture or gag petition Thursday to test the present assertedly ineffectual cloture rule.

Sen. James O. Eastland of Mississippi said following a Democratic caucus this morning that the Southerners have from 34 to 36 votes against adoption of cloture. This is more than a sufficient number (one-third needed) to block cloture. Sen. Eastland predicted, however, that even though the administration is rebuffed in its showdown, it would not change the administration's strategy and hope of passing the civil rights proposals. He expressed belief they would be tacked on "unimportant" measures later in the session.

At the caucus Sen. Russell Long of Louisiana told Sen. Richard B. Russell of Georgia, and the other Southern leaders, that he would speak as long as they desired. However, he expressed the hope that in his first speech on the Senate floor he could "speak to the point." Thus, in his maiden speech he will speak approximately an hour and 30 minutes Wednesday afternoon. Sen. Long's first brief remarks on the floor were made Monday afternoon when he directed a series of questions at Sen. Kenneth Wherry, (R-Neb.). His previous Senate assertions were made in committee hearings.

Sen. Allen J. Ellender said Tuesday he wired president G. J. Tinsley of Southeastern Louisiana college at Hammond cancelling his scheduled address at the institu-

CAYTON

Pittsburgh Courier 3-12-49

Filibuster Aimed Holding Dixie Control of United States Government

By HORACE CAYTON

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier. — The Editor.)

Pittsburgh Courier 3-12-49

THERE is more to the current filibuster than meets the eye. The chances to break it are hard to estimate at this point. My guess is they are fifty-fifty. When you read this, perhaps the issue will have been settled. Regardless of the outcome, however, these are some of the underlying issues — why it is being fought with such desperate determination by Southern Democrats [illegible]

cans, and something of its fateful meaning to us and the world.

Mr. Cayton

Obviously and ostensibly the reactionaries are out to defeat President Truman's Civil Rights Program. Southern Democrats are fighting it because the proposals would make them lose their unhealthy hold on the Government of the United States. Through this mechanism, a group of "willful men" can block any piece of legislation they choose, by talking it to death. The South lost a great deal of power at the time of the last Democratic Convention when the convention's rules were changed to allow a simple majority of the delegates, rather than two-thirds, to make decisions. Now the South wishes to attempt to maintain its weakening strangle hold on the nation. It also wishes to keep Negroes in their place. Loss of the filibuster will mean a definite shift in the political power relations of the nation.

* * *

SOME WRITERS, IN referring to the filibuster, have recalled Lincoln's statement that a nation cannot survive half slave and half free. Slavery is much to the apology and this is the current manifestation of the irrepressible conflict, never completely resolved, once between slavery and freedom, and now between racism and full citizenship. However, there has been a considerable shift and change in the line-up since the days of the Emancipator. At that time the force for Negro freedom was an alliance between Northern capitalists, free Northern labor and free-soil farmers. Today the conflict is between capitalists and planters on the one hand and, on the other the emerging farm-labor coalitions, both North and South containing both blacks and whites. That's why reactionary Republicans, even in States with high Negro populations, are aiding the Southerners. If more Negro farmers and laborers were enfranchised, if a greater degree of cooperation between Negro and white farmers and laborers throughout the country was obtained, it would create a great demand, so powerful that it couldn't be blocked; for Government housing, for a Federal medical plan, for the extension of social security, and for increased Federal aid to education. All of these things run counter to the philosophy of Bourbon Democrats. It is for this reason that they line up with the die-hard South to prevent the extension of democracy to the Negro.

* * *

ALL OF THIS could be viewed by the cynic as simply another manifestation of political jockeying for economic, political and social control of the nation. But preceding, and forming the context for this struggle, is the wailing and screaming of the greater danger that the entire American way of life may be attacked by a wave of communism from the East. At this crucial point of world history to see Tom Connally, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and proponent of the North Atlantic Pact to save democracy, line up with Huey Long's son in the filibuster causes one to experience a slight feeling of nausea.

The Negro and his rights are but pawns in a chess game to maintain political power. The disgraceful spectacle of a filibuster in the Senate of the nation which is to lead the world toward democracy makes one wonder whether racism and the stifling of the upsurge of Negro and white farmers and laborers is not more important to many than the threat from the East.

Regardless of how the issue is settled, American prestige on the world scene has been dealt a body blow by both our Democratic and Republican demi-gogues.

Rule 22 Stands

New York Times

No Gag on Filibuster

A coalition of Southern Democrats and Midwestern Republicans last week dealt the Truman Administration its first severe setback in the 69-day-old Eighty-first Congress.

The coalition took form in a bitter battle over the issue of Senate filibusters—an issue closely bound up with President Truman's program for civil rights legislation. The outcome not only cut the chances that any part of the civil-rights program will be enacted soon—if at all in this Congress. It also may endanger the other measures in the Truman program.

The fight over the filibuster was begun on the Administration's initiative. In the fight the Administration had a broad objective and a tactical plan.

The broad objective was to cut permanently the Southern Democrats' filibuster power—a power which they have frequently used in the past to block civil rights legislation.

Senate Procedure

The tactical plan was to curb filibusters by changing the Senate's rules of debate. To bring about such a change against determined opposition is exceedingly difficult and requires a highly technical and complicated procedure. This is the situation:

Any change in Senate rules requires a two-thirds vote. The most important restriction on debate is in Senate Rule XXII, adopted in 1917. It provides that upon a petition by at least sixteen Senators the presiding officer shall call for a vote on whether to apply closure on "any pending measure." Closure limits each Senator to one hour's debate. It must be approved by a two-thirds vote. Closure has been applied only four times.

Last year, in the Republican-controlled Eightieth Congress, an important loophole was opened in Rule XXII. There had been a motion to take up an anti-poll-tax bill. Southerners filibustered against the motion, and an effort was made to invoke closure. But Arthur H. Vandenberg, then Senate President pro tempore, ruled that a motion was not a "pending measure" and that closure was not applicable. The poll-tax bill died.

The Administration's plan to circumvent the Southerners was based on [redacted] that the new presiding o[redacted] Senate is Vice President Alben W. Barkley. The plan was to meet the issue "head-on."

The first step was taken a week ago last Monday. Scott Lucas, Majority Leader, moved that the Senate take up a resolution to change Rule XXII. The resolution would change the key phrase—"any pending measure"—to "any measure, motion, or other matter pending before the Senate," so that closure could be applied at any point in the Senate proceedings.

The Southerners immediately began a filibuster against Mr. Lucas' motion. It was somewhat leisurely. The Southerners were frequently spelled by long speeches on other issues by non-Southerners.

Words, Words, Words

Up to last Thursday evening the Southerners had held the floor for a total of twenty-six hours in ten days. Then, at 6:18 P. M., Mr. Lucas presented a closure petition signed by seventeen Democrats and sixteen Republicans. There followed this exchange:

MR. LUCAS: "I am willing to abide by the wishes of the Chair as to whether he wishes to rule at this time."

MR. BARKLEY: "The Chair is willing to rule now."

SEVERAL SENATORS: "Rule! Rule!"

Mr. Barkley then discussed Rule XXII at length and ruled that closure could be applied on a motion. The Administration's hope was that this ruling would clear the way for a rules change that would have the same effect explicitly and permanently.

On Friday the Barkley ruling was challenged by the Southerners and a large group of Republicans. (A challenge to the presiding officer's ruling is subject to a majority vote.) The debate on the challenge was sharp. The most influential argument against the Barkley ruling was made by Mr. Vandenberg.

Two Schools Debate

As voiced by Mr. Barkley and Mr. Vandenberg, the chief arguments on both sides were these:

MR. BARKLEY: "What the Senate was trying to do [in 1917] was to adopt a rule which would enable it to transact its business. * * * A motion to proceed to the consideration of a bill is an absolutely indispensable process in the enactment of legislation. * * * The chair is unwilling to believe and cannot believe that the Senate in 1917 did not know what it wanted, did not know where it was going and did not know how to get it if it did know where it was going."

MR. VANDENBERG: "The existing rule does not permit closure on a motion to take up a measure. * * * [The Barkley ruling] simply means that, regardless of precedent or traditional practice, the rules hereafter mean whatever the presiding officer of the Senate, plus a simple majority of the Senators present at the time, want the rules to mean."

Several Republicans said they favored civil rights legislation although they would vote against the Barkley ruling. To these William Knowland, Republican, of California, put the question: "How do you expect a vote on civil rights if we can't get it to the floor?" Mr. Lucas said: "Everyone knows that the single issue here is not changing the rules, that the civil rights program is involved here."

Barkley Ruling Beaten

The vote came at 10 P. M. The result overturned Mr. Barkley's ruling by 46 to 41. The vote by party was as follows:

	Democrats	Republicans
Against Barkley	23	23
For Barkley	25	16

Observers regarded the geographical distribution of the vote as significant. Here is the breakdown:

Against Barkley. All Southern Democrats except Claude Pepper of Florida, Estes Kefauver of Tennessee and Elmer Thomas of Oklahoma. Also nearly all Senators regarded as members of the GOP "old guard"—the great majority of them from Midwestern states where there are few big cities and racial minorities among the voters are small.

For Barkley. A block of Senators in both parties from the heavily populated Northeast, the North Central States, and the West Coast.

After a caucus of Administration Democrats yesterday, Mr. Lucas announced that the fight for a rule change would go on. He said there would be day and night sessions this week in an effort to break the filibuster. There was some talk of a "compromise"—such as closure on a motion by three-fourths or five-sixths vote. Barring such a compromise, the emergence of a change in the rules seemed remote. At any rate, there were predictions that the issue would soon be put aside so that the Senate might take up a backlog of important legislation. It was indicated that the fight might be renewed toward summer, after the Senate has disposed of other pressing business.

At any rate, the emergence of a Southern Democrat-Republican coalition raised the possibility of trouble ahead for the Truman program.

We Were Wrong!

AN EDITORIAL

Reviewing the lineup of the Senate vote overruling Vice President Barkley's cloture ruling, we now come to the conclusion and confess we were wrong.

We made a grave mistake in supporting the re-election of a Republican Congress. Twice in the past week have the actions of Republicans in the Senate shown us how grievous was our error.

Sen. Harry P. Cain (Rep., Wash.) graciously gave the Dixiecrats a considerable breathing spell in their filibuster on Tuesday by holding the floor for six hours and 45 minutes in a harangue against the nomination of former Gov. Mon C. Wallgren to be chairman of the National Reserve Planning Board.

He was followed by another Republican, Sen. Arthur V. Watkins of Utah, who aired his views on the North Atlantic Security pact for more than two hours. Then Sen. Styles Bridges (Rep., N.H.) came to the aid of the beleaguered Southerners, with a helpful time-killer about expenditures for publications for Federal bureaus.

An outsider might well have been puzzled as to just who was filibustering in the Senate. The diehard Dixiecrats or cynical Republicans?

But when it came time to stand up and be counted on this whole issue of civil rights, a true picture was given. Twenty-three Republicans, who talked so loudly in favor of equality at election time, actually voted with the Dixiecrats. Only 16 cast their ballots in support of their own platform.

This was in marked contrast to 25 Democrats who went down the line in support of our cause, while 21 Dixiecrats and two Western Democrats voted for the stars and bars of the Confederacy.

This brazen action on the part of the Republicans must never be forgotten. Ahead lies 1950. Every Republican who failed us Friday night should be retired from Congress. Put a Democrat in his place. The national administration should be kept out of the hands of these hypocrites for another six teen years.

Tolerant Rules Help Keep Filibuster Alive

By LEM GRAVES Jr.
(Courier Washington Correspondent)

WASHINGTON—In the "gentlemen's agreement" atmosphere which now pervades the leisurely "club" known as the U. S. Senate, the current filibuster can and probably will go on indefinitely.

With one entire week gone by, with resultant delay of important matters in the Senate, only seven of at least eighteen or nineteen Southern Senators available for filibustering have been heard in their first speeches. At the present pace, the first speeches of the other Southerners

leadership last week-end postponed, for the second time, a showdown with the Dixiecrat obstructionists in the U. S. Senate.

Senator Scott Lucas, majority leader, abandoned plans for filing a cloture petition on Monday. He had previously scheduled this move for Thursday of last week but changed his mind on the basis of his belief that the Southerners were not abusing the debating privilege and that allowing them further time would strengthen his case. He set the time for starting the showdown machinery for Monday of this week. Over the week-end, he announced that the petition would not be filed on Monday and declined to say when the showdown would be forced.

The majority leadership was probably understandably taken in by the clever maneuvers of the Southern Senators on the first three days of the debate last week on a rules change to make the cloture instrument—for shutting off unnecessary debate—applicable to any motion to take up legislation.

Filibuster speeches on last Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday were relatively short, by previous filibuster standards, and were fairly germane to the rules change issue although considerable time was given to irrelevant discussion of the civil rights of minorities.

Senator Lucas and Majority Whip Francis Myers came to the conclusion that the Southerners were proceeding reasonably and with somewhat more brevity than had been anticipated and decided not to file the cloture petition on Thursday so as to allow more speakers an opportunity to be heard.

But simultaneously with Lucas' announcement that he would delay the cloture effort until Monday, the real filibuster got under way in earnest. Senator Spessard Holland of Florida who had gotten only part way through his remarks late Wednesday afternoon came back Thursday with material for a talk which lasted, altogether, for more than four and one-half hours.

With a brief speech by Republican Senator William Knowland—only member from the GOP side to be on hand for most of the filibuster — this killed Thursday. Arkansas's Senator Fullbright managed to stretch his speech over all day Friday and all day Saturday.

These two lengthy speeches had been preceded by five much shorter Dixie presentations in the early part of the week. The anti-filibuster resolution was taken up Monday with Senator Hayden, Democrat, of Arizona, and Senator Wherry, Republican, of Nebraska, bi-partisan sponsors of the resolution, speaking on behalf of the bill. After some long-winded jockeying between Georgia's Senator Russell—who is stage-managing the filibuster—and Vice President Barkley over the rules of the filibuster, Georgia's Senator George led off for the South with a comparatively brief speech which wound up the first day. Senators Connally of Texas and Stennis of Mississippi managed to divide the time on Tuesday. Senators Long of Louisiana and Hoey of North Carolina got hour-long harangues on Wednesday before Holland started what turned out to be a four-hour speech.

HOW IT'S DONE

Helping to keep the filibuster alive are the graciously tolerant rules under which it is being conducted. The Senate convenes at 12 noon. There is a two-hour period called "the morning hour" set aside for conducting routine business. The filibuster gets under way usually about 2 P. M. While the rules require that a Senator yield only for a question, such questions are generally stated in very long-winded fashion with considerable comment interwoven. Simple questions, entangled in parliamentary verbiage of Senatorial character, can and do easily consume a half hour of time each.

With only the Southerners (and Senator Knowland) on hand most of the time, the questions are simply time-wasters. In addition, after every speech, executive communications, appointment confirmations, and other routine business, including long-winded reports are droned off while the next filibusterer prepares to get started.

The leadership has set 6 P. M. as the closing time and it does not tax the Southerners very much to hold forth for the four hours between 2 and 6 P. M. On last Saturday, the solons graciously quit shortly after 4 P. M.

The schedule is not such as would discourage filibustering. In fact, up until the present, all the conditions have favored the filibuster. No effort has yet been made to tire out the Southerners and the leadership has no plans for round-the-clock sessions.

The speeches have taken the customary form. All the Senators have predicted the deterioration of the democratic form of government if the slight change to make effective an existing cloture provision is approved.

Without exception, Southern Senators in discussing civil rights in these speeches, have made the astounding claim that no civil rights guarantees are needed by Negroes in the South, that relations between the whites and colored citizens of the South are "fine," and that the only people who are fighting to get the vote, physical protection, fair employment oppotrunities, and equality of treatment for Negroes are "Communists" and "paid propagandists and professional agitators."

Senator Hoey of North Carolina told the Senate "Negroes get justice in North Carolina and throughout the South."

Presumably more than ten Southern Senators are yet to be heard as the Senate opened again Monday. After the leadership decides to file a cloture petition, at least two days of procedural action will probably be consumed before a test vote is taken. The procedure will go as follows:

Senator Lucas will secure the signatures of sixteen Senators on a cloture petition. It will be presented to the Senate and will lie on the table until the following day. At the point when Vice President Barkley moves to take up this petition, Senator Russell will make a point of order and suggest that the cloture petition is not applicable to this filibuster since it is being conducted on a motion to take up the anti-filibuster resolution and not on the resolution itself.

After some discussion of the parliamentary considerations, Mr. Barkley will make a ruling. He is expected to reverse last year's Vandenberg ruling and decide that cloture is applicable. Senator Russell will appeal to the Senate to reverse the Vice President at which time the first test vote will be taken. A majority vote will win at this point.

If, as expected, the Democratic leadership musters the majority votes to sustain the Vice President's ruling, then the cloture resolution will be put to a vote. Here two-thirds of the Senate will have to vote to invoke cloture. Democratic strength here is doubtful but, if the cloture resolution succeeds, then each Senator who cares to debate the bill after that will be given one hour. If [illegible] of the Southerners uses his hour, a final vote on the Hayden-Wherry resolution could be delayed another twenty to thirty hours. This vote would be a majority vote.

WASHINGTON—Informed sources have told newsmen here that President Truman's civil rights fights may be postponed until early summer, regardless of how the current filibuster struggle turns out. They say that pressing foreign and domestic legislation must be given priority over fair employment practices, anti-poll tax and anti-lynch legislation.

WASHINGTON—While the Senate engaged in a lengthy filibuster on cloture, President Truman announced emphatically last week that he favored majority rule cloture.

BARKLEY IN RULING SAYS SOUTHERNERS MUST YIELD TO 'GAG'

Vice President Holds Senate's Foes of Civil Rights Plan Are Not Immune to Closure

By WILLIAM S. WHITE
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, March 10—Vice President Alben W. Barkley held tonight that the Senate's Southerners were not entitled to an area of immunity from the closure or "gag" rule that they have used to prevent action on President Truman's civil rights program and hope to use again.

His decision, which both sides considered to be a grave and momentous one in the Senate's long history, was instantly appealed by the leader of the Southern group, Senator Richard B. Russell of Georgia. The great issue as to whether the Senate would sustain Mr. Barkley was put over until tomorrow.

Specifically, Mr. Barkley held valid a petition, filed by a bi-partisan group of thirty-three Senators, asking that closure be applied to silence the Southerners. Since Feb. 28 they have been employing the filibuster, or time-consuming debate intended to prevent a vote, against an amendment which would harden the very closure rule now at issue.

Chairman 80th Congress Ruling

Mr. Barkley ruled that the "gag"

Showdown Expected Today—Decision Upsets Vandenberg Action in Last Congress

TRUMAN REMARK BRINGS PROTEST

Favors Simple Majority Vote on Filibusters

(The Associated Press)

Washington, March 3—President Truman said Thursday that he favors breaking up Senate filibusters by a simple majority vote—a step which Southerners denounced as meaning "the end of free debate."

An immediate storm of protest rolled up on Capitol Hill in the wake of Mr. Truman's remark at his news conference. It came in the midst of a bitter four-day-old Senate filibuster against a proposed rules change curbing filibusters.

Under this proposal, backed by a number of northern Democrats and Republicans, debate could be cut short anytime two-thirds of the senators present so voted.

The CIO and some other organizations would go farther—limiting talk by a simple majority—and Thursday the President disclosed that he personally favors that course too.

Even some administration lieutenants on Capitol Hill bucked at going along. Senate majority leader Lucas (D-Ill.) told newsmen:

"I regret that I am compelled to disagree with my chief."

And on the Senate floor, Senator Russell (D-Ga.) shouted that the President's statement makes it clear Mr. Truman wants to "control the Senate."

Sees Danger Ahead

"It is an appalling thought," said Russell, who is quarterbacking the Dixie filibuster forces, "if the Senate is so far degraded that it cannot settle what is purely an internal matter—a change in its rules—without the President interposing his views.

"If the President can work his will, he will be in absolute control of the Senate and there will be an end to government of checks and balances."

Similarly, Senator Byrd, (D-Va.) decried Mr. Truman's suggestion. The Virginian said it only makes "those of us who are fighting this thing more determined than ever."

"If he has his way," Byrd said, "the Senate will cease to be a deliberative body and become a rubber stamp for the executive."

Senator Holland (D-Fla.), leading the day's filibuster attack told the Senate that passage of a majority cloture (debate limit) rule, as favored by Mr. Truman, would "destroy the prestige of the Senate."

"It would destroy its usefulness and ability to carry out the high duty entrusted to it," Holland said.

Mr. Truman told his news conference he believes the Senate battle over the filibuster will run its course soon and permit passage of his legislative program.

Lucas Differs

Describing himself as a veteran of many a filibuster during his Senate days—but always on the side trying to break it—Mr. Truman said if he had anything to do with the present fight, he would personally favor a simple majority vote to end debate.

Lucas told newsmen flatly he could not go along with the President's proposal.

"I feel that a constitutional majority is proper," he said.

A constitutional majority requires 49 of the 96 senators. A simple majority would be one more than half the number of senators present on the floor.

Meanwhile, Dixie orators breezed through the fourth day of their "anti-gag rule" fight, elated over fresh signs of apparent indecision in the opposite camp.

Senator Holland held the floor for a total of 4 hours and 52 minutes—the longest single speech so far—and when he sat down at 5:16 p. m., he remarked dead-pan: "I don't think there's been the slightest semblance of a filibuster up to this point."

Long Prepares Speech

Other Southerners were reported to be pressed down now, if the Senate so decided by a two-thirds vote, to halt the filibuster in spite of the fact that the Southerners have been attacking a "motion" to bring up a measure—the proposed amendment—and not that measure itself.

As the Republican presiding officer in the Eightieth Congress, Senator Arthur H. Vandenberg of Michigan had ruled that the Southerners were impervious to any closure so long as it was a motion, and not a measure, against which they talked.

The Barkley decision in its practical effect reversed Mr. Vandenberg, although the Vice President declared that the Vandenberg precedent was not at issue this time because the circumstances were different. Nevertheless, the filibuster was by no means broken when the Senate quit for the night at 8:06 o'clock.

All day, both sides had been seeking recruits on the coming showdown, whether Vice President Barkley would be upheld or repudiated by the Senate itself on the roll call for tomorrow. There seemed to be little doubt that the Southerners, who rely upon much Republican support on the Barkley test, had lost some ground during the day.

The Northern Democratic-Republican coalition arrayed against them had plainly picked up strength. Whether the strength of the Southerners and allied forces had declined sufficiently to permit Mr. Barkley's decision to stand was the major question. It had been conceded on every hand that as of this morning they had held a somewhat commanding position. Tonight they claimed a slight edge.

Walter F. White, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, an organization which is pressing for a stiffened closure against filibusters, told reporters in midafternoon that after interviews with many Senators his associates were confident that "several" had changed their minds and decided to support what was then only an expected Barkley ruling.

Thus tonight great matters hung upon what the line-up of the morrow would be. For the proponents of the rules change the road ahead was yet long and difficult. Assuming that they were able to sustain Mr. Barkley, they would then have to get a two-thirds vote actually to impose closure.

Once that goal was reached, each Senator could still talk as much as one hour before the "gag" actually fell. When it did fall it would fall only on the motion to bring up the amendment, and not the amendment itself. For the amendment, another two-thirds vote would be required to end debate.

Time and again the Southerners have declared their adamant determination to go on to the end against any alteration of the rule. They have defended it as the one greatest weapon for Senate minorities; in this case it is their own minority against the President's civil rights proposals.

Without a change in these rules there would be no way now, or later when motions come along to bring up various of the civil rights bills themselves, to silence the opposition except by previously exhausting it.

Mr. Barkley's decision, if it stands, would sharpen closure for the second time in a century and a half and permit the Senate to reach a vote upon the pending closure amendment. That amendment simply would spell out in the Senate's law of procedure the same view that the Vice President took from the chair.

Barkley Explains His Ruling

The Vandenberg ruling last year, Mr. Barkley told the Senate while Senator Vandenberg himself sat forward in his chair, was not a valid precedent for the present situation.

Then, the Vice President said the effort was actually to displace a "pending measure"—which dealt with civil aviation—with another, the poll tax repealer. In these circumstances, he went on, a petition to apply closure, against Southern speakers objecting to bringing up the poll tax bill, indeed was inapplicable.

But the position now, Mr. Barkley continued, was one in which there was no pending measure before the Senate and nothing to displace.

He turned then to the present closure rule, which was adopted in 1917, as the Senate's reaction to a filibuster against a bill to arm merchant ships against the Germans. That rule, the first abridgement of unlimited Senate debate since 1806, was to the effect that two-thirds could apply closure to any "pending measure."

Later, holes were found in it, onto the present escape hatch dealing with motions.

To hold that a "motion" was not a "measure," in the sense that the rule makers of 1917 had intended, Mr. Barkley asserted, was to take an unnecessary "narrow and legalistic" view.

The Senate of 1917, he asserted, clearly intended to act so that debate could be stopped on any sort of business. He added that he "could not believe that the Senate in 1917 didn't know what it wanted, did not know where it was going and did not know how to get there."

As Mr. Barkley went on, he dropped what seemed to some to be hints that he was prepared, when and if the time came, to knock out another parliamentary entrenchment previously used by the Southerners. Sometimes they have filibustered over the quality and content of the Senate Journal, a matter held in the past not to be in the area of a "measure," in order to prevent a vote upon some bill.

Argument by Southern Leader

Just before Mr. Barkley made his decision there was a brief debate as to how he should rule. Senator Russell asserted that "every one" of five precedents, including that of Mr. Vandenberg, was against any attempt to press closure down upon debate on a motion.

Mr. Russell, looking up at Mr. Barkley in the chair, read from the record of last year declarations by Mr. Vandenberg to the effect that while he wished he could do otherwise, he had "no alternative" to holding the Southerners immune.

Senator Russell then read this passage from Mr. Vandenberg:

"The integrity of Congressional procedures transcends, at this critical hour in the world's history, any possible transient advantage which might come from a ruling of a different character."

In retort, Senator Scott W. Lucas of Illinois, the majority leader, asserted that to hold that a "motion" could never be put under cosure's ban was to adopt a "legalistic hairsplitting and was equivalent to saying that the Senate's majority must be permanently hapless.

He declared as Mr. Barkley also asserted later in substance, that if men could filibuster with impunity against a motion to bring up a bill the effect was the same as a filibuster on the bill itself. The end result, he said, was that no bill of any sort could ever be brought up, since all must come up for consideration by way of motions if a "determined minority" was sufficiently resolved otherwise.

Republican Leaders Divided

[illegible] filed the closure petition at 6:18 P. M. On it were the names of seventeen Democrats and sixteen Republicans, the latter including Senator Robert A. Taft of Ohio, the top Republican leader, but not Senator Kenneth S. Wherry of Nebraska, the Republican floor leader.

All members of the Senate, Mr. Lucas asserted, believed "in full and free debate." But, he added, "that privilege carries with it the responsibility for eventual action. That time for action has come."

Mr. Russell was on his feet, making a point of order at once against the closure petition just as a little later he was appealing Mr. Barkley's decision rejecting that point of order.

To hold that closure could under the present rules be clamped upon discussion at the motion stage, he argued, was to hold that the proposed rules amendment had not been necessary in the first place and was "vain and futile work."

Until after dusk, the whole of the Senate's day was taken up by speeches from proponents of the new rule.

One of the was Senator Claude Pepper of Florida, who left his colleagues from the South more markedly than he had yet done in his Senate service. Mr. Pepper appeared not only for the rules change but announced that he proposed to vote for at least two of the Truman civil rights bills, the anti-poll tax and anti-lynching [illegible].

While the Southerners eyed him grimly, he asserted that many Southern Senators, including the late Oscar W. Underwood of Alabama and John Sharpe Williams of Mississippi, had supported the original closure of 1917.

"Will anybody suggest," he cried out, "that these distinguished Southerners did not love our South? I do not regard myself as being untrue to the South in associating myself with those who believe the Senate has a duty to function. To perpetuate legal discrimination is wrong."

Then, referring to the Southern argument that the civil rights bills would intrude upon state's rights, Mr. Pepper shouted:

"I cast my lot with human rights rather than state's wrongs, let the consequences be what they may."

At least one of the group, 30-year-old Senator Russell Long, (D-La.), was working on a speech that could go a solid 24 hours. Others in the 22-man filibuster team are noted for their ability to talk endlessly off the cuff.

Against this background of a solid and unflagging Southern front, the administration's Senate leaders proceeded with extreme caution in their drive to change the rules so that debate could be cut off at any time by a two-thirds vote.

Despite President Truman's renewed call for a quick showdown, administration Democrats showed no signs of being in a hurry.

President Defies Southerners By Full Civil Rights Demand

Washington Post
Washington, D.C.

President Truman flung down the gauntlet to Southern Democratic Congressmen yesterday by repeating in full his demands for the civil rights legislation that touched off last year's "Dixiecrat" revolt.

The Southerners immediately took up the challenge.

In his State of the Union message Mr. Truman blasted the hopes of numerous Democrats who expected him at least to soft-pedal part of his disputed program in the interests of party harmony.

But the Missourian, who won a surprise election victory without the electoral votes of four "Solid South" States, told the lawmakers without qualification:

"The civil rights proposals I made to the Eightieth Congress I now repeat to the Eighty-first Congress."

Mar-1-6-49

"I stand squarely behind those proposals."

Gets Cold Reception

His punch line got a cold reception. After a thin rattle of scattered handclasps, there was thick silence.

Mr. Truman's program calls for passage of Federal antilynching and antipoll-tax laws; establishment of a Federal agency (Fair Employment Practices Commission) against racial discrimination in hiring, outlawing "Jim Crowism" in public carriers; and setting up a new branch of the Justice Department to prosecute violations of civil rights.

Representative Joseph R. Bryson (D., S. C.) told reporters the Southerners "will fight it to the last ditch."

"You can afford to lose but you can't afford to compromise," he said.

Some other Dixie lawmakers promised bitter opposition but voiced belief the program will be passed despite their efforts.

Representative John L. McMillan (D., S. C.) said "It looks like he will get what he wants. But I don't see why he should try to tear the whole world apart just because he was reelected."

Representative Eugene E. Cox (D., Ga.) predicted passage but said "It will certainly result in creating the greatest social disturbance the country has ever known."

Senator Estes Kefauver (D., Tenn.) took a wait-and-see attitude. Mar-1-6-49

"I'll have to see the bills," he said. "I'm for removing the poll tax, but some parts of the program I'm against."

A Republican, Representative Samuel K. McConnell, jr., of Pennsylvania, said he did not think there would be "much of a fight" over any part of it except legislation to set up the Fair Employment Practices Commission. He doubted if the FEPC would be enacted.

Before Mr. Truman's speech, some Southern Democrats had indicated they would not oppose the President's request for anti-lynch and anti-poll-tax bills if the Administration would drop the FEPC bill.

The first bill to carry out part of the civil rights program was introduced by a Republican. Senator Irving M. Ives (R., N. Y.) reintroduced a bill pigeonholed by the Eightieth Congress to outlaw racial, religious or nationality discrimination in employment.

BIPARTISAN DRIVE TO CURB FILIBUSTER OPENS IN SENATE

New York Times

Fight to the Finish, Regardless of What Bills Are Stalled, Begun to Harden Closure

New York New York

34

STEP ORDERED BY TRUMAN

Tues-3-1-49

George, Starting Debate for the South, Appeals Against Breaking Minority Bulwark

By WILLIAM S. WHITE
Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, Feb. 28—The Administration's Senate leaders, at the signal of President Truman himself, opened today a bipartisan offensive to harden the closure, or "gag" rule against filibusters.

They proclaimed their determination to go on to the end, regardless of what legislation might be stalled and piled up behind them, to force a change over the entrenched and bitter Southern Democratic opposition. The President, they declared, wanted the issue fought out now to the finish.

The Southerners seemed to be confronting the greatest struggle of their history to preserve the ability of a Senate minority to kill bills by unlimited debate—by filibusters making it impossible to reach a vote, such as those with which they have always prevented action on President Truman's civil rights program. Closure and that program have become inseparable parts of one fight.

To maintain the right of filibuster the Southerners began to lay down counter blows upon the instrument that is inended to break that weapon, the proposed broadening and stiffening of the closure procedure. Tues-3-1-49

When the Senate quit work for the night this movement of resistance had not yet reached the status of a filibuster—which is a frankly delaying action where men speak simply for time and not necessarily relevantly to the matter at hand. This stage, however, will come shortly.

George Speaks Gravely

First to go forward to the assault for the Southerners was one of the veterans among their Senators, Senator Walter F. George of Georgia, chairman of the powerful Senate Finance Committee. Ready to follow him tomorrow was Senator Tom Connally of Texas, chairof the Foreign Relations Committee.

Mr. George's speech was grave and directed entirely to the point of controversy. It was heard as intently among his antagonists, forming a rare coalition of northern Democrats and Republicans, as it was among his embattled colleagues, the Southerners.

The great debate had opened just after noon, but before this Vice President Alben W. Barkley, Senator Scott W. Lucas of Illinois, the Democratic Senate chief, and Speaker Sam Rayburn had conferred with Mr. Truman at the White House.

Mr. Lucas emerged to say that the President's decision was that the issue had to be met "head-on," and now. Asked whether President Truman had accepted the implication that other legislation might have to be put aside, Senator Lucas replied: "yes."

Lucas Predicts Success

Then, at 12:38, in moving to bring up the closure amendment, Mr. Lucas told the Senate itself:

"As Majority Leader I have come to the conclusion after careful study that we must grapple with this problem firmly and reach a decision.

"We are going to stay here from now on until we get a disposition of this matter one way or another. It will be a successful disposition in my judgment."

To reporters, Mr. Lucas declared in answer to questions that so far as he was concerned the struggle would not be put aside short of a decision "regardless of rent control or anything else." The authority for rent control expires March 31 and this and several other bills that are high in the President's program are shortly to be ready for action. All could be held up indefinitely by a Southern filibuster. Tues-2-1-49

"I have tried in the past," Senator Lucas went on, "to work out something so that we could lay aside the rules fight temporarily to act on other things. All that is out now."

In the meantime, Vice President Barkley, almost at the outset of the session, had served plain notice upon the Southerners that he intended to enforce all the Senate rules of debate in the most rigorous way. Without mentioning a filibustre, he said in effect that all who sought to hold the floor would be held to the most strict accountability and would lose their right to speak if they transgressed.

Before the Senate at this tense hour, the first of many such hours to come, was a question which both sides conceded to be historic. It was whether the right of unlimited Senate debate or discussion, which has been abridged but once in a century and a half and then only imperfectly, should now be reduced so that two-thirds of the Senate could silence a filibuster at any point in its proceedings.

Under a rule adopted in 1917, after a filibuster on a bill to arm merchant ships against German submarines, it was laid down that the "gag" could be applied whereever a "measure" wis being discussed.

34

In 1922, a hole was found in this rampart and filibustering men adopted the device of delaying a bill not by speaking against it but by discussing at great length the quality and content of the provious day's Senate Journal.

To Challenge Vandenberg Ruling

Still later, filibustering washed over against motions to bring up measures, such as today's motion to bring up the closure amendment, as distinguished from those measures themselves. In the Republican-controlled last Congress Senator Arthur H. Vandenberg, Republican of Michigan, upheld a Southern protest that the "gag" could not be pressed down where men debated a motion and not a measure—in this case a motion to bring up one of the civil rights proposals, the anti-poll tax bill.

Senator Lucas and his associates, Republicans as well as Democrats, intend this week, probably on Wednesday or Thursday, to challenge this Vandenberg ruling. They will try to apply closure against the Southern filibuster on a motion, and demand a ruling of Vice President Barkley. The pending amendment which was brought forward under bipartisan sponsorship, would bring about precisely such a situation where closure could be put down, by two-thirds vote, on discussions of a motion, a measure, or anything else.

Mr. Barkley's prospective ruling thus held the key, and perhaps the master key, to the entire situation. If he should reverse Mr. Vandenberg and hold that the Southerners had no immunity at any point to closure, and this should be sustained on an inevitable appeal from his decision, the Southern resistance to the rules change and to the President's civil rights program would by necessity be immeasurably weakened.

If the Vice President, on the other hand, should hold with the Southerners, and this should be sustained on another inevitable appeal, the ability of the bipartisan majority to silence them would be brought into the gravest question.

Yet more complexities were involved. For if the Republicans should elect to support the sense of Mr. Vandenberg's old ruling they might, with the Southern Democrats, throw the Senate into such a snarl as indefinitely to delay, or perhaps even kill, much of President Truman's general legislative program.

In all this subtle parliamentary scene Senator Carl Hayden, Democrat of Arizona, chairman of the Rules Committee, opened the debate. Tues. 3-1-49

In a dry, unemotional way, Senator Hayden outlined what was proposed, describing the amendments as a "moderate" approach simply intended to cure the fact that in some areas of debate, under the existing interpretations, there could be no closure at all.

Senator Kenneth S. Wherry of Nebraska, the Republican floor leader, and a co-author with Mr. Hayden of the proposed alteration, told his colleagues:

"This matter transcends all party considerations. When the "gag" outright filibuster stage is reached, the Senate no longer is a legislative body. It is the springboard for a mockery of Republican processes."

The Southern tactical leader, Senator Richard B. Russell of Georgia, drew from Senator Wherry the statement that he himself would not want closure reform proceed to the point where a majority of the Senate, by a simple, could press down the

Amendments to that effect will be offered by both Republicans and Democrats, among them Senator Francis Myers of Pennsylvania, the Democratic whip.

Senator George rose late in the day to begin the presentation of the Southern case, while Senator Connally sat nearby and Mr. Russell moved endlessly about, checking and rechecking the dispositions of the Southern forces.

Notes Rights of States

"This is a memorable debate," Mr. George declared, "and its ultimate results no man can quote. He argued that the concept of majority control did not and "never had" applied to the Senate, where the smallest state was entitled to a representation equal to the largest.

"If you begin this whittling away process," he went on, "you will whittle away the rights of the states. Our whole Constitution is a direct and intentional limitation

RIGHTS BILLS DOOM CONCEDED BY LUCAS IN CLOSURE DEBATE

Times 3-1-49

He Says He Will Try to Bring Them Up at Session, but With Virtually No Hope

RULES CHANGE VOTE WAITS

34

Senate Sits Until 8 P. M., Then Recesses With Plan Suiting South Certain to Win

By WILLIAM S. WHITE
Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, March 16—The Senate angrily debated into tonight a change in the anti-filibuster rule that it was nevertheless certain at length to adopt over the deep objection of the Truman Administration leaders. A recess at 8 P. M. until 11 A. M. tomorrow postponed the decisive vote.

The prospective amendment to the closure or "gag" procedure was of a nature, Senator Scott W. Lucas, Democratic floor leader, asserted in the debate, that would make it "nearly impossible to make progress on the President's civil-rights program."

Conceding the inability of the Administration forces to beat off the plan when the voting test came, Senator Lucas told reporters:

"This means that the civil rights bills are practically dead for this session. We are going to try to get them up, but in my judgment under this rule there isn't a chance of getting closure at this session on them."

Charges "Abject Surrender"

He accused the Republicans of "abject surrender" to the Senate Southerners in order to defeat the Administration.

A coalition of Southern Democrats and Republicans, aided by twelve non-Southern Democrats, held complete control of the situation. They had fifty-two pledged votes, or a very effective majority of the Senate's membership, with which to adopt the amendment. Adoption would require only a majority of those voting.

A product of suggestions made yesterday by Senator William F. Knowland, Republican, of California, and rejected at once by the Administration Democrats, the rules amendment was introduced this morning by Senator Kenneth S. Wherry, the Republican floor leader. Senator Wherry's first co-signer on the measure was Senator Carl Hayden, the Democrat who is chairman of the Rules Committee.

The amendment to the rules backed by the coalition would permit closure on any matter, with one exception, by two-thirds of the full Senate membership actually seated at a given time, or, normally, by sixty-four Senators. The exception is that a filibuster against bringing up any further change in this rule would be impervious to any closure effort by any vote. Thurs 3-17-49

"Pending Measure" Defined

Under the present rule closure may be obtained by two-thirds of those voting—in practice almost certainly to be a less difficult requirement than two-thirds of all the Senate—upon any "pending measure."

A "pending measure," however, has now been held with all apparent finality not to include a "motion" to bring up a measure.

An effort last week by Vice President Alben W. Barkley to upset this interpretation, which was given last year by Senator Arthur H. Vandenberg as the Republican presiding officer, was overruled 46 to 41. Twenty-three Republicans joined the Southerners and a handful of non-Southerners in repudiating the Barkley opinion.

By the repudiation of the Barkley view the Southern filibuster, which began Feb. 28, remained immune to closure and the Administration suffered the first of a series of reverses which left it powerless even to bring up its own closure version. It was against the closure change sought by the Administration that the filibuster was immediately directed, with blockade of the civil rights bills as the ultimate aim.

Against a background of continued frustration for them on the rules issue, the Administration's forces had only one way in which they might prevent a long delay, action on the coalition amendment that was a filibuster of their own.

Senator Lucas declared at the outset today that they would not use that weapon. He undertook to put it into the record that those who eventually voted for the coalition formula would be voting in effect to prevent action on the civil rights program.

Senator Robert A. Taft, chairman of the Republican Policy Committee, sharply rejected this reasoning and contended that the one issue was not connected with the other.

Senator Lucas attacked those who had voted to upset the Barkley ruling. Senator Taft, who was not among them, asked Senator Lucas:

"Does the Senator from Illinois maintain that a man should vote that a rule means something he does not think it means because of his views on civil rights or any other legislative question?"

Escape From "Technicality"

"I do not," replied Senator Lucas. "But I maintain, and the Senator from Ohio knows it, that any time a man wants to get out from behind a technicality here in the Senate he can do it very well and it will not bother his conscience very much when he does it."

Senator Knowland contended that the new proposed rules change was a truly bi-partisan one and told Senator Lucas:

"Thirty members of your own party have signed it."

Senator Hayden, who normally would be leading the Administration side on a rules issue, defended support of the coalition amendment as "the only practical thing lef to do." It would provide for the first time in 140 years, he declared, as assured means of ending a filibuster.

Senator Wayne Morse of Oregon, who left his Republican colleagues to stand with Senator Lucas, shouted to the Senate:

"A new de facto political party was formed here on the floor last night. It will be interesting, in fact, to see whether this coalition stands together not only for this amendment but for other matters—to see whether this coalition forecasts what is going to happen to grave pieces of social legislation in this Congress."

Thurs 3-17-49

Wallace Alleges "Betrayal"

Henry A. Wallace, Progressive party candidate for President last year, attacked yesterday the "compromise" which ended the Senate filibuster as a betrayal of 14,000,000 Negroes by the Democratic and Republican parties.

"The sham Senate battle has ended," he said. "The real fight against Jim Crow and lynch law must begin now. It is time the people held both old parties to account. Once more they have broken the solemn promises they made when the people's vote was the prize."

TRUMAN SPURS DRIVE TO BREAK FILIBUSTER; SOUTH CLAIMS VOTES

Memphis, Tennessee

Administration To Go All Out In Effort To Get Rule Changed In Senate

Fri. 3-4-49

SHOWDOWN IS PUT OFF

Night Sessions Planned Next Week In Attempt To Wear Down Dixie Talkers Who Expect G.O.P. Support

By W. D. SISSON

From The Commercial Appeal Washington Bureau

34

WASHINGTON, March 3.—Administration leaders, led by President Truman himself, Thursday made it clear they intend to use every means in an effort to break the Southern filibuster against the imposition of a gag rule in the Senate.

The gag rule is in the form of a resolution that would make it possible to limit debate on any matter before the Senate. Under the present rule debate limitation can be voted only on consideration of a bill.

Truman Makes It Plain

President Truman came out flatfootedly at his Thursday press conference for amending the rules to allow the voting of cloture or debate limitation by a simple majority rather than by a two-thirds vote. The Commercial Appeal

Mr. Truman said he thought the present filibuster will eventually run its course and that his legislative program including the so-called civil rights bills will go through.

Mr. Truman said he had favored cloture by a majority vote when he was in the Senate and when as a senator he had been mixed up in a number of filibusters but always in an effort to break them up. Memphis, Tennessee

The President's determination to force through gag rule was emphasized by Majority Leader Lucas (D., Ill.), who said he plans a Saturday session and will seek night sessions of the Senate starting early next week. These sessions, he said, will run "at least" to 10 o'clock each night and are designed to wear down the 21 Southerners who are engaging in extended debate in an effort to prevent the rules change resolution from being called up.

Administration Wary

Senator Lucas also showed that the Administration fears it does not have the votes to sustain Vice President Barkley if he should rule that a cloture petition did apply to the present motion to take up the controversial resolution.

Early this week Senator Lucas said he would file a cloture petition Thursday. Then Wednesday he said the petition would be filed Monday. Thursday he said the petition will be filed next Wednesday.

Filing of the petition is expected to bring on the first test of strength between the Administration and the embattled Southerners. Fri.

If Vice President Barkley should overturn precedent established by previous rulings and hold that cloture could be applied to the pending motion the Southerners plan to appeal. The ruling can be overturned by a simple majority vote.

The Southern leaders said the continued delay in filing the cloture petition was "clear evidence" that the Administration leaders realize they do not have sufficient votes to uphold such a ruling by Vice President Barkley and are stalling for time in an effort to get pressure applied to senators from the North and West so as to change their present plan. 3-4-49

G.O.P. Support Claimed

Right now the Southern leaders claim that counting the support of most of the Republican senators, they are assured of at least 53 votes to overturn an adverse ruling.

The filibuster struck a slow pace Thursday as Senator Holland (D., Fla.), who had originally planned to speak only two hours held the floor for almost five hours.

He was followed by Senator Knowland, (R., Calif.), one of the supporters of the rules change, who talked until the Senate recessed. The Commercial Appeal

Senator Fulbright, (D., Ark.), is slated to take up the talking marathon for the Southerners Friday. The senator said he had sufficient material to talk for seven or eight hours and planned to talk as long as necessary. Memphis, Tenn.

Senator McClelland, (D., Ark.), will carry the Southern burden Saturday. No definite selection has as yet been made for Monday but Senator Eastland, (D., Miss.), will take the floor Tuesday for several hours. Fri. 3-4-49

SEGREGATION CLAUSE SNAGS RENT MEASURE

The Commercial Appeal
Memphis, Tenn.
Fri. 3-4-49

Hot Argument Develops After House Committee Approves Extension Of Controls

By The Associated Press

WASHINGTON, March 3. — An attempt to put an anti-race discrimination clause into the Rent Control Bill plunged the House Banking Committee into bitter argument Thursday. As a result it recessed without taking final action on legislation to continue the controls.

Earlier, the committee voted 23 to 2 in favor of continuing rent controls for 15 months. It rejected an Administration request for a 24-month continuation.

New Opposition Rises

The committee was working to complete the bill when Representative O'Hara (D., Ill.) offered an amendment providing that in veterans priorities for rental or purchase of new construction there shall be no discrimination because of race, creed or color.

One member said that this would that in the last analysis" they are "anti-American." He said Congress that properties for sale or voted on various amendments pre- rent, regardless of location, would vote on the now must face the issue of "when paratory to a final vote on the we are going to get rid of the full measure. 3-4-49 damn thing."

The House group also turned down an Administration proposal to impose fines up to $5000 and one year for violations of rent ceilings. The provisions were extension of rent control law. Fri.

The House Banking Committee's action as it amendments pre- vote on the final vote on the full measure. 3-4-49

The House group also turned down an Administration proposal to impose fines up to $5000 and one year for violations of rent ceilings. The provisions were extension of rent control law. Fri.

Fresh opposition broke out meanwhile on the other side of the Capitol, where Senator Tobey (R., N. H.) said he will vote against the extension of controls unless administration's plea for a two-year scrapped in the last "fair return" on their investment.

Tobey, who has been a strong supporter of rent controls, declared raised also figured in the House

Rent controls are due to expire on March 31. Rent controls are due to expire on March 31. Rent controls are due to expire on March 31.

Rent controls are due to expire on March 31.

Rent controls are due to expire on March 31.

TRUMAN RECEIVES REBUFFS ON RENT CONTROL, CLOSURE; LOSES FIGHT FOR WALLGREN

The Times Dem. Gazette N.Y. 3-12-49

FILIBUSTER GOES ON

32 Signers Claimed for Closure Plan Having South's Approval

LUCAS IS LEFT HELPLESS

Speeches Continue Into Night With Administration Unable Even to Capitulate

By WILLIAM S. WHITE

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, March 15—The Truman Administration's Senate leaders were being driven farther back tonight in the filibuster crisis.

An informal Southern Democratic-Republican coalition, united in a plan for a compromise closure rule that was wholly unacceptable to the Administration, appeared to be consolidating and extending its control of the situation.

The deep and bitter division among the Democrats—Southern on the one hand and Northern and Western on the other—was widening.

Senator Scott W. Lucas, the Democratic floor leader, who offered yesterday to surrender under compulsion to the Southern filibuster, was still powerless to do so on any terms of his own choosing and thus move on to pressing bills of the Truman program.

Floor Talk Goes Forward

The endless debate that the Southerners have now been carrying on since Feb. 28 went on through the afternoon and night. The immediate objective of the Southerners is to prevent a change in the rules of debate that is unacceptable to them. The ultimate objective is to thwart the civil rights legislation urged by President Truman.

The day brought the collapse of further efforts to find some meeting place among the Truman Democrats and their Southern colleagues. Tonight some among the Republicans and Southern Democrats were moving to ta the issue completely out of the Administration's hands. The Times

They were passing about, for signing by Southern Democrats, Republicans and even some of the Administration Democrats, a paper that amounted to a pledge to go along with a solution brought forward by Senator William F. Knowland, Republican, of California.

Late tonight the signatures of fifty-two Senators, or an effective majority, were being claimed for the petition.

Senator Lucas conceded that if the Republicans generally sided with Senator Knowland—and there was no official party position as yet to indicate that this would be so—they probably could, in combination with the Southerners, force the Knowland plan upon the Administration forces.

Such an outcome, Senator Lucas asserted, "would set back by forty years any liberalization of the Senate rules."

The Knowland formula for s eventuality, a further effort to alter the rule itself.

This formula was rejected by the Southerners for a fundamental reason. The whole of their commanding position of the moment rests on the fact that, under the existing interpretations of the rules, they are free of any closure when they are talking against a "motion" to bring up a "measure" and not against the measure itself.

The pending "motion" is to bring up as a "measure" the Hayden-Wherry amendment to tighten the rules.

The scene in the Senate all afternoon and into the night was one of frustration and fatigue as Senator Lucas and his Administration colleagues sought somehow to extricate themselves from the parliamentary prison in which the circumstances had placed them.

From last night they had been willing formally to give up, at least temporarily, on the filibuster because they were in growing fear for the rest of President Truman's program. Even to surrender, however, their one practicable way to get rid of the rules fight was to move to "adjourn," as distinguished from recessing, and thus wipe the calendar clean.

Even within one hour of his announced capitulation of last night Senator Lucas was unwilling, because of the Republican-Southern Democratic phalanx drawn up against him, to attempt the test lest he lose on a simple majority vote.

The long strain of the filibuster had told heavily tonight upon him and upon many other Senators. At times, as Senator Willis A. Robertson of Virginia held the floor for the Southerners in a filibuster speech of more than six

rule curb to filibusters was essentially what the Southerners had accepted yesterday and the Administration Democrats had rejected.

It would provide that:

1. Closure, or "gag," on debate could, after a stated interval, be invoked in the case of a measure, motion or any other matter save one by vote of two-thirds of all the Senate membership, or sixty-four votes. 3-16-49
2. This closure would have an escape clause by which men resisting any future amendment to the rules could filibuster with total immunity to the "gag" so long as they could carry on.

An all-party Republican conference, held late in the day before Senator Knowland began to circulate his proposal, neither rejected nor wholly accepted it.

It did demand that the Administration Democrats keep the Senate in round-the-clock session against the filibuster, a declaration that the Republicans wanted the filibuster broken as the first order of business.

It was announced that, as matters stood, the parts generally remained committed to the long-pending bipartisan closure amendment offered by Senators Kenneth S. Wherry of Nebraska, the Republican floor leader, and Carl Hayden, Democratic, of Arizona.

This amendment, however, is the one which the Southerners have, as of now, smothered by their filibuster for all the forseeable future. It would permit closure by a two-thirds majority of those voting, rather than two-thirds of the whole membership.

Official Strategy Stated

It was stated officially, therefore, that if it was found impossible even to get the Hayden-Wherry amendment up for discussion the Republicans would back the Knowland version as an "alternative" vehicle.

The Knowland formula did not differ greatly in principle, although it differed sharply in degree, from an approach to which the Democrats headed by Senator Lucas had given favor earlier in the day, only to be rebuffed by the Southerners.

The plan approved by the Lucas group would have permitted closure on ordinary issues—bills, motions to bring up bills and son on—by two-thirds of those voting. It would have permitted any further rules change to be filibustered without limit and it would have required a vote of two-thirds of all the Senate membership in one hours, less than a dozen Senators were there to hear.

Senator Lucas, who originally had intended to hold off the rules fight and its essential corollary, the civil rights program, until other "must" bills had been acted upon, made it plain during the day that he was not seeking advice from President Truman in Florida.

The President and some of the other Administration Democrats of the Senate had overruled the strategy favored by Senator Lucas and insisted on going forward with the rules issue.

34

In The Nation's Capital

Filibuster Faces Fight To Finish

By LOUIS LAUTIER For the NNPA News Service

THE Senate filibuster is only a sham battle. The Senate Democratic leadership is playing into the hands of southerners by their complacency, and Republicans are speaking on issues irrelevant to the rules so as to curb filibusters, are aiding the filibusters.

Matter of the change in the rules so as to curb filibusters, are aiding the filibusters.

If there is any doubt about the phony nature of the filibuster, all one needs to do to resolve that doubt is to read the Senate's proceedings. For example, on Tuesday, March 8, Senator Arthur W. Watkins, Republican of Utah, held the floor for more than two hours demanding that President Truman make the North Atlantic security pact

MR. LAUTIER

immediately available to the Senate, and Senator Henry P. Cain, Republican, of Washington, spoke for six hours and 45 minutes against President Truman's nomination for former Governor Mon C. Wallgren of Washington, to be chairman of the National Security Resources Board.

* * * *

UNDER SENATE rules, a senator has the right to speak on any subject that he may choose at any time that he can obtain recognition from the presiding officer, but it does seem that in the face of a filibuster, Senator Watkins could have cut short his remarks and Senator Lucas could have deferred his speech until later.

That, however, is not the only proof that the filibuster is phony. On Friday, March 4, Senator J. William Fulbright, Democrat of Arkansas, was supposed to take up the filibuster as soon as the senate convened at noon. But it was not until 3:37 p. m. when he actually began talking. He had been delayed by speeches by other senators on matters unrelated to the filibuster.

Senator Watkins was an offender on that day also when he spoke on the North Atlantic Treaty. To prolong Watkins' speech, Senators Lister Hill of Alabama, Richard B. Russell of Georgia, and Russell B. Long of Louisiana asked a number of questions.

* * * *

ON THAT DAY also Senator Owen Brewster, Republican of Maine, spoke on the appointment of Louis A. Johnson as Secretary of Defense, and Senator Joseph R. McCarthy, Republican of Wisconsin, spoke in favor of a resolution to make Oct. 11, the date of the death of Casimir Pulaski, Polish soldier who fought in the American Revolutionary War, Pulaski Day.

Besides, it took a roll call consuming 43 minutes, with directions to the sergeant at arms to request absent senators to attend the session, before a quorum could be obtained and Senator Fulbright could begin speaking.

Polls indicate that a majority of the senate will vote to override a decision of Vice President Alben W. Barkley re-

versing the ruling last summer of Senator Arthur H. Vandenberg, Republican of Michigan, who was then president pro tempore of the Senate, that the cloture rule does not apply to motions to take up bills, if a cloture petition is offered to end a filibuster.

In that event, it appears that the only way the filibuster can be broken is by a physical endurance contest. But such a contest cannot be won if senators not engaged in the filibuster are going to talk about matters irrelevent to the issue of whether the rule should be changed to curb filibusters and if senators will not answer roll calls promptly when a point of no quorum is made.

* * * *

IT SEEMS THAT the Democrats and Republican leadership could agree on postponement by senators not engaged in the filibuster of such speeches until such time when they would not be giving aid and comfort to the filibusterers.

The other thing that appears necessary is round-the-clock sessions seven days a week.

At the most, there are only 15 senators who would be effective in a talkathon with trict enforcement of senate rules. Of the 22 senate seats of states in the deep South, one is vacant by reason of the death of Senator J. Melville Broughton of North Carolina. Senators Claude Pepper of Florida, and Estes Kefauver of Tennessee, favor a change in the rules.

Senator Walter F. George of Georgia, is 72 years old, Senator Clyde R. Hoey of North Carolina, 73, and Senators Kenneth McKellar of Tennessee and Tom Connally of Texas, are in their 80's. None of them could be expected to hold the floor for much over two hours.

Sat. 3-19-49

SENATE RULES provide that no senator may speak more than twice on the same subject on the same legislative day. A legislative day lasts indefinitely. The senate now is in the legislative day of Feb. 21, the day on which the filibuster began, and will stay in that legislative day until it decides to adjourn and not recess.

By keeping the senate in continuous session and in the same legislative day, the 15 effectives would be compelled to talk until their tongues hung out and they would be physically worn out by a lack of sleep. On the other hand, supporters of the rules change would only have to keep two or three senators on guard in the chamber and [illegible] roll call or a vote at any time.

Rent control is due to expire on March 31, and it will be necessary either to break the filibuster or lay aside the motion to take up the rules change resolution. If both Democrats and Republicans are to keep their pledges, round-the-clock sessions are necessary. Write your senators today urging them to hold the senate in continuous session until the filibuster is broken.

GLADSTONE WILLIAMS

The Constitution

Magnitude of the Southern Victory

Atlanta, Ga. Daily

WASHINGTON—The victory won by Southern Democrats in the fight over a change in the Senate rules against filibusters lies concealed beneath the surface of the compromise proposal worked out. On the face of things it may not appear that they gained very much, since they yielded on the main point of permitting cloture to be invoked on any pending motion as against a measure, to which the old rule applied.

But the victory is there, though somewhat hidden in the technical verbiage of the compromise rule adopted. From the standpoint of its practical effect, it may amount to a very considerable victory. Majority Leader Scott Lucas, for example, admits privately that the new rule forced through by a combination of Southern Democrats and Republicans will make it virtually impossible to invoke cloture against the civil rights legislation which the Administration is sponsoring.

That is why the filibuster battle, which has raged for the past [illegible] and more, is looked upon as a bitter blow to the Administration. President Truman had given his approval to an all-out fight for a change in the Senate rules in order to open the way for the passage of his civil rights program—FEPC, anti-poll tax law and the like.

Instead of accomplishing this, Administration forces in the Senate only succeeded in opening the door for filibusters a little wider. In other words, it will be more difficult under the compromise rule than ever before to invoke cloture as a means of shutting off debate on highly controversial legislation. Sat. 3-19-49

Here is how the situation stacks up. Under the old rule it took only a two-thirds majority vote of those present, assuming a quorum, to apply cloture. That meant that if there were 60 of the 96 Senators present when a cloture petition was voted on, 40 of them, representing two-thirds, would be able to invoke cloture.

Under the compromise rule it will take a constitutional two-thirds majority of the Senate to shut off debate. This is 64 members. Now it would not matter either way if the full 96 Senators were always present and voted every time a cloture motion was acted on. It would still take two-thirds to impose the gag rule, or 64 members.

But the rub comes in the fact that seldom does any vote in the Senate command a full turnout of the membership. A fair average on most record votes is 75 members.

Under the old rule the division necessary to shut off debate would have to be 50 to 25, or two-thirds in favor. It would take 26 Senators to defeat cloture. The Constitution

Under the compromise, with 75 Senators voting, it would take 64 members, amounting to a so-called constitutional two-thirds, to impose a gag. The votes of only 12 Senators would be needed to defeat cloture. Hence the advantage to the filibusterers lies in the difference between 12 and 26 Senators, on the basis of a total vote of 75. In other words, 12 would be able to accomplish what it would take 26 to do otherwise.

The ratio of the advantage diminishes as the total vote increases, but Southern Democrats felt they were safe in projecting a compromise which relied on the Senate never producing a full turnout of the vote.

As a matter of fact, Majority Leader Lucas has compiled a set of figures showing that past cloture votes, for the most part, have averaged a total of somewhere between 72 and 82 members. He figures that the Southerners have gained an advantage of eight members in the revision of the rules pertaining to filibusters. That is to say, they will need eight votes less in the future to defeat cloture. Atlanta, Ga.

And so it is that what started out as a fight by Administration forces to tighten up the rules against Senatorial talkfests has apparently ended up in a further relaxation of the rules. The only thing gained by the Administration was a change in the rules to permit a cloture petition to be presented against any motion or bill. But considering the loss otherwise, this is a matter of doubtful value. Sat. 3-19-49

Finally, the Southern contingent capped their victory by winning a concession that there can be no further change in the Senate rules on cloture except by unanimous consent. This was designed to close the door against any such proposal as that made by President Truman that debate be shut off by a simple majority.

Washington Notebook . . .

Pittsburgh Courier

By LEM GRAVES, JR.

(Courier's Washington Correspondent)

Senator Pepper Cleared the Atmosphere of Lies

WASHINGTON—"My grandfather went off to war wearing the grey . . . but he was WRONG!!!"

It was the kind of statement that you probably ought to have heard in order to appreciate its full significance. For those who couldn't hear it, this reporter will try to recreate the dramatic scene and frame this significant and inspiring utterance in its true perspective.

To begin with, nine out of ten Senate filibuster speeches—either in the interest of the liberal point of view or in the interest of the obstructionists—are just so much bumbling, hysterical, and predominantly irrelevant oratory. Much of it is delivered as if it is intended only for the record. Most of the rest is just intended to consume time. You can take them or leave them with no great loss.

Mr. Graves

But the moving address of Senator Claude Pepper was vastly different. That is the one you should have heard. For Claude Pepper is a Southerner, born in Alabama, raised in Dixie and elected, three times running, as the United States Senator for the State of Florida—Southernmost commonwealth in the entire United States.

You would enjoy hearing any speech made by Claude Pepper, for he is without peer as an orator in the august U. S. Senate. But this one is the one you should have heard. For Claude Pepper, who has long been regarded as a non-conformist by his Dixiecrat, white-supremacy colleagues, lectured Dixie demagogues on the facts of democratic life in a manner seldom, if ever, heard on the floor of the U. S. Senate. Sat. 3-19-49

With his dynamic oratory, he cleared the atmosphere of the lies, confusions, half-truths and emotional appeals on which the Dixiecrats had based their entire filibuster case. He stood for two and one-half hours on the floor of the Senate and looked into the teeth of his Dixiecrat colleagues and told them that they were trying to turn back the forces of destiny and to hold a moral dyke against the powerful urges of history.

And he said: "My grandfather went off to war—wearing the gray . . . but he was WRONG!!!"

It was here that Claude Pepper took his leave from the ranks of even the most enlightened Southern liberal and advanced to a position which is far ahead of the pack. For the Civil War is sacrosanct among Southerners of all stripes. Even when they are prepared to admit that Negroes in the United States have citizenship rights which are inviolate, they still will not admit, generally, that those of their forebears who revolted against the Government of this Nation were wrong. And even in those rare cases where a Southern liberal will make this private admission, he will not say it in public. It is unthinkable for a Southern politician to say these things. But Claude Pepper has been saying them for a long time.

"I revere my grandfather," he said, "but he was wrong."

And then Claude Pepper went on to bare the lies which had fallen from the lips of Dixiecrats in the ten-day Senate filibuster. He told his colleagues that they had deliberately misrepresented the President's civil rights program. He straightened out the record on exactly what the President had asked for and pointed out that the President had not asked that local segregation laws and customs be outlawed. He told the Senate and the Nation that the Federal Government could not do that but that it had the right and the responsibility to safeguard and protect the human rights guaranteed to its citizens by the Federal constitution. He answered, point by point, all the confusing mistatements of the primary issues in the filibuster and called for the Senate to correct its rules so as to make it possible for orderly business of the Senate to be transacted without having to face unlimited filibuster.

He was the voice of the new South and it is an encouraging, hopeful voice. No damyankee by any stretch of the imagination, Claude Pepper is not even ready yet to abandon the principles of racial segregation in the South. But he is ready to abandon the hysterical appeals to prejudice in order to confuse issues for political advantage. Sat. 3-19-49

RALPH McGILL

'—I Cannot Hear What You Say'

Atlanta Constitution

"What you do speaks so loud I cannot hear what you say," said that sharp Transcendentalist, Ralph W. Emerson, in debate with critics some years ago. Atlanta Georgia

The phrase best expresses my feeling about the whole aspect of the filibuster in the United States Senate—not any one phase of it—but the whole. Mon. 3-14-49

I am convinced, now as before, that the proposed poll tax repeal law, the antilynch legislation and the Fair Employment Practices Act are unconstitutional. I also believe an FEPC with Federal police powers would be not merely unworkable, but an opening wedge to supply many Federal bureaus with their own police forces, and would be a most destructive and fearful step from that viewpoint. God help the nation the day we have a Federal police force. I do believe a committee, federally constituted, under the Labor Department, with powers similar to that of the Conciliation Board, would be helpful and would accomplish what is possible in employment discriminations. It is entirely possible to conceive of a workable fair employment practice. Neither thinking nor consideration should be limited to one proposal.

Rights I have always believed that any right obtained by coercion has less strength and permanence than one willed by the people concerned. Therefore, I felt all along that to grant to a simple majority the right to end debate in the Senate would be wrong and productive of damage to the nation.

Any absolute power, either of a majority in a Congress, of a Hitler, Franco, Mussolini, or a court, is destructive of representative government. Therefore, it seemed to me that the effort to give to a simple majority in the Senate the right to end debate any time it chose to exercise that absolute power was not merely undesirable, but highly dangerous. It opened the door to all sorts of demagogic possibilities. No one knows what the mind of future majorities will be. In this country the right of a minority is as necessary to defend and maintain as that of a majority.

Dilemma But exactly here we come upon the dilemma, the frustrating fact which obscured the filibuster, the factor which gives to us here in the South a certain guilt complex.

Here, precisely, echoed Emerson's words, "What you do speaks so loud I cannot hear what you say."

It is all right to speak out and say antilynch legislation is unconstitutional; that Federal Government has not the power delegated to it to take jurisdiction over one form of murder and not therefore over all forms of murder and crime. It is truth and it is right to say this is the duty of each State. It is proper, too, to say the Constitution expressly gives to the States the right to establish their own qualifications concerning elections, and therefore the Federal Government may not itself take over that power.

Acts But what we do speaks so loud that most of the nation cannot hear what we say.

Because, if those premises be true, as I earnestly believe them to be, I just as earnestly believe it is as necessary for all those who have been saying so to speak as loudly in their own States for the State reforms.

I cannot forget the four dead bodies in a field near the line between Walton and Oconee Counties, slain by a mob from both, and no guilty one ever brought to trial. I cannot forget the killings of men for voting, or for owning an automobile. And most of all, I cannot forget that in none of these cases have the guilty ever been found guilty and punished.

Law So, while I believe an antilynch law to be unconstitutional because it is a concern of the State and is a responsibility delegated to the State, I cannot cheer with any sincerity a fight which is not a whole fight; one which is made in Washington, D. C., and not in all the other States where it is needed. If the gentlemen from Arkansas, Mississippi and Alabama, as well as the other four States which have the poll tax, believe it is indefensible as a prerequisite to voting, as they inserted in debate, then let them say so at home and bring it to an end.

Judgment This is the essence of our guilt complex—the complex of a good people who know what is right and instinctively want to do it—that we too often are not willing to do and say at home what we are willing to say and do away from home.

That is why the South, with a skilfully achieved opening victory, won without any resort to Bilbeism, still may lose the final victory. The world judges us finally, as does a just and observing God, on what we do. Not what we say.

A Southerner

By LILLIAN Smith

TALKING

Great Speeches

TODAY, I wish I were in Congress. I think as a whole I would be a poor congresswoman but I would like, this one time, to measure my strength against those southern filibusterers.

The only way to stop Dixiecrats is to talk better and longer than they. But talk at home where folks can really hear you is the real way to stop them.

While these men are killing time and risking the security of the whole earth, our liberal leaders in the South could be talking steadily against them. They could match every Dixiecrat's word with a better word, every demagogue's dream with a better dream. How can we persuade them to do it?

Sat. 3-12-49

For us to work to pass federal legislation and do so little to change men's beliefs back home is not only futile but dangerous. The demagogues are only a little less than half right when they say "Legislation won't work unless the people are 'ready' for it." I would say that in a democracy, legislation won't work unless more than half the people are 'ready' for it. The South is not, however, a democracy. It is a pretty solid hunk of authoritarianism, hence it makes better sense to say that a law unsupported by the majority of authorities will not work in Dixie.

Who are the "authorities"? The newspapers, the preachers, the politicians, the school board (not the teachers) and in a special way, the doctors, who are often the finest bedside propagandists. These authorities are Southern Tradition's mouthpieces.

If we want change, we must persuade these authorities in rural Dixie to speak out against segregation and for human rights or else we must find a new way to go straight to the people. To get to the rural people in Dixie is not easy. But remember, the Communists are getting to rural people in China and remember that Gandhi got to the rural people in India.

We must find the way to reach these people who do not read books, magazines, or any paper except their rural weeklies and the demagogues' weeklies. We do not have liberal weeklies for the rural folks of the South. And we do not have good men like Gandhi (or Jesus) who go from village to village talking quietly to the people, giving them, with food recipes and hygiene rules, the recipes for a good life of the spirit. The South is not nearly as big as India; it has only 30 million people in it including those of the cities. India has four hundred million. Yet Gandhi, on foot, made himself known to all of rural India and almost single-handedly won independence for his people.

Gandhi's quiet way is the way of non-violence; the communist way is the way of violence. It is the ancient, classic contest of sun gainst wind. Gandhi won—in a way that communists can never win.

Sometimes, I think we are falling into the old trap of wanting Washington to do all of our job for us. I hate to sound like a Dixiecrat but there is great danger in leaving the big job for Congress to do. I believe in government protecting human rights and filling human needs. I believe in it and work for it because I think the attempt to pass federal legislation for civil rights and social needs is one of our best methods of mass education.

But I believe more in Gandhi's way. I believe individuals not connected with politics can do far more than politicians can do. It is more urgent to change men's beliefs than to pass legislation though I think both necessary.

How can we change Tobacco Road's beliefs? These folks, many of whom cannot read or write. Can you hush the sound of the filibuster from your mind for a moment and imagine a Gandhi quietly moving up and down Tobacco Road, standing by the pigpen, helping feed the pigs while he talked gently, quietly, humorously about the right and need to be human? Can you imagine that? Can you see him moving in and out of the South, talking to black and white, helping with the chores, advising, giving recipes, suggesting better ways of raising the crops, changing [illegible] down at the grass-roots?

Sat. 3-12-49

Are we not, perhaps, making the same mistake about [illegible] that the traditional economists make about money—expecting [illegible] liefs and wealth to dribble from the top down to the bottom?

A Grave Responsibility

Thur 3-3-49

The Senate

"THE most august deliberative body in the world" has again been tied in a parliamentary knot by "a little group of wilful men."

Detroit News

The merits of the civil-rights legislation against which this filibuster was indirectly launched ought not to be confused with the fundamental issue involved.

The paramount issue is over the privilege of "extended debate" enjoyed in the Senate for 140 years.

A filibuster is an abuse of this privilege. A few determined men have upon occasion been able to defeat the will of a majority of the Senate by wearing it down with "unrestrained garrulity." All parties have resorted to filibusters in the past. They have talked to death bills ranging from migratory bird refuges to Canadian reciprocity.

★

THE filibuster organized this week aimed directly to prevent a change in the rules of the Senate that would make filibustering more difficult.

Without this potent weapon the Southern Senators would be deprived of their chief bulwark against what they regard as the invasion of rights reserved to their States by the Constitution.

The emotions aroused by the civil-rights program were counted on by their opponents to enable a change in the rules that would permit choking off debate on any motion or measure by a vote of two-thirds of the Senators present.

The power of a minority to obstruct "majority rule" in the Senate would thus be effectively restrained.

The House long since amended its rules so as to limit debate and make filibusters impossible.

Why hasn't the Senate gone that far?

★

THE answer involves the whole philosophy of our bi-cameral national legislature.

The House of Representatives is a popular body, whose 435 members are elected by the people of the several States according to population.

At the convention which adopted the Constitution the smaller States would not come into the proposed Union unless they had some protection against being constantly outvoted in Congress by a few great States.

The Senate, where the voice of the two Senators from the smallest State is as powerful as the voice of the two Senators from the largest State, was the answer.

The Senate was not intended to buttress "majority rule" but to limit it.

At the present time 20 Senators from the 10 most populous States represent more than half the people in the United States. Yet they can be outvoted in the Senate by 76 Senators representing a minority of our population.

The Senate, too, was intended, as Washington explained to Jefferson, as a saucer in which to cool the hot tea brewed in the House.

Thur ★ 3-3-49

THE privilege of "extended debate," or of talking as long as any Senator liked on any subject before the Senate, was regarded as essential to this cooling-off process.

A good many vicious measures passed in the House have been killed in the Senate.

A good many meritorious bills have been the victims of the abuse of that privilege.

As recently as 1946, when President Truman asked for authority to draft strikers into the Army—so that they would have to obey him—the House voted for it. Senator Taft—alone—said "No." Without resorting to a filibuster, but with the privilege of extended debate held in reserve, Taft then rallied enough Senators to his side to save the Nation from that childish effort at dictatorship.

★

THE Country's legislative business must go on. The power of a few men to hold it up must be curbed. The majority must rule. Yet minority rights must also be protected against the tyranny of temporary majorities, which may be upset at the next election.

At least one branch of Congress should be permitted sufficient latitude in debate and deliberation to offset the impetuosity of men in a hurry to make America over.

Cloture by a two-thirds vote is as tight as should be put upon the Senate.

The dear old chap who is called in the darkest hour of the night to save that child or that mother, that father, is not interested in Socialism.

All he is asked to do is to use the abilities God gave him to carry on and to serve mankind.

* * *

Somehow or other that is not considered in the present scheme of existence by which all cooks and time-table clerks who were smart enough to get themselves elected to Congress, I am to repudiate all that this old chap gave me? I am to have some clerk with nothing more human than a railroad time table to tell ME when I need a doctor?

* * *

But, being very old, I can remember the times through the long nights when I walked the floor and wondered whether that little spark of life could be kept burning.

* * *

And, with me as I wondered—and worshipped—was a doctor of the old school who was fighting

Iffy . . . the Dopester

So, now, because of a couple of short-order cooks and time-table clerks who were smart enough to get themselves elected to Congress, I am to repudiate all that this old chap gave me? I am to have some clerk with nothing more human than a railroad time table to tell ME when I need a doctor?

* * *

GOP Refuses Plea To Help Kill Filibuster

Montgomery Advertiser Sun 3-6-49

McGrath And Lucas Seek Compromise In Effort To Pass Rules Change

Talking Goes On

Wherry Scores Truman' Majority Vote Appeal Fulbright Carries Bal

WASHINGTON, March 5—(AP)—Democratic leaders bid for and failed to get—strong Republican support today for their efforts to break a Southern filibuster in the Senate.

Dixie Democrats, riding what they think is a victory crest, kept the Senate for the sixth day from acting on a motion by Senator Lucas of Illinois, their party leader, to take up a rules change which hits at filibusters.

Senator Fulbright (D), Arkansas, held the floor during most of an abbreviated Saturday session.

Outside the chamber itself Lucas and Senator McGrath of Rhode Island, the Democratic national chairman, proposed a compromise to Republicans after a meeting with a score of Northern and border state Democrats.

In effect, they offered this guarantee to the Republicans:

If the GOP supports a move to force a vote on the pending proposal to let two-thirds of those present gag debate at any time the administration will oppose letting fewer than two-thirds have that power.

Cuts Ground Under Truman

McGrath said this was offered to try to convince Republicans that if they go along they won't run into an administration effort to cut the two-thirds down to a majority. Sun 3-6-49

Thus the leaders cut the ground from under President Truman's position that a simple majority of those voting ought to be able to curb debate.

Lucas said previously he doesn't want debate shut off by the affirmative vote of less than 49 of the 96 senators. McGrath sided with Lucas, despite the President's position.

But the Republicans weren't in a receptive mood.

Senator Ferguson (R), Michigan, an advocate of a debate gag by two-thirds, said he doesn't think the compromise plan will change any Republican votes on the first issue that may arise.

That would involve an expected ruling by Vice-President Barkley that a debate-limiting cloture petition—which may be filed next week—could gag the present debate if two-thirds supported it.

Wherry Raps President

Senator Wherry of Nebraska, GOP floor leader and one of the authors of the rules change resolution Lucas is trying to call up, announced he would vote to reverse any such ruling by Barkley.

And he has assembled information which he says shows this progress quite clearly.

The trouble, he says, is that the rest of the country is not aware of this progress and holds erroneous beliefs and convictions about conditions in the South and the problems which beset the area.

There is a great tendency, he says, to point an accusing finger at the "backward South."

Trend To Obscure Facts

As a result, he contends, there is pressure to thrust abrupt and far-reaching "reforms" on the South and obscure the fact that the "real issue" is economic progress for the South.

In this pressure category he places the so-called civil rights program, which he stoutly opposes as one which would harm, rather than further, the cause of the Negro.

Stennis wants the rest of the country informed of the South's "affirmative program which has obtained marvelous results, particularly during the past two decades."

To this end, he is readying a "Southern Progress Report" to the nation.

This report is based on information from the 13 Southern states. It will be made to the country in an address to the Senate about mid-March.

The report shows, Stennis said, that the Southern states have taken many steps, not just an isolated few, to give Negroes better educations, improve their health, encourage them to be better and more prosperous farmers and aid them in advanced training.

Stennis told a reporter:

"The reports which I received on recent Southern progress are encouraging signs that the South will take direct advantage of every economic gain to better the welfare of all of its citizens.

"Aid in improving our economic position is what the South needs, not misguided direction."

Wherry charged in a statement that President Truman is attempting—through his support for a simple majority gag on debate—"to control the Senate."

Noting that one of the chief arguments against the two-thirds proposal is that it may lead to a gag by majority rule, the Nebraskan declared: 3-6-49

"Now comes President Truman, along with special interests, and says that he wants cloture by a majority, thereby strengthening the contention of opponents of cloture that the real purpose of the President is to fix the Senate rules, regardless of all precedent, so that a rough-shod majority could trample upon the rights of minorities."

Later Hours Seen

Lucas told reporters that he now has no plans for continuous Senate sessions such as sometimes are used in an attempt to wear out filibusterers.

But he added that "there is a very good possibility he will go into later hours next week."

Fulbright held the floor today for three hours 52 minutes, although he was interrupted frequently by questions from other senators.

A couple of minutes before Fulbright quit, Lucas told him a check of the Senate's 54 Democrats showed that 44 are in favor of shutting off debate by a two-thirds vote, rather than by a majority. Lucas wanted to know whether that made any difference to Fulbright, who had been saying that a drive for a majority rule is to be expected.

Fulbright replied that Lucas was "arguing the niceties of the situation," and made no direct answer to the question.

In announcing his plans to hold the Senate in session a little longer every day, Lucas said the move is necessary to "keep my friends on the other side of the aisle from calling this a phony filibuster."

Senator Russell (D), Georgia, quarterbacking the Southerners, responded quickly:

"This debate has not reached the stage of a filibuster and will not until every senator has had a chance to be heard. This might be the last occasion that these historic halls will hear free and untrammeled debate."

Lodge Warns Of Red Threat In Filibuster

Montgomery Ala

Southern Senators Say Limit On Debate OK

As Safety Measure

Sat 1-29-49

WASHINGTON, Jan. 28.—(AP)—Senator Lodge (R), Massachusetts, raised a new argument today against permitting unlimited filibustering debate in the Senate. He said some day Communists might get a foothold in that body and use the filibuster to tie up vital legislation.

Senator Eastland (D), Mississippi, retorted that such a situation could be met by a rules change that would permit debate to be limited in matters of national emergency, but not on ordinary domestic legislation.

Lodge, Eastland and other senators expressed their views at a session of the Rules Committee, which is considering proposed changes in the Senate's debating rules which outlaw the filibuster.

20 Fight Change

Most Republicans, and Democrats favoring passage of President Truman's "civil rights" program, are backing the proposed change. At least 20 Southern Democratic members, however, are lined up against it. As long as unlimited debate is permitted the Southerners believe they can block the "civil rights" bills which they find distasteful. Those measures involve federal laws against the poll tax, against lynching, and against discrimination in employment because of race or color.

Lodge said the Communist threat is only one reason why the filibuster should be barred, although he said it is a very sound reason. Eastland said the time to meet the Communist question would be when it arose.

The Southern senators say they would not oppose a debate limitation that would apply only to cases involving the nation's safety. Senator Stennis (D), Mississippi, also has suggested permitting debate to be halted on any question whenever 90 per cent of the members favor such a gag.

Senator Maybank (D), South Carolina, declared that "filibusters have killed more bad bills than good ones." He said he knew of no important measure which had been defeated by filibuster and then enacted later.

Virginia's Senators Byrd and Robertson also spoke out against the proposed rules changes.

By two-thirds vote, it is now possible under Senate rules to limit debate on bills. However, it has been held that this "cloture" rule does not apply to motions to take up a bill. The Southerners have taken advantage of this to launch filibusters.

Negro Vote

Chicago Defender

Can Purge Lawmakers

Chicago Def

(Defender Washington Bureau)

WASHINGTON — Seven Republican and four Democratic senators who voted twice with the Dixiecrats to help bring about their filibuster victory last week, and who must face the voters for re-election next year, were marked for political "slaughter" this week as the first move of liberal forces to clear the Senate of reactionaries who have blocked liberal legislation since 1938.

The move is sparked by leaders of the NAACP, political action committees of both the CIO and AFL, and the World War II veterans' organization.

It is designed to fight in both the primary and general elections against returning to the Senate the eleven senators who voted with the solid South to overrule Vice President Barkley's decision on cloture, and in favor of the so-called compromise filibuster rule, which was designed as a blockade against action on civil rights proposals.

Of the seven Republicans in the group, four are from states where Negro voters can be effective in bringing about their defeat.

Senators Capehart of Indiana, Reed of Kansas, Donnell of Missouri, and Hickenlooper of Iowa, will face almost certain defeat in both the primary and general elections if they are faced by solid opposition from Negroes, organized labor and veterans' groups in November of 1950.

Similar organized opposition can also be a serious handicap to Senators Milliken of Colorado, Young of North Dakota and Gurney of South Dakota, who must face the states for their failure to get through farm price support and reclamation legislation last year when they were big factors in the GOP-dominated 80th Congress.

Tagged for defeat are two other Republicans, whose Senate terms end in 1950, who voted in support of the Barkley ruling, but later voted with the Dixiecrats for the so-called compromise rule—Taft of Ohio and Wiley of Wisconsin.

Of the four anti-Truman Democrats who voted with the solid South on both counts to help them win their filibuster victory, Senators Fulbright of Arkansas and Hoey of North Carolina are from states where Negro voters will be substantial factors in opposing their re-nomination or re-election next year.

In Arizona Negro voters are expected to combine with the large number of voters of Spanish or Mexican heritage, who also have an important stake in civil rights legislation, to help organized labor and progressive veterans organizations as well as other liberal groups to "retire" Senator Hayden.

With the growth of political activity and participation by Negroes in the state Democratic primaries in the so-called solid South, their support in combination with labor and veterans organizations and the growing number of southern liberals, can help end the careers of five Senate die-hards next year.

By helping defeat them in the Democratic primaries in 1951, these groups can retire from the public campaigns for re-election

border state Democrats who voted against the Truman administration and civil rights by aiding the filibuster victory on the so-called compromise rule.

Senators Tydings of Maryland, Withers of Kentucky, after voting first to support the Barkley ruling, changed and voted with the filibusters on the so-called compromise.

By contrast with the senators listed above, nine others who come

Senators Hill of Alabama, payrolls, Senator McCarran of Nevada, who also voted with the Dixiecrats on both counts, is almost beyond the reach of liberal voters, as so few Negroes or organized labor groups inhabit that state. But more susceptible of liberal voters, or organized labor and veterans' groups in November of 1950.

Georgia, Long of Louisiana, George of Georgia, and Johnston of South Carolina.

up for election next year voted with the administration to gag the flapjaws.

They are Democratic senators Downey of California, Lucas of Illinois, Pepper of Florida, Thomas of Utah, Myers of Pennsylvania, Magusson of Washington, and McMahon of Connecticut.

The two Republicans of this group who voted "right" on both issues are Morse of Oregon and Aiken of Vermont.

Leaders Give Up Against Filibuster, Bar Compromise

Herald Tribune
New York, N.Y.

34

Rules-Change Plan To Be Withdrawn

Jan. 3-13-49

Lucas Concedes Southern Victory, Calls Price of Continuing Too Great

By Jack Steele

WASHINGTON, March 14.—Administration leaders tonight abandoned, at least "temporarily," their attempt to break the Senate filibuster after rejecting a compromise offer from the Southern Democrats to settle the controversy peacefully. The Southerners thus won a smashing victory in the first round of their fight to block actoin on the President's civil rights program.

Conceding defeat "for the time being," Senator Scott W. Lucas, of Illinois, the majority leader, told reporters this evening—after a forty-eight-hour effort to find a compromise solution to the battle had collapsed—that he would move to adjourn the Senate.

The automatic result would be to withdraw from the floor the motion t take up an anti-filibuster resolution, against which the Southerners have been talking for thirteen days, and clear the calendar for other business.

Reject Two-thirds Plan

Herald Tribune

Earlier this evening Northern and Western Democrats led by Senators Lucas and J. Howard McGrath, of Rhode Island, the Democratic national chairman, had flatly rejected a compromise plan proposed by the Southern Democrats and tentatively accepted by Republican leaders.

The compromise plan was for a new cloture rule to permit sixty-four Senators to shut off debate on any Senate business except a proposal to amend its own rules.

The effect of this so-called constitutional two-thirds majority plan would have made cloture more difficult to invoke, but would have closed the major loopholes in the present rule which exempts motions and other parliamentary moves from cloture.

Senators Lucas and McGrath and other Administration leaders turned it down as "no compromise at all."

New York, N.Y.

When the rejection killed the compromise negotiations, Senator Lucas refused to start an all-out campaign to break the filibuster by physical exhaustion, as he had previously threatened. The price of such action—the probable killing of rent controls, expiration of the European Co-operation Administration, and the imperiling of other Administration legislation—was too high, he said.

Concedes Strength of Foes

"I realize this filibuster can run on for weeks," he told reporters. "They (the Southerners) have the man power to do it.

"Meanwhile, rent control would go out the window. To my way of thinking that is one of the most important pieces of legislation which must be continued. Its deadline is March 31."

Senator Lucas added that the Southerners had refused to permit committees to meet if he held the Senate in the continuous sessions which would be necessary to break a filibuster.

Since the Senate Banking Committee has not yet reported a bill to extend rent controls, this legislation would almost certainly expire if he ordered around-the-clock sessions, he explained.

Asked if his withdrawal of the anti-filibuster resolution meant that it was killed for this session of Congress or whether he would "try later," Senator Lucas said: "This is temporarily laid aside."

He would not say, however, when the resolution—considered a forerunner to any civil rights legislation—might be called up again.

Truman Not Consulted

The majority leader had been authorized earlier tonight by Administration Democrats to decide whether to call off the drive to break the filibuster. He said he had made the decision without consulting President Truman.

Southern Democrats agreed on the compromise cloture plan as their "last offer" in the way of a peaceful settlement.

Under the present rule, now ineffective because it exempts motions to take up legislation and other parliamentary moves, cloture can be applied by vote of two-thirds of the Senators present provided they constitute a quorum of at least forty-nine. Thus, the votes required may range from 34 to 64, depending on the number of Senators present.

Twenty-five Northern and Western Democrats, after their leaders had discussed the compromise proposal with President Truman by telephone, overwhelmingly turned it down.

"Hell, it's no compromise at all," said Senator McGrath. "We are not going to compromise in a way that would make the cloture rule stiffer than it is now."

Republican and Southern Democratic members of the negotiating committee, who had labored two days to produce the proposal, promptly blamed the Administration leaders for blocking a peaceful settlement of the filibuster.

Wherry Criticizes Rejection

"The Administration did not accept the compromise; and my feeling is that it is too bad when we were so close to effecting a compromise solution," said Senator Kenneth S. Wherry, of Nebraska, the minority leader.

"The Administration has kicked over the traces and will have to take the responsibility for it."

Senator William F. Knowland, of California, another Republican member of the negotiating group, added.

Senator Richard B. Russell, of Georgia, suokesman for the Southerners, indicated that the rejection of the compromise plan had killed any chance of settlement.

"Every feeler for a compromise put out by the Administration has been withdrawn," he told reporters at 7:45 p. m. "We were told they (the Administration Democrats) would only offer the original Hayden-Wherry resolution. That we will not, of course, accept."

While the Republican negotiators—SSenators Wherry, Knowland and Leverett Saltonstall, of Massachusetts—agreed to the Southern compromise, several Republicans made it clear that they agreed with the Administration leaders that it was a "surrender" rather than a "compromise."

Would Have Opposed It

These included Senators Irving M. Ives, of New York; Raymond E. Baldwin, of Connecticut, and Wayne Morse, of Oregon. All said they would join Administration Democrats in opposing such a compromise if it was openly proposed on the Senate floor.

Senator McGrath said the compromise plan would require at least four or five and possibly eight or ten more votes to invoke cloture, but some Republicans who favored the plan disagreed, pointing out that all except a handful of Senators are usually present when a cloture vote is taken.

The defeat for the anti-filibuster forces came at the end of a busy day which started this morning with the Republicans, Southern Democrats, and Administration Democrats holding separate caucuses at 10 a. m.

The Southerners concocted their compromise, the Republican Policy Committee instructed its negotiators to continue discussions and the Administration Democrats discussed the situation without reaching any conclusions.

The negotiating committee then met at 3 p. m. to take up the Southern offer. This meeting broke up at 4:30 p. m. with Senators Lucas and Francis J. Myers, of Pennsylvania, the Democratic whip, refusing to accept the Southern plan, but agreeing to submit it to their adherents.

The Administration forces met again at 5 p. m. and discussed the compromise for more than two hours before agreeing to reject it. The end was then in sight.

Throughout these negotiations, beginning at 12:26 p. m., Senator Allen J. Ellender, of Louisiana, carried on the filibuster in the almost-vacant Senate chamber. He was the forgotten man of the day, ignored alike b yreporters and his colleagues.

NEGRO GROUP ASKS BAN ON FILIBUSTER

New York Times

Association Urges Its Branches to Stress Procedure on Civil Rights in the Senate

34

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People called upon the Senate yesterday to amend its rules so as to shut off filibusters against proposed civil rights legislation. At the same time the association sent telegrams to its branches instructing them to urge their Senators to "vote for cloture by majority vote."

The message to the Senate was signed by Walter F. White, secretary of the association, and former Gov. Herbert H. Lehman, Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune of the National Council of Negro Women, Dr. Channing H. Tobias of the Phelps-Stokes Fund, Thomas W. Young, president of the Negro Newspaper Publishers Association, and Bishop Francis J. Haas of the Roman Catholic Diocese of Grand Rapids, Mich., who are also board members of the association.

The organization announced that Mr. White "has virtually moved to Washington to talk with the necessary people." In his absence, Roy Wilkins, assistant secretary, said:

"Repeated failure to obtain a two-thirds vote to shut off debate in Senate on civil rights measures indicates that there is little hope for enactment of these bills in the Eighty-first Congress unless the Senate rules are amended to permit closure.

"Too often Senators have given lip service to civil rights while declining to vote for closure on the plea that 'it is undemocratic to shut off debate.' If one really believes in civil rights he must be prepared to take effective and legitimate steps to transform his words into legislation."

The messages to association branches, said to be 1,600 in number, reminded them that both parties had pledged civil rights legislation in their platforms.

Mr. Wilkins declared that Negroes were "united" in demanding that the Senate act to block a filibuster against civil rights laws. He added that "Negroes are not in a mood to accept lip service as a substitute for performance."

An association study of the Negro vote in the last election found that "of the total Truman-Dewey vote cast in predominantly Negro areas in the cities listed in our survey, 69 per cent went to President Truman." Except in New York and in Los Angeles, votes for Henry A. Wallace were reported to be negligible.

In Virginia Negro voters supported Republican Congressional candidates six to one but voted four to one for President Truman. It was declared. In Los Angeles Negroes were said to be about seven to one for Mr. Truman. In Harlem, the predominantly Negro

disturbs reported votes as follows, according to the association: 108,-243 for Mr. Truman, 30,076 for Mr. Wallace and 28,903 for Governor Dewey.

THOMAS L. STOKES

Filibuster and Full Debate

Atlanta Constitution

WASHINGTON—The filibuster pattern becomes disgustingly familiar to those who have watched it here for many years and seen one generation of leather-lunged Confederate Rebel yellers pass and another take its place. The participants change, the technique remains the same.

The current filibuster, for example, has reached the inevitable stage where the filibusterers begin to point unctuously at the bills that are being held up. Somehow they always are able to shift the blame for the legislative deadlock from themselves to others, the others being party leaders responsible for a legislative program.

The latter scare very easily usually. In this case one suspects, with good evidence, that they are rather lukewarm anyhow about the project involved, which is President Truman's specific instruction to curb the filibustering practice so the Senate will get at least a chance to consider civil rights bills. Thur-3-10-49

It is a clever conspiracy in which much of the Senate is involved. The public looks on helplessly while the gentlemen play politics.

There is no question about where the blame lies. It rests, first, squarely on the Southern minority which for years has kept the Senate from considering one of the major issues of our times, which is to make our Constitution mean what it says. The blame must be shared also by the leaders of both parties, for they have pledged themselves to do something about filibusters and the civil rights program. Their timidity and their evasive tactics contrast with the "big talk"—as the Indians aptly used to call it—for campaign platforms.

The trick of pointing dolefully to bills being held up is particularly apropos now because of the great public interest whipped up by President Truman in his social welfare program, and because of a sort of emergency caused by the approaching expiration date of some laws, such as rent control and the European Recovery Program. The aim is to stir up people interested in these matters so that they, in their anxiety, will bring pressure upon the Administration to drop its anti-filibuster drive. Curiously enough, the public reaction of this sort has disappointed the filibusterers. People seem to be catching on.

This may explain the rather extreme effort of Sen. Sparkman, Democrat, Alabama, Chairman of the Senate Banking Subcommittee on Rent Control Extension, to put the blame for possible defeat of rent control on the filibuster which he, himself, is helping to promote. This was a surprising byplay by the Alabama Senator who usually does not resort to such obvious political tricks.

Rent control expires on March 31, which is still some time off. The Southerners could assure its extension by just shutting their mouths in the Senate and sitting down quietly so that body could go about its work. They are to blame. There's no argument there.

The pious concern expressed by Southerners about other parts of the Truman program is hypocritical in several cases. For quite a number of Southerners are opposed to some of these measures, such as increase of the minimum wage, housing, health and education bills. Delay does not disturb them really. Nor does it disturb some Republicans who suddenly profess concern about measures which they kept from becoming la win the Eightieth Congress and are just as anxious to see defeated again.

The political hypocrisy is very plain to anyone who knows the facts of life about Congress.

In this category are all the moaning and groaning about the right of full debate. Nobody is proposing to do away with that. Under the existing cloture rule, limitation of debate has been imposed only four times in a quarter of a century, which shows there is no danger that the Senate will give up its cherished free and full debate.

But the cloture rule, which has become defective under a parliamentary decision in the last Congress, ought to be made workable so that in the rare occasions when legislative paralysis is threatened, as now, there would be some way to get bills before the Senate for consideration. That is only plain common sense and good government. That, also, is the only issue before the Senate now, and it is very simple.

Battle of the Filibuster

Atlanta Constitution

In the Senate of the United States the Southern group filibustering against a rule change to limit debate, won an important, but apparently not yet decisive victory.

There is great danger that having won an important battle, they and the South may lose the war.

The nation never understood it. There was not much patience with it. A people worried about rent control, farm prices and jobs took little time to study the meaning of the filibuster. Those opposing did not clarify the picture by their heated and bitter denunciation of it as a filibuster of bigotry and hate—even though these qualities admittedly were a part of it. The South may lose the war because the majority of Americans believe bigotry and injustice were the only arguments.

It was most unfortunate the issue came to mean, not whether we should make a fundamental change in the American system, but one of States' rights as opposed to civil rights by Federal fiat. The filibuster is on that issue. In the past there have been filibusters on other issues and, apparently, there may be others in the future.

The Southern Senators made the fight because of opposition to the proposed civil rights measures. The pity is the issue could not have been something else because there exists grave doubt that the rules should be changed under any circumstances. It is debatable whether we should remove any limitation on absolute power—either that of the President, the Supreme Court or the Congress. Absolute power, whether by a Hitler, a king, a Franco or a congressional majority is not really what we want in America. Coercion of an important minority, however great the impatience or disagreement, is of dubious wisdom.

The Negro feels, with justification, that he is not afforded full legal protection by the courts in the South and that he often is deprived of his constitutional rights. Therefore, the present effort to adopt Federal legislation further defining the constitutional rights.

But let us assume for the purpose of argument, a possibility which we hope may never come to this country. Let us assume a popular majority in the Congress favored removal of all Negroes from the country. Hitler's majority, for example, favored driving all Jews from Germany and reducing all other peoples not found to be "German" to a secondary position. Or let us assume that a majority might at some time favor drastic relocations of population or harshly restrictive legislation impinging on all civil rights. Admittedly these are far fetched, yet we have seen them all in our time in countries and in governments where power was not limited by any minority voice.

In such, or in any lesser but similar situation, there would be a great source of protection in the right of a minority to unlimited debate. Few the[illegible] Americans, of whatever race, would favor a majority in Congress being given unlimited power.

In the past such poles-apart, non-Southern Senators as Reed Smoot, of Utah, and Robert M. La Follette, Sr., of Wisconsin, "father of progressive government," made use of the filibuster. In 1914 the Republicans employed it against the rivers and harbors bill, then called "socialistic" and opposed as such.

The question to be answered is whether or not the immediate vindication of civil rights by legislation of admittedly constitutional doubt is worth abolishing the limitation on majority rule. The answer would seem to be, out of our history, that rights are most secure when there has been no coercion in obtaining them. Without limitation on the majority, the way really would be opened for "The Man on Horseback."

But the Southerners and the South, tagged with bigotry and bigotry alone in this issue, having won a battle, will lose the war if they do not themselves present at least their own concept of civil rights legislation to the Congress.

Congress Is Stymied

When President Truman got only won the election but also carried a Democratic Congress into power, the political commentators foresaw a "honeymoon" period during which strife between the executive and legislative branches of the government would be at a minimum and laws would glide to enactment. The honeymoon turned out to be brief; it ended last week. 34

It ended because the President was determined to push through Congress his civil rights program—a program designed primarily to give Negroes added protection against lynchings, against being barred from voting, and being excluded from jobs. In pushing this program the President knew he was incurring the wrath of Southern Senators of his own party. He was taking the risk that they would delay indefinitely other vital measures. They might even wreck

much of the rest of the Administration program by teaming up with Republicans in opposition. New York, N.Y.

The power of the Southern Senators lay in the tradition that any Senator may talk as long as he pleases on any subject. By talking indefinitely—that is, conducting filibusters—a few Senators have on twenty-two occasions in the last forty-five years either killed or seriously maimed proposed legislation. Sun. 3-6-49

Alarmed by a filibuster in 1917, the Senate passed the cloture rule, which provided that debate on a measure could be stopped, and the bill brought to a vote, if two-thirds of the Senators so desired. However, a loophole was found in the rule, a parliamentary technicality. The cloture rule provided for stopping debate on a measure pending before the Senate; it said nothing about stopping debate on a motion to bring the measure up for Senate consideration. As presiding officer last year, Senator Vandenberg recognized the loophole as valid and allowed a filibuster to go on.

The Administration is now trying to plug the loophole in the cloture rule in order to get the civil rights program passed. Hence an anti-filibuster bill, making cloture possible at any time by a two-thirds vote, was introduced into the Senate. (The President himself favored shutting off debate by a mere majority vote, but he was almost alone in this opinion.) Sun.

The Southern Senators began a filibuster last week to preserve their own right to conduct filibusters. They argued that the Senate had no power to silence a determined minority. A deadlock would be preferable. Senator George said that the "primary and main function [of the Senate] in certain important matters, partakes of the nature of conference and negotiation between sovereignties." 3-6-49

Speaking in favor of the filibuster, the white-haired Senator Connally, Texas Democrat who heads the Foreign Relations Committee, said: "I shall not vote to wipe out, to strike down, the freedom and liberty of debate in the Senate in order to obtain a handful of paltry votes—paltry votes, some of them covered with slime and corruption."

The opposite viewpoint was expressed by Senator Kem, Missouri Republican, who said: "In my opinion, the right of so-called unlimited debate has been abused to the point where the Senate on occasion has made itself ridiculous not only in the eyes of our own people but in the eyes of the world."

Swapped Editorials

Recently we set upon the editor of The Des Moines Register in croaking exasperation. Why did a great newspaper like The Register all but explain the Southern filibuster in terms of "19th Century mentalities" of Dixie senators? Mornings Tel. 3-4-49

Why did The Register abdicate in its reporting of the South to such untaught gag reporters as Ray Sprigle?

Why didn't The Register put its wealth and talent to work on the South for some thorough, balanced reporting on the status of the colored man in the South, El Dorado regenerated?

Of course it was easy to wrap up the Southern situation with a few sticks of type on the foul murder of the Georgia Negro Mallard. What it behooved a paper like The Register to do was to send a knowledgeable reporter or an idle editorial writer here to ascertain and chronicle the monumental significance of things like the largest Negro teachers college in the U. S., right here in the Cradle of the Confederacy!

All this we wrote in a note to Forrest Seymour, one of the country's foremost editors. To document the source of our vexation at Yankee Claghorns, we enclosed our recent editorial on the devious segregation and discrimination in Washington in the shadow of Truman's balcony.

"That," we thought, "will git 'em."

Not exactly. The Iowa editor responded with a gracious letter in which he invited us to send along for reprinting in The Register material bearing on the Negro's emancipation and progress. What more could Alabama ask of Iowa? This was as handsome as the return by Iowa of the Alabama C. S. A. battle flag in 1939.

Further, he enclosed the following editorial which in some respects is most disarming. We commend it to the considerations of thoughtful readers, for it is significant of the future.

THE NORTH PUTS ITS HOUSE IN ORDER

The Des Moines Register

As President Truman's noble civil rights program threatens to bog down under Southern filibustering and pressure of other business, a quiet civil rights revolution is spreading across the North.

For nearly 200 years, the North has been picking at the South about Southern abuses of civil rights. Hardly ever has it met the South's "You too!" by mending its own ways. Sun. 3-7-49

But lately it has been mending.

There has been more progress in civil rights in the North in the past decade than in any previous decade for generations. There has been more state civil rights legislation in the past four years than in the preceding 50.

Most important of all is the genuine change in public sentiment which supports these laws, sentiment in favor of giving more than lip-service at last to the glorious American and Judeo-Christian traditions of equal rights for all men.

Since 1900, the trend had been the other way. The whole country had been learning to put the South's low valuation on the Negro, the Southwest's low valuation on the Mexican, the Pacific Coast's low valuation on the oriental, the Northeast's low valuation on the "new immigration" of Eastern Europeans.

We wrote our prejudices into the law of the land, and found "scientific" justification for them in the history and anthropology and phychology of the 19th and early 20th centuries (since corrected by further study).

It took Hitler's insane racism to reverse the trend. Hitler's racism was so extreme and so wicked that it turned decent men's stomachs, and in time drowned Europe in blood. Yet Hitler's racism was not unlike popular American racism if carried to its "logical" conclusion. Indeed, the ghastly resemblance is what forced us to reconsider our logic.

So World War II and the years since have been a time of re-thinking and reform in American beliefs and practices in the field of race.

One of the most thorough and profound studies of the American race problem was Gunnar Myrdal's, financed by the Carnegie Corporation, and involving dozens of studies by American social scientists as well as several years' work by the brilliant Swede.

Myrdal's main conclusion was that there was a basic conflict between American ideals and American practice, and that the ideals exerted constant pressure for change—even among "white supremacy" Southerners who boasted a contrary set of ideals alongside.

Myrdal saw a vicious circle in practice: every racial injustice increased the outward differences between races and created additional excuses for racial injustice.

But, he said, the circle need not be vicious. He could work the other way. Every advance by a downtrodden race reduced the excuses for holding it down any longer.

Myrdal suggested employment as a key point of attack. Even "white supremacy" advocates were less unwilling to work beside a Negro than to eat beside him or let him swing elections. And fair employment opportunities were a key factor in changing the vicious circle into a golden circle.

Even as Myrdal was working, the people of the United States were discovering this key point of attack for themselves. Negro leaders discovered it when they were left out of the war boom in employment, and they pressured President Roosevelt into the war-time Fair Employment Practice order.

White industrialists, personnel men, and manpower commission executives discovered it when they found race prejudices hindering the full mobilization of the labor force.

Then the voters and legislators of American states began to discover it, and press for fair employment laws—state by state, city by city, as well as in the federal congress.

New York adopted such a law in 1945. So did New Jersey. Massachusetts did in 1946, Connecticut in 1947. The cities of Chicago, Minneapolis, Milwaukee, and Philadelphia passed city ordinances against racial discrimination in employment. Many other states and cities set up commissions to study the situation, make recommendations, and in some cases to mediate actual cases of discrimination on a voluntary basis.

Bills are regularly introduced into the legislatures of a dozen to 20 states every time they meet to end racial discrimination in employment. There are such bills in 18 state legislatures this year so far, with administration backing in several. Iowa has a much simpler bill of them. The Nebraska and Montana (H. F. 348), based on the Minneapolis bills have been killed, the Washington city ordinance. Instead of starting a state bill has passed both houses, new bureau, it would entrust the investigation, conciliation, and any public hearings on the merits of complaints to the bill introduced in 1947, an elaborate one established Employment Security Commission based on the New York state law. The

Sun. 3-19-49

Down to the Brass Knucks Stage

Atlanta Constitution

Filibuster by the Southern group against rule changes in the Senate will come down to the brass knucks stage today and by Friday, perhaps, the issue will be resolved.

Since it is one of the more important struggles of our generation insofar as Southern influence in politics is concerned, we believe it important enough to outline the procedure.

Some time today Administration Leader Lucas will present petition of cloture (limiting debate) to apply against the pending motion to take up proposal for changing Senate rules allowing a two-thirds majority to end debate.

A point of order will be made, probably by Georgia's Sen. Richard B. Russell, that cloture cannot be applied against a motion to take up a bill but must come against a bill that already has been approved for consideration.

Vice President Barkley, in the chair, is expected to rule it can be so applied. A motion will then be offered to appeal the decision of the chair. This motion itself will be debatable until Floor Leader Lucas offers a privileged motion to table the previous motion for appeal from the chair.

That question—of whether the chair shall be overridden—will be decided by a simple majority. That vote should be reached on Friday.

As of now, the Southern group believes it will pick up enough Republicans and a few non-South Democrats to win. If they are able to override the chair then debate goes on until the Administration decides to withdraw the original motion and turn to waiting legislation. That would be a complete victory for the filibuster.

If, on the other hand, Vice President Barkley's ruling is sustained, then the Southern group in Congress will have suffered the greatest loss in political strength since the two-thirds rule was abolished in national conventions.

Everything hinges on the Republicans. Last year Sen. Vandenberg, in the chair, ruled contrary to what Vice President Barkley is expected to rule today.

The Southern Democrats believe the Republicans, who normally are in favor of the proposed changes, will decide to support the Southern group in order to completely tie up the congressional session and discredit the Democratic leadership.

The great danger for the South lies in the fact that the issue is before the people not as an issue of Senate rule changes, but as one of opposition to civil rights legislation, much of which is regarded as unconstitutional as now proposed. Southern leadership, we hope, will continue to make it plain they are fighting for a principle which it is believed must be maintained for whatever party is in the minority in whatever year.

Fading Filibuster

Senator Russell, leader of the prospective filibuster by the Southern Democrats, speaks with an indentable logic. He says that his band is convinced that unlimited lung power on the Senate floor is their "only weapon" against the civil rights program. Stern in their opposition, outwardly certain that destiny commands them, the Southerners are playing their expected part. If they yield on amending the cloture rules, their defense on civil rights is breached. And from that point on, we suppose Senator Russell considers the future hardly worth contemplation. So, if civil rights legislation is the dread peril, a committed Southern Senator must filibuster until he drops.

We had hoped that by now the grand filibuster would be under way. The Senate Rules Committee has voted an emphatic recommendation for changing the rules. Except for the Southern uproar, the general sentiment is to curb talk for talk's sake by two-thirds vote. On civil rights, the people and their political parties have spoken plainly. If the Senate filibuster is really inevitable, then by all means let us begin. This is important business which needs to be settled early. Urgency fades with every delay.

But, regardless of how the Southerners may quake, we fear that the Democratic leadership is disposed to proceed slowly, if at all, on civil rights. The program is one thing; the performance quite another. Debate on changing the Senate rules, Senator Lucas now says softly, will begin "at the proper time." Apparently the talk is to be turned off and on, accommodating itself to spare moments. At this rate there will be no filibuster, for there is nothing to filibuster about. Civil rights, we assume, remains a program of good intentions, also awaiting "the proper time."

Senator Russell has cause to feel hopeful and also good reason to be uneasy as the true Democratic direction remains obscured. The rest of the nation, in downright dismay may wonder if the Dixiecrats did not win the election after all.

CONGRESS:

Unbusted Filibuster

Newsweek

If Harry S. Truman had been hell-bent last week on helping the Southern senators protect their power to filibuster his civil rights program to death, he could scarcely have given more aid and comfort short of complete capitulation to their views.

Before the Senate was a motion to consider closing a loophole in the rule which permits a two-thirds majority to limit debate (cloture) on a "pending measure." Adopted in 1917, the rule had rarely been effective; instead of filibustering against the "pending measure" they opposed, senators had filibustered against the motion to take up the measure. The rules change, proposed by Democratic Sen. Carl Hayden of Arizona (NEWSWEEK, March 7), was designed to give a two-thirds majority power to choke off this kind of filibuster too.

Last Monday, Feb. 28, while the Southerners were filibustering against the motion to take up Hayden's proposal, Mr. Truman met with his Congressional aides to consider the strategy for curbing their oratory. From the first, it had been the intention of Majority Leader Scott W. Lucas of Illinois to avoid a head-on collision with the Southerners. His plan was to make the debate an off-again, on-again affair, which could be dropped whenever any important Administration legislation was ready for consideration and resumed when it had been dealt with. To his consternation, however, the President vetoed the plan. He told Lucas that he wanted an immediate showdown with the Southerners, come what might.

Truman's Troubles: When the news reached the Senate floor, where Walter F. George of Georgia was delivering an attack on the proposed rules change, the President's action brought jubilation among his foes and caused disgruntled mutterings among his supporters.

Even so, Mr. Truman wasn't through. Three days later, on Thursday, March 3, he virtually torpedoed any chance of thwarting the Southerners. He announced to his press conference that he thought a simple (instead of a two-thirds) majority should be enough to limit Senate debate.

Southern Senators could not believe their ears. They huddled in small groups congratulating themselves on their good fortune. Their foes were aghast at the President's statement. United though they were in favoring a curb on filibusters, the President's proposal seemed dangerously extreme. As they pointed out to each other anxiously, if only a bare quorum was present in the Senate, a minority would be able to throttle discussion. The Senate, which had always prided itself on being a deliberative body, would become, in essence, little more than a smaller, less representative House of Representatives, where debate is locked in a strait jacket of rules.

On Saturday, Sen. J. Howard McGrath of Rhode Island, who is also Democratic national chairman, called a meeting of his party colleagues to discuss the strategy Mr. Truman had laid down for them. The result: Of the 23 Democratic senators who attended, fifteen insisted on standing by the original two-thirds proposal.

McGrath himself came out against Mr. Truman's simple-majority suggestion, as did Lucas.

Largely because of the disruption the President had caused, it was doubtful whether even the two-thirds proposal could get by the Senate. Sen. Richard B. Russell of Georgia, leader of the Southern filibusterers, declared that he was certain of getting a majority of the Republicans to vote against it. That, added to the twenty Southern votes and a majority of the votes from Democratic border states, would be more than enough to block any change in the rules.

Republican Helps Dixie On Filibuster

Mont Gomery

Cain Opens Talkathon Against Nomination Of Mon C. Wallgren

Southerners Rest

Lucas Plans To Hold Senate In Session Until Long Talk Ends

WASHINGTON, March 8 (AP) — A Republican senator tonight gave a hint to the Dixie senators seeking to talk a proposed Senate rules change to death.

Senator Cain (R), Washington, passed the five-hour mark in his scheduled 16-hour Senate speech flailing President Truman's nomination of Mon C. Wallgren to a high defense post.

Still going strong, Cain sought to convince the Senate that Wallgren should be consigned to "the limbo of forgotten politicians" instead of a Democratic governor of Washington State and an old fishing companion of the President's.

Democratic Leader Lucas (Ill.) named chairman of the Security Resources served notice the Senate would National Board. be held in session until Cain con-

Wallgren is a former Demo-

cludes. Lucas wants to get on with the job of trying to break a Southern filibuster to save the right of filibustering.

Southerners Happy

In high glee, the Dixie legislators sat and listened—and rested their vocal cords.

The Southern filibuster is aimed at blocking an administration attempt to change the Senate rules so that filibusters can be curbed. Under the proposed change, a two thirds vote could limit debate on any subject. Southerners oppose the change because they want to use the filibuster weapon to defeat the Truman civil rights bills.

Even before Cain began his long attack, the Southerners got another respite. Senator Watkins (R), Utah, spent nearly two hours on the floor before Cain took over. The Utah senator renewed a demand that the text of the proposed North Atlantic treaty be made available to the Senate immediately.

Another Setback

While these two speeches were going on, the Southerners could afford to sit back and rest.

Administration leaders thus suffered a setback in their none-too-hopeful plan to wear down the filibuster forces with night sessions, starting tonight.

There were reports that the leaders, convinced they can't win, are looking for a graceful way to bring up some other measure on Mr. Truman's legislative program.

In any event, Southern orators showed no signs of dismay over the prospect of long after-dark sessions.

Senator Russell (D), Georgia, captain of the filibuster team, promptly lined up his battery of speakers—at least 19—and instructed them to load ammunition for a day's firing each. Since each senator can speak twice, the Dixie bloc could keep the debate rolling along well into April, at least.

No Real Test, Yet

So far there has been no real test of the Southerners' forensic stamina. They have talked leisurely, in short relays punctuated by repeated interruptions, and several of them have professed amiably that they haven't even begun to filibuster yet. They've just been talking things over a little.

With the gabfest going into its second week, only seven of the Dixie group had spoken on the hotly-disputed motion to take up a bill which would make a fundamental change in Senate rules.

The proposed change, backed to the hilt by Mr. Truman, would permit the Senate to cut off debate at any time by a two-thirds vote of senators on the floor.

Truman Democratic leaders acknowledged privately that the President's reported insistence on a quick showdown has only a slim chance of being fulfilled.

Little Chance Seen

There seems little or no chance, they said, that they will be able to round up enough votes to win the initial test. That will come when Vice President Barkley rules on the question of halting debate on the motion to take up the anti-filibuster bill.

Barkley hasn't said yet how he will rule. But he is generally expected to give the nod to the administration's side by deciding that, under the existing rules, a two thirds majority can curb debate. This ruling, in turn, would be subject to a majority vote of senators present.

Forty-four senators have already said they would vote against upholding such a ruling. The Senate has 96 members.

Majority Leader Lucas (D), Illinois, said he will begin circulating a cloture (debate-limiting) petition Wednesday in hopes Barkley will decide it can apply now.

Such a petition requires the signatures of 16 senators.

Past presiding officers of the Senate have held—with Senate approval—that a petition can not be filed during debate on a motion to take up a measure. That is the Senate situation now.

Barkley as a senator questioned these rulings and may reverse them. But even if he does or does not, the ruling is certain to be appealed to the entire Senate. Then a bare majority could decide the issue.

Even if the right to file cloture now were upheld, it would merely allow a Senate vote on whether the chamber should begin consideration of the permanent rules change sought by the administration.

MAJORITIES HAVE RIGHTS, TOO

After a week's gentlemanly skirmishing the Administration's fight to reform the closure rule in the Senate has made no progress. Mr. Truman's own followers have rejected his ill-advised proposal to invoke closure by majority vote. The presence of important measures, which ought to be acted on with the least possible delay, may tempt them to give up or at least postpone a serious attempt to tighten up the existing closure rule so that a two-thirds vote may at any time set a limit to debate. If this happens it will be a victory for about twenty Southern Senators, who claim the right to prevent the Senate from voting on bills they don't care for. The bills they don't expect to care for at this session are civil rights measures promised in both major party platforms and therefore presumably accepted by far more than a two-thirds majority of our citizens.

The parliamentary procedures involved are enough to confuse anybody who was not weaned on Roberts' Rules of Order. But there need be no confusion between full and free debate, on the one hand, and the machinery of the filibuster, on the other hand. Any one who has ever seen a filibuster in operation, or who has even read about it in the newspapers, can tell the difference. A filibuster is not honest debate. It is an attempt to obstruct legislation by unfair means.

Fifty-six years ago the late Henry Cabot Lodge made some pungent comments on the relative sanctity of debating and voting. "Of the two rights," he said, "that of voting is the higher and more important. We ought to have both, and debate certainly in ample measure; but if we are forced to choose between them, the right of action must prevail over the right of discussion. To vote without debating is perilous, but to debate and never vote is imbecile."

The Senate will not be in legislative session today. Tomorrow the fight will be resumed. We hope the Administration Democrats and their Republican allies will make it a real fight. After all, majorities have some rights, too.

NO TIME FOR COMPROMISE

If present plans are carried out a score of United States Senators at noon today will attempt to paralyze the legislative branch of our Government until this small minority, representing a small minority of the nation's population, & many of its members elected by a small minority of the adult citizens of their constituencies, has enforced its will. This group proposes to stop all legislation, to hold up all authorizations and appropriations, including those for the national defense, and to hinder all Executive action which depends on Congressional approval.

For what purpose will these gentlemen rise? What is the justification for the incalculable harm they may do their country? Let us look back into Senate history. Twenty-two years ago a "little group of willful men," as President Wilson called them, talked to death a bill to arm American ships against submarine attacks. The resulting scandal led the Senate to adopt Rule No. XXII, which stipulated that by a two-thirds vote debate on "any pending measure" could be limited to an allowance of one hour for each Senator. Under this rule cloture has been applied four times. Last August Senator Vandenberg, then presiding officer, reluctantly decided that even this feeble weapon could not be used on a motion to take up a measure. The Senate will have before it today an amendment designed to fill this gap. Even if this amendment is adopted, or if Vice President Barkley holds that Rule No. XXII can be applied to motions, a minority of one-third-plus-one of a quorum present can still keep a motion or a measure from being put to a vote.

If this modest step is a limitation on freedom of debate, as Senator Russell and his followers insist it is, what of the freedom of Senators who wish to get on with the business for which they were elected? What of the freedom of both great parties to keep their campaign pledges? What of the freedom of the public to get done what it wants done?

No amount of specious reasoning, not even the presence of men of character and intelligence among the prospective filibusterers, can conceal the real nature of what seems to be about to take place. This is a plain case of a minority arrogantly assuming, as it has done before, the right to veto legislation—in this case, Mr. Truman's civil rights program.

Compromises have been proposed. No less a person than the Democratic leader, Senator Lucas, has indicated an amiable willingness to suspend the battle occasionally in order to pass needed legislation. We believe the vast majority of the American people will agree that this is no time for either compromise or defeatist postponement. The question is whether we are to have some approximation of majority rule on Capitol Hill. More than that, it is whether our national legislative system can be made to work properly in a time of crisis. That issue had better be settled now.

Filibuster Ends, Southerners Are Victors In Battle

Compromise Plan Up For Vote; Lucas Bitter Over Defeat

WASHINGTON, March 16—(AP)—The filibuster is over. The Southern senators won.

Echoes of the 16-day-old talkathon will rumble through the Senate today as a vote is taken on a majority-backed compromise.

Then the lawmakers can go ahead with important legislation that has been blocked by the filibuster which began Feb. 28 and ended dramatically at 11 p.m. last night.

The word battle started when the administration tried to bring up a bill that would make it easier to choke off unlimited debates.

Lawmakers from Dixie were opposed to such a rules change. They wanted to keep the filibuster, and use it against President Truman's civil rights program.

So they began to filibuster the proposal to curb the filibuster. Fourteen senators talked on and on. They refused to yield the floor to anyone except an ally. Sen. Ellender (D., La.) talked longest: 12 hours and 20 minutes.

* * *

COMPROMISES were suggested, discussed and rejected. The president insisted on a showdown. Republicans joined the Southern lawmakers, and administration leaders saw they were whipped.

Yesterday the men from Dixie were assured of what they wanted: Enough in-the-bag votes for a measure to let 64 of the 96 senators kill a filibuster on most business, but not on a motion to change the Senate rules.

They don't think 64 senators will get together to kill a filibuster on something like a civil rights bill.

At a signal last night Sen. Olin Johnston (D., S. C.) ended a four-hour and 20-minute speech. He was the fourteenth Dixie lawmaker to hold the floor since the controversy began last month.

Johnston sat down.

The filibuster was over.

Senators were summoned by a quorum call.

When they had straggled in—some of them sleepy-eyed, from cots in nearby cloakrooms—Vice President Barkley called for a vote on the motion Democratic Leader Lucas had made the day before.

The vote was 73 to 6 to take up a resolution offered by Sen. Wherry of Nebraska, the GOP floor leader, and Sen. Hayden (D., Ariz.). It proposes that two-thirds of senators voting be permitted to gag debate at any time.

* * *

IN THE BEGINNING, that was acceptable to Lucas, most of the Truman Democrats and most of the Republicans.

But the Southerners, fighting any gag that would pave the way for President Truman's civil rights program, demonstrated by their talk they could balk any action on it.

Assured that 52 senators will vote down proposals to gag debate either by a majority of those voting or by 49 senators, the Southerners joined with the Republicans to take command of the situation and move the administration out.

From the sidelines, Lucas was bitter.

He told reporters the GOP-Dixie compromise "closes the door on any civil rights legislation."

HE SAID IT WILL BE almost impossible to get 64 senators to agree to end debate on any controversial matter. He said he will offer a proposal under which 49, or a "constitutional" majority of the senators could accomplish that re-

any civil rights legislation at this session of Congress, notwithstanding the fact that the Republican and Democratic Parties pledged enactment of the decent civil rights program, he declared. "It will be a revolutionize Senate rules."

Lucas added that the provision for unlimited debate on a motion to take up a rules change "may make it impossible for the Senate ever to change its rules again." "To my way of thinking, the door has been closed."

Fisk President One Of Leaders Heard By Probe Committee

The Globe, Nashville, Tenn.

34

Sat. 7-23-49

Opportunity Given Nashville Educator to Lash Paul Robeson, If He Chose, Used Instead To Cite Unfairness of Smearing All Americans With Christian Views as Dupes of Moscow

Washington, D. C.—Dr. Charles S. Johnson, president of Fisk University, and himself among a large number of colored Americans who have endorsed some organizations that now are "smeared" as "subservive" in these days of the witch-hunt, stayed on the beam with all other intelligent leaders of his race when he appeared before the House Un-American Activities Committee on [redacted]

It is believed that the committee is affecting a fright over the garbled report of a speech delivered in Paris a month ago by Paul Robeson, and as an offset to the speech, it is believed that it is undertaking to bring forward leading colored Americans to overwhelm Paul Robeson with statements calculated to prove that the Negro in the United States is ready and willing to fight Russia or any other country in the event of war.

Regardless of what Paul Robeson did or did not say, it is well known that there is no group of white Americans, regardless of the patriotic societies to which they belong, that has ever gone forth to fight for the United States with more self-sacrificing devotion than have American Negroes. The record of loyalty goes back as far as the Revolutionary War, when Negroes got their chance to fight for their country only because the British were making overtures to the enslaved black people to come over on their side and help them put down the revolt of the colonies.

There never was any excuse for the hullabaloo created over the alleged speech of Paul Robeson. The apparent "crisis" in American affairs was created by elements in this country that are continually looking for a "red herring" to cover up their own maneuvers to promote a form of "un-American activities" equally as subversive as any of the Communists are engaged in. It apparently was with this fact in mind—this "red herring" strategy—that Dr. Charles S. Johnson, after assuring the committee that no one need fear the loyalty of American Negroes in time of war, stated that American Negroes undoubtedly have belonged to and have contributed to organizations professing the same aims that forward-looking Negroes have—ideas in favor of promoting the enjoyment of their Constitutional rights by Negroes, in the same manner they are enjoyed by other elements in this country. Dr. Johnson made no apology for this but said:

Sat. 7-23-49

"Wanting the elimination of inequalities and racial discrimination is not wanting to subvert the government. Rather it would seem to be wanting to preserve our form of government from subversion of those who would give strength and truth to assertions from unfriendly sources, whether as observations or calculated propaganda, that these inequalities and inhumanities are tolerated in America.

"A second unfortunate circumstance is the fact that many short-sighted and perhaps emotionally disturbed persons, knowing the unfavorable popular meaning of the term "Communism" employ it with calculated malevolence to prejudice the public against the objects of their personal hostility and aversion.

"I have heard some of the most sacred tenets of our democracy and our Christian tradition referred to as being inspired by Moscow. What is really meant in these circumstances, is that a particular personal prejudice cannot of its own merit, or that of any respectable argument, win its case unaided by prejudice and hysteria.

"Where there has been resentment (among Negroes) it has not been against the form of government, but against those who misinterpreted or sought to abuse the purpose and the power of government and vitiate its cherised freedoms."

The Globe

The president of Fisk University thus proved that he was no Walter White, nor Roy Wilkins, rushing forth to "re-assure" the jittery that the Negro was ready for war and rarin' to go. Nor did Dr. Johnson take the familiar and nauseating lines: "Paul Robeson does not speak for the race," even though he knows that neither Robeson, White nor Wilkins has even been nominated to "speak for the race," let alone being "elected."

Nashville Tenn.

Dr. Johnson was well aware of the "smearing" that has been done to the Federal Council of Churches in America; to the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, resulting in the SCHW changing its name or going out of business; he was aware of the fact that even the little Southern Negro Youth Congress, composed overwhelmingly of high school and college youngsters dedicated to getting repeal of the poll tax, has been smeared as a "Communist" front, even though such conservatives as Dr. F. D. Patterson, president of Tuskegee; Dr. Rufus Clement of Atlanta; and Dr. Jemison, president of the National Baptist Convention Incorporated lent their endorsement to the aims of these young people.

Sat. 7-23-49

Dr. Johnson was probably aware of the fact that there are those who look upon the Annual Institute of Race Relations, which meets at Fisk University as "subversive." It certainly is in favor of a better deal for American Negroes. It is noted that those who yell "Communist" loudest in this country are dedicated to sabotaging everything the Institute of Human Relations fosters.

The general feeling is that while Dr. Johnson clarified for any honest doubters the position of the American Negro with regard to what he will do in time of war, he failed to satisfy, it is believed, all who expected him, a great Southern leader, to come through with the kind of self-serving attack on Paul Robeson that some of the other leaders, called upon to "testify," have given.

Magazine Editor Linked With Robeson As "Red"

Journal and Guide, Norfolk, Va.

Sat. 7-23-49

House Un-American Committee Hears Granger And Fisk President

By LOUIS LAUTIER

WASHINGTON, D. C. (NNPA)—Both Paul Robeson, noted singer and actor, and John P. Davis, editor of "Our World" magazine, were dubbed Communists last Thursday on the unsupported testimony of an admitted ex-Communist.

Manning Johnson, 40, of New York City, who said he now is international representative of the International Retail Clerks Association, an affiliate of the American Federation of Labor, told the House Un-American Activities Committee, that both Robeson and Davis were Communists.

GRANGER TESTIFIES

Both Lester B. Granger, executive director of the National Urban League and Dr. Charles S. Johnson, president of Fisk, had testified concerning the unquestioned loyalty of colored Americans without an attempt to smear any individual.

Mr. Granger deprecated the hue and cry raised in the United States following the statement made by Mr. Robeson at a Paris "peace" conference inspired by Soviet sympathizers. "The furore would have been ludicrous if it had not been so tragic," he said.

Dr. Johnson read a scholarly essay in which he made no reference to Mr. Robeson.

Sat. 7-29-49

"If we examine the familiar indices of national loyalty," he said, "the efforts and ambitions of American Negroes have at times been embarrassingly excessive." His reference was to the demand of colored men for combat service in the armed forces in time of war, and to the high rate of enlistment of colored men, making it necessary for the Army to restrict the number it would accept.

EX-COMMUNIST HEARD

Mr. Johnson testified that he had been a member of the Communist Party for ten years, having terminated his membership in 1940. During the period of his membership, he said, he served as a district organizer for the Communist Party in Buffalo, New York, attended the Communist national training school in Communist headquarters in New York City, and was a member of the National Committee.

Johnson asserted that Robeson was a member of the Communist Party. He claimed he met Robeson a number of times in the headquarters of the Party's national committee, where Robeson conferred with such top Communist leaders as J. Peters, Earl Browder, Jack Staeckedl and William Z. Foster.

DID NOT EXPOSE ROBESON

"We were told under threats of expulsion from the party never to reveal that he was a member of the party because his assignment was highly confidential and secret." Johnson said.

Robeson was not permitted to attend conventions or meetings because the Communist leaders did not want the rank and file members to know that the artist was a Communist Party member, Johnson testified.

According to the ex-Communist, Robeson's assignment was to work among professional, intellectual and artistic groups that the Communists were trying to penetrate.

"We in the hierarchy knew he was engaged in secret intercontinental work in connection with his concert work." Johnson testified.

Robeson has developed a "grandeur complex," said Johnson, referring to the fact that Robeson had played the title role of Eugene O'Neill's "Emperor Jones" in the movies.

"BLACK STALIN"

Johnson added that Robeson wants to be a "Black Stalin" among colored people and the Communist Party has encouraged him in that ambition. He said he regretted that such a man "has sold himself to Moscow."

The branding of Mr. Davis as a Communist came at the afternoon session at which Mr. Johnson continued his testimony regarding the causes of his break with the Communist Party.

Mr. Johnson testified that the National Committee of the Communist Party decided to set up the National Negro Congress and assigned to James W. Ford the job of organizing that body and getting people to front for it.

RANDOLPH NOT A MEMBER

A. Philip Randolph, who was not a member of the party, accepted the leadership of the congress, Johnson said, adding that Davis, who was a member of the party up until the time I left," served as secretary of the provisional committee.

Johnson testified that the leaders of the congress did not know that it was been started by the Communist Party, that they were only concerned with the general program.

The witness described the activities of the congress up until the Randolph's open attack on Communist domination of that organization and his resignation from the body.

INFLUENCE MINIMIZED

Mr. Granger told the committee that the extent of Communist influence among colored people has been "grossly exaggerated."

Pointing out that in localities predominantly Democra-20,000 colored Communists in this country were Democrats, Mr. Granger reached the conclusion that the quoted election results in overtic, they were localities if this pattern were followed withwhelmingly colored districts in the ger respect to the Communist party.

200,000 and of its "fellow-travelers," estimated at between one and two million, would be colored. He said there are not more than 5 were Republicans, and in 10 per cent of its estimated membership ranging from 100,000 to

last Presidential election.

"Authentic Negro leadership in this country finds itself confronted by two enemies on opposite sides," Mr. Granger said. He defined one of these enemies as "the Communist who seeks to destroy the democratic ideal and practice which constitute the Negro's sole hope of eventual victory in his fight for equal citizenship.

"The other enemy is that American racist who perverts and corrupts the democratic concept into a debased philosophy of life."

Mr. Granger flatly told the committee that the "American Negro population will never accept or willingly endure any social philosophy or political practice that enforces upon persons, merely because of their color, an inferior status in their citizen-community."

OFFERS PRESCRIPTION

Through his activities as a sociologist and educator he has been exposed to the attitudes of no less than 100,000 colored families, Dr. Johnson said, adding:

"It can be said categorically that, however unhappy some of the individuals may have been, in stressful and provocative situations, no hint of disloyalty has been voiced."

Pointing out that as servants, messengers, chauffeurs, common soldiers and officers, colored personnel have held information useful to the enemy, Dr. Johnson said:

"If there is record of any such information being divulged for personal profit, or out of misplaced loyalty, or racial resentment, it has yet to come to my attention. In fact, where special security measures have been required it has often been Negro troops who were called upon to provide the ultimate safeguards."

Dr. Johnson told the committee that "if there is any belief that Negro citizens hold and have been consistent in expressing it is that inequalities among common citizens, and racial discriminations, should be removed from American life.

Many of them, with no thought or interest in any other philosophy or form of government, have advocated the removal of these barriers to full citizenship, and in some instances have joined or contributed to organizations that had this as their objective.

The fact that some other political doctrine is also against these same objectives has, with pathetic anomalousness, tended to rob a fundamental American tenet of one of its strongest virtues."

Dr. Johnson defined as a second unfortunate circumstance the fact that "many short-sighted and perhaps emotionally disturbed, persons, knowing the unfavorably popular meaning of the term "communism," employ it with calculated malevolence to prejudice the public against the objects of their personal hostility and aversion."

Other witnesses were the Rev. Sandy F. Ray, chairman of the Social Service Commission of the National Baptist Convention, Inc., and pastor of the Cornerstone Baptist Church, Brooklyn, and Clarence B. Clark, of Pittsburgh.

Leaders Testify Before House Committee

Journal & Guide Norfolk, Va. Sat. 7-23-49

34

Four Negro leaders summoned before the House Un-American Activities Committee seeking to find out whether Paul Robeson's ties with the Soviet Union are more than mere affection.

Left to right are: the Rev. Sandy F. Ray, Brooklyn, chairman of the Social Service Commission of the National Baptist Convention; Lester B. Granger, New York, executive secretary of the National Urban League; Charles S. Johnson, president, Fisk University, Nashville; and Clarence B. Clark, Pittsburgh, registrar of the Allegheny County Registration Commission.

Jackie States The Case

We hope that every American, white and colored, reads the full statement made by Jackie Robinson before the House Un-American Activities Committee last week. It was the longest home run he has ever hit.

Jackie proved that he was not only a valuable major leaguer but also a valuable American. Chicago Def.

Before he spoke, fears had been expressed by some Negro pundits and one or two smart alec columnists that Jackie would wave a bandanna and put on an Uncle Tom show. Sat. 7-23-49

If Jackie is an Uncle Tom, then the race would be a great deal better off if it had fifteen million such Uncle Toms. Frankly, we also agree with Jackie that if Mr. Robeson wants to sound silly that is his business.

The Brooklyn Dodger star made it clear that we have great grievances in America and that we are going to fight racism with all our might until it is knocked out. He stated further that we don't need the Communists and we don't want their help.

This describes the position of the Chicago Defender and we believe these are the sentiments of all American Negroes with only a handful of screwball exceptions.

Commenting editorially on the testimony of Jackie, the New York Times stated: "In fact, Jackie Robinson's statement is impressive testimony to the vitality of American democracy, to the determination to keep on 'fighting race discrimination in this country until we've got it licked,' a fight that is of supreme importance 'because our stake in the future is so big,' a fight that can and will be won without false, self-serving, Communist support."

PAUL ROBESON CHARGED WITH DISLOYALTY BY COMMUNIST SNITCH NOW "HOLIER THAN THOU"

The Dispatch, Oklahoma, Oklahoma

House Un-American Committee Hears Testimony From Large Number of Leaders

SEVERAL WITNESSES ATTACK AMERICAN REACTION

34 Sat. 7-23-49

(By Alice Dunnigan)

WASHINGTON. — (ANP) — The name of Paul Robeson played a prominent part in the news against last week when two well-known Negroes testified before the House UN-American Activities committee that the great American baritone was a disloyal American and a member of the Communist party.

Thomas W. Young, president of the Guide Publishing company in Norfolk, Va., and the former president of the National Negro Publishers association, and Manning Johnson, an international representative of the International Retail Clerks association, an AFL affiliate, who at one time was a leading Communist figure, were among a group of witnesses appearing before the committee to repudiate pro-Russian statements made by Robeson concerning the Negro's loyalty to the United States in case of war. Others who voiced strong opinions of the Negro's loyalty to this country were George K. Hunton, executive director of the Catholic Interracial council of New York City, Dr. Charles S. Johnson, president of Fisk university; Clarence B. Clark of Pittsburgh, Pa., Sandy F. Ray, chairman of the Social Service commission of the National Baptist convention, and Lester B. Granger, executive director of the national Urban league.

Young testified that he personally had heard Robeson declare his disloyalty to the United States nearly two years ago. He stated at a fraternity smoker in Norfolk, Oct. 10, 1947, Robeson said, "If this country ever went to war against Russia and my son took up arms to fight against Russia he would no longer be my son."

Young asserted that the man who made Phi Beta Kappa at Rutgers university and the All American football team is repudiated by the American Negroes as one who has done a great disservice to his race and country.

Johnson declared:

"Paul Robeson has been a member of the Communist party for a number of years. Of that I have not one iota of a doubt."

A leader in the Communist party for 10 years, Johnson gave the committee a detailed description of the party activities, their methods of operation and their desired goal.

Because of the highly secretive assignment given to Robeson, he continued, the Communists did not want it known that he was a member of the party. For that reason he was never permitted to attend meetings and only the hierarchists knew of his party affiliations.

If Robeson's political identity was revealed, the Commies feared that his influence upon the high professional groups, with which he worked, would be less effective. Therefore, party leaders were instructed to never reveal the fact that the famous singer was a member of the Communist party, Johnson declared.

After having played the role of Emperor Jones, he stated, Robeson developed an idea of achieving grandeur and power. He hopes to be a "Black Stalin" among Negroes, and the Communist party is encouraging that."

"It is regrettable indeed that such a man has sold himself to Moscow," continued the whites.

In reply to the committee's question on the attitude of the Communist party toward recognized Negro leadership, Johnson said the Communist have the greatest contempt for Negro leaders.

Referring to Robeson's recent statement regarding the corruption of Negro leaders, the witness stated that Paul Robeson would like to destroy Negro leadership and ride into the position of power on the broken back of Negro leaders who have been good Americans. 7-23-49

The committee was informed of the Communists' plans to overthrow the American government and set up a Black Republic in the Southern cotton belt. Johnson explained how they hoped to stir up trouble between the Negroes and whites of the southern states, hoping that through demonstrations, race riots might be incited which would eventually lead to insurrection.

He explained very clearly how Communists work their way into organizations, and either through heavy contributions or vigorous activity, soon make their way to some top official position where they might influence the policy of the organization.

He named a list of organizations which were formed exclusively by the Communist party, among them being the United Negro and Allied Veterans of Americt and the National Negro congress.

John P. Davis, editor of Our World magazine, was named as having been an active member of the Communist party during the time of the organization of the NNC.

The National Committee to Abolish the Poll Tax was another o fthe well known organizations listed by Johnson as Communist fronts.

The Negro publications stated as being controlled by the Communist party are the Negro Champion, the Liberator, New Africa and the Peoples Voice, said the witness.

The ex-Communist, who was subpoenaed to appear before this committee, was grilled under-oath for more than three hours, taking the witness stand in the morning and answering questions until one o'clock when the committee recessed for lunch. At 2:30, Johnson again took the stand where he spoke until 4 p. m.

In his concluding remarks the witness declared that "if heads of government would speak out for, and pass Civil Rights legislation, and if the American mothers in the homes, and church leaders would speak out against segregation, they would be able to destroy this great and new burst of freedom for the Negro people"—meaning the spread of the Communist movement. Sat. 7-23-49

Communist domination should be feared each of the other Negro leaders told the congressmen that if America would live up to her professed ideals of Democracy, she would have no cause to fear Communist domination among the Negro citizens of this country.

Granger told the committee that authentic Negro leadership in this country finds itself confronted by two enemies on opposite sides. "One enemy is the Communist who seeks to destroy the democratic ideals and practice which constitute the Negro's sole hope of eventual victory in his fight for equal citizenship. The other enemy is that American racist who prevents and corrupts the democratic concept into a debashed philosophy of life. In opposing the one, Negro leadership must be careful not to give aid and comfort to the other."

Pointing out that the Communist spokesman got their first soapbox position in Negro neighborhoods with the notorious Scottsboro case, Granger warned the committee that "jim crow practices by labor unions, denial of free employment opportunity by employers, racial segregation enforced by law or by covenants or community customs make situations which have nothing whatever to do with Marxism. But they serve the strategy of the Communist party. The obvious way to block such strategy is for the non-Communists of this country to deprive our enemies of their propaganda weapon by moving with equal vigor and more honest to eliminate these fested-spots from our national life."

The NUL executive offered as the prescription for the Red hysteria which is sweeping through America today, "less worry about Robeson and more concern for Democracy."

Dr. Johnson said it is difficult to escape a feeling of disappointment that motives and actions of such clarity could be imperfectly read when we consider the long untarnished historical record of Negroes in times of national emergency. 7-23-49

The Rev. Ray, who is a minister in the Cornerstone Baptist church in Brooklyn, N. Y., declared that "the greatest threat to our democracy is not from without, but from our failure to extend its benefits to all who live in it. No foreign philosophy can gain dangerous rootage in a functioning democracy."

The Baptist leader claimed that his followers had no sympathy with any movement which seeks to overthrow this government by violence. "We do, however, seek to overthrow an intangible empire which exists within our government and many of our institutions throughout the land. It is that empire which shelters injustice, oppressions, exploitation, segregation, discrimination, ill-will, and all of the inconsistencies which make for separation, tension and strife."

Because the committee was anxious to feel the pulse of the average American Negro citizens on his attitude to take up arms against Russia should another crisis arise, Clark was called in before this committee as a representative of a family who had members serving in every American war since the Revolution.

Race Loyalty Stressed In Congressional Probe

Journal, Sat. 7-23-49

WASHINGTON, D. C.—The House Un-American Activities Committee is seeking to establish a direct link between Singer Paul Robeson and the Communist Party.

The committee was scheduled to hear at an open hearing testimony by an ex-party member, Manning Johnson, concerning Mr. Robeson's activities. Johnson previously testified in courtdence has ever been produced against Gerhart Eisler, who was exposed as the No. 1 Communist agent in the United States by the committee last session.

Robeson has been identified frequently in the past with organizations which have been labelled "Communist-fronts" by the committee but no direct evidence has ever been produced that he is a card-carrying member of the party.

HEARINGS BEGIN

The present hearing, which began Wednesday, is designed to enable baseball star, Jackie Robinson, star and other prominent to greet him, but Robinson, star spokesmen to repudiate second baseman of the Brooklyn Negro Dodgers and leading batter of the views expressed recently by Robeson, who declared it would the National League, Wednesday be "unthinkable" for American Negroes to fight against the Soviet Union in the event of war. 7-19-49

Newsreel cameras were all up and a large crowd was on hand to greet him, but Robinson, star Dodgers and leading batter of the National League, Wednesday failed to put in his appearance before the House Un-American Activities Committee.

Representative John S. Wood

of Georgia, committee chairman, said Robinson had telephoned the committee that morning that some personal matters kept him from appearing, and asked to be excused until Monday, July 18, when he will be glad to come and testify.

The hearing, initiated at the request of some undisclosed colored persons to disprove Robeson's statement, got underway with Mr. Wood reading a letter from General of the Army Dwight D. Eisenhower, now president of Columbia University, that there never was any question in his mind about the loyalty of colored soldiers who served in his command in Europe and North Africa.

General Eisenhower said the statements he had made about the "high qualities of loyalty, devotion to duty and endurance that American soldiers displayed in World War II" applied to colored soldiers as well as whites.

OTHER SPOKESMEN

In addition to the testimony of himself, General Carl Spaatz, first chief-of-staff of the United States Air Force, and General Omar N. Bradley as well as other commanders, General Eisenhower told Mr. Wood that there is the "historical record which provides irrefutable proof of the loyalty of our Negro troops."

Thomas W. Young, president of the Norfolk Journal and Guide Publishing Company, told the committee during an afternoon session that he had accepted the invitation to appear and testify because he felt "very strongly the need for bringing into proper perspective some of the opinions that have been expressed publicly concerning the loyalty of the American Negro.

Addressing himself to what he said seemed to him to be "the flimsy foundation upon which the apprehension about the loyalty of colored people rests, Mr. Young said the record and contributions of colored people to this country's "great peacetime achievements should render unthinkable any presumptions of inconsistent conduct at any time in the future."

"NO EASY DISPOSAL"

No matter how strongly it may be believed to be false, the statement that colored people would not fight for the United States in a war against the Soviet Union, coming from Mr. Robeson, said Mr. Young, "is not easily disposed of."

In view of Mr. Robeson's own life story, Mr. Young said, it reasonably might be presumed that the famous singer would not be "unfaithful" to "the humble people for whom he now presumes to speak."

Sat. 7-23-49

Conceding that Mr. Robeson's "intemperate outburst" at Paris "carried appreciable weight," Mr. Young said two things discredit that statement: (1) Mr. Robeson is out of touch with the thinking and every day emotions of colored people, and (2) colored people in this country are "basically American."

Mr. Young pointed out that "in some respects our democratic processes have slowed down or failed temporarily," but said "overemphasis of these circumstances obscures the more important fact that despite these occasional reverses, the machinery which we in this country have embraced for the realization of our declared way of life is nevertheless accomplishing, however slowly, the most cherished aspirations of the Negro group."

"TRUE RACE INTEREST"

Colored people in this country, he declared, simply want to "have our democratic machinery" functioning properly." He added that they do not "want to throw out the framework of our present plan of operation in favor of another that has never even been exposed to the problems which frequently bogg down our machinery."

Mr. Young charged that Communists have thrown what amounts to a "picket line" around the democratic establishment in this country, and it is being observed "with the same blind reverence" shown to all other picket lines in this country. Until someone dares to cross this picket line, he declared, "the true cause of the Negro will be lost by the default of those who discern its outlines and recognize the dangers."

Stating that he had on one occasion heard Mr. Robeson declare "his own personal disloyalty to the United States," Mr. Young maintained that the actor "has no moral right to place in jeopardy the welfare of the American Negro simply to advance a foreign cause in which we have no real interest."

HUNTON STATEMENT

George A. Hunton, of New York, director of the Catholic Interracial Council, and editor of the "Interracial News" magazine, told the probers that "as between white Americans and Negro Americans, there is absolutely no difference whatsoever" in the matter of loyalty to their country. He added that Negroes are "Americans and nothing else."

Mr. Hunton, who has been active in interracial efforts more than 15 years, pointed out that there had never been any Negro traitors to the United States, and added that the same thing could not be said for white Americans.

Relating his experiences on the American Scottsboro Committee, formed to help defend and free the nine Alabama boys charged with raping a white woman on a freight train and sentenced to die, he told how Communists had sought to infiltrate and to dominate the defense group.

Sat. 7-23-49

SCOTTSBORO CASE

In 1934, he stated, he went South at the request of the executive committee to get the viewpoint of white and Negro leaders in the South on the Scottsboro case. He found, Mr. Hunton told the committee, that the overwhelming weight of opinion among southern leaders, both white and colored, was that the Scottsboro defendants should be freed.

SPECIAL INVESTIGATOR

The first witness called was Alvin W. Stokes, a colored investigator for the committee, who has given special attention to Communists attempts to "infiltrate, control and dominate" colored organizations and to "recruit," capture and control" outstanding colored persons.

On the basis of his investigations, Mr. Stokes testified, there are not more than 1,400 colored Communists, representing one-tenth of one per cent of the colored population, in the whole of the United States.

Were it not for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, in its efforts to correct injustices legally, and the National Urban League, which has sought the integration of colored workers in American industry, and many race relations councils scattered in cities over the country, Mr. Stokes said, the extent of Communist success among colored people would be speculative.

Mr. Stokes said he attended the "Welcome Home" rally for Robeson upon his return from the Paris "peace" conference, inspired by Soviet sympathizers and at which Mr. Robeson is alleged to have made the statement attributed to him. Speakers at this meeting, Mr. Stokes said, "deplored the lack of a rebellious spirit" on the part of colored people.

Sat. 7-23-49

In reply to a question by Rep. Francis Case, Republican, of South Dakota, Mr. Stokes said he heard such statements made by Louis Burhma, president of the Southern Negro Youth Conference; Charles P. Howard, Des Moines, Iowa, lawyer, and keynote speaker at the Progressive Party convention last summer, and Mr. Robeson.

Asked by Mr. Case if he knew whether Mr. Robeson was a Communist, Mr. Stokes said he did not. "I do know of his open loyalty to the Communist movement," Mr. Stokes added.

Frank S. Tavenner Jr., chief counsel for the committee, offered in evidence data collected by investigators showing the various associations of Mr. Robeson with "Communist-front organizations" and certain activities of Mr. Robeson.

Rep. Francis E. Walters, Democrat of Pennsylvania, suggested that Mr. Robeson be subpoenaed as a witness "in view of the fact that he made statements reflecting on the loyalty of a great number of colored people.

Members of the committee were still undecided on whether Robeson should be summonded during this hearing to account for his declaration. Rep. McSweeney (D) Ohio, another member of the committee, said he was in favor of Walter's suggestion.

Good For Dr. Johnson

The Globe

Dr. Charles S. Johnson's appearance in Washington before the House Un-American Activities Committee doubtless was looked forward to by most of the thought-controllers as an opportunity to boast of having induced members of his own race to belabor Paul Robeson to a pulp. Instead the thought-controllers got a lecture from the Fisk University president quite worthy of any colored leader placed in such a critical position.

34

It would have been easy for Dr. Johnson merely to have said that the Negro always had and always will fight for his country, regardless, and that fellow Paul Robeson, (whether he did not say something different) is not "qualified to speak for the race." That sort of testimony would have won Dr. Johnson big front page headlines. Instead, what he did say generally made only the inside pages. He did not say what he was expected to say. Nashville Tenn

It appears that he did not mention Paul Robeson by name. He took the opportunity to point out that hue and cry about Communists and Communism currently is being raised against nearly everybody who has an idea favorable to making America a democracy in truth, rather than merely in name. As a good patriot, Dr. Johnson was letting it be known that merely smearing the Communists as the worst people on earth without trying to do anything about the evils that feed the Communists their most effective propaganda is not calculated to "make tyranny tremble," nor stop Paul Robeson from speaking his "line." Tu. 7-22-49

In our opinion far too many colored leaders have been rushing forth to denounce Paul Robeson without knowing whether Robeson had been correctly quoted in the press or not. Sensible leaders know too well that the press and press associations have, down through the years, followed a policy of misquoting the words and misrepresenting the aims of colored people where such words or aims did not fit into the groove prescribed for "Negro" views and aspirations.

Doubtless some of the members of the Un-American Activities Committee "remained to pray", rather than rejoice over having called Dr. Johnson to Washington.

Rivel to Labor Law Dispute

Negroes Ask Congress to Ban Unions' Race Discrimination

The Post Thu. 2-24-49

By Sam Stavisky
Post Reporter

The smoldering civil rights issue yesterday was injected into the already blazing congressional dispute over new labor legislation.

Spokesmen for two Negro organizations appeared before the final public session of the Senate Labor Committee and demanded that union discrimination against Negro workers be banned by any new labor law. Washington D.C.

Senator Hubert H. Humphrey (D., Minn.), who led the successful fight to include the civil rights program in the Democratic platform for the 1947 campaign, immediately declared he would support such an antidiscrimination provision in the upcoming labor law fight. Senator Robert A. Taft (R., Ohio) announced he, too, would back such a provision.

Leading T-H Act Foe

Politically, Humphrey and Taft are poles apart. Humphrey is a leading opponent of the Taft-Hartley Management-Labor Relations Act, which the Truman Administration is seeking to repeal and replace with a so-called improved version of the Wagner Act.

Senator Wayne Morse (R., Oreg.), who opposes both the Taft-Hartley Act and the Administration substitute—and who has long been a champion of civil rights—declared he would oppose the request of the Negro spokesmen. Morse insisted that civil rights legislation must be taken up in a single, separate package, so as not to confuse other issues pending in Congress.

Edgar G. Brown, speaking for the National Negro Council, and Elmer W. Henderson, for the American Council on Human Rights, urged that any benefits accruing to unions under the new labor law be withheld from those unions which discriminate against Negroes. The Post

Brown charged the 17 AFL international unions limit membership to "Caucasian, Christian" workers, and that others offer only segregated, auxiliary membership. Washington D.C.

Recess Declared

After nearly four weeks of public hearings, with some 50 witnesses testifying, the Senate Labor Committee wearily recessed just before 6 p.m. Some 200 others had wanted to testify, but had to be turned down for lack of time.

34

later the schedule was extended to February 23. Executive sessions will get under way, probably beginning Monday. Both Democratic and Republican committee members expressed the hope that a bill would be reported out by Monday, March 7.

Senator Morse disclosed that he, Senator Taft and Senator Irving M. Ives (R., N. Y.) were separately preparing their own labor bills, and would soon meet to see if they could agree on a single measure. If they cannot agree, each will fight for his own legislation on the floor of the Senate, Morse said.

The Administration bill would eliminate the Taft-Hartley Act with its ban on the closed shop and 80-day injunctions against emergency strikes. Instead, the Administration measure would restore the Wagner Act, prohibit jurisdictional strikes and certain secondary boycotts, and seek to block emergency strikes through aroused public opinion.

William Leiserson, a former member of the National Labor Relations Board, yesterday declared that the Taft-Hartley Act was "no good," even though he favored retention of several of the act's provisions. He asserted the Taft-Hartley Act hindered rather than encouraged collective bargaining. The Administration bill, he said, was sound "as a whole." He would go further in encouraging mediation and voluntary arbitration of disputes.

Another witness, William J. During, vice president of Precision Casting Co., Fayetteville, N. Y., asserted that Congress will do the Communist Party a valuable service if the lawmakers scrap the anti-Communist affidavit provision of the Taft-Hartley Act.

The Chicago Newspaper Publishers Association, in a statement filed with the committee, yesterday charged that the 15-month-old strike of printers on Chicago papers is "unquestionably a strike against the national policy" as expressed in the Taft-Hartley Act. They disputed the testimony of Woodruff Randolph, president of the International Typographical Union, who had testified that the strike is over wage rates.

Washington D.C.

Father Suffers, Too

Thu. 2-24-49

Monterey, Cal. (U.P.).—When doctors at Fort Ord reported mother, baby, and father doing well they weren't just pulling the old gag. While Mrs. Jack R. McDaniel was awaiting the birth of her child, Sergt. McDaniel was suffering the pains of appendicitis. He arrived at the same hospital only a few hours after his baby girl did.

Thu. 2-24-49

No Time Wasted

Akron, O. (U.P.).—Traffic officers here are on the alert. A driver stopped his car next to the orange curb because he thought he had a flat tire. By the time he had made a complete circuit of the car to find out the tires were okay he had a traffic ticket.

The New Old South

Birmingham News
Mon. 4-18-49

WASHINGTON—One of the most significant political phenomena in Washington has been concealed, until now, behind the closed doors of the Senate foreign relations committee room. There Sen. Walter F. George of Georgia, most influential of the Southern conservatives, has been hammering on Secretary of State Dean G. Acheson and other witnesses to secure an admission.

(34)

He wants them to admit that a vote for the Atlantic Pact will not commit him to voting funds to implement the pact. This clearly implies that he means to oppose re-arming Europe, if re-arming Europe is at all costly.

In order to grasp the meaning of George's new line, what he is doing now must be contrasted with what he has done in the past. It was George, for instance, who participated in the negotiation of the British loan agreement; fought the then Secretary of the Treasury Fred Vinson because he thought the amount too small; and with Arthur H. Vandenberg of Michigan led the battle for the loan in the Senate. Until now, George has always gone along with every major foreign policy enactment.

* * *

Southern Conservatives

THIS HAS BEEN, OF COURSE, the Southern conservative tradition. At the beginning of the first Roosevelt administration, there was still a discernible difference between right-wing Southerners and right-wing Northerners, even on domestic issues. Men like Pat Harrison of Mississippi and the gigantic, powerful Joseph T. Robinson of Arkansas, might be deeply conservative at heart. But theirs was a planter conservatism with more than a trace of the old-fashioned agrarian populist detestation of Wall Street. Hence their willingness to follow Franklin Roosevelt in the early New Deal years.

The labor issue, and the connected racial issue, ended all that. By the close of the second Roosevelt administration, when domestic questions were to the fore, the right-wing Southerners were well to the right of most of their Northern brethren. Yet in the dangerous times before Pearl Harbor, men like Harry F. Byrd and George were leading interventionists. Although the anti-Wall Street attitude had been lost from the Southern tradition, the world-mindedness (deriving from cotton's dependence on foreign markets) still remained.

George's line of questioning in the foreign relations committee signifies an important new development. On issues of foreign policy, as well as on issues of domestic policy, the right-wing Southerners of the Democratic Party are now joining hands with the right-wing Northerners of the Republican Party.

* * *

Eastland Absent

THE NEW ALLIANCE will play a major role in this session of Congress, which must face the fact that we can no longer finance our foreign policy out of surplus. The existence of the alliance was revealed in the vote on Sen. Robert A. Taft's amendment of the ECA bill, cutting the European recovery authorization by 10 per cent. Among the surprisingly small band of 25 faithful mustered by Senator Taft, there appeared George, Byrd, Russell of Georgia, Ellender of Louisiana, Holland of Florida, Johnson of South Carolina and McClellan or Arkansas.

Perhaps the clue to the presence on Taft's side of this majority of the more right-wing Southerners can be found in the absence of one of their closest collaborators, Sen. James O. East-

land of Mississippi certainly deserves to rank, in sheer violence of reaction and obstinacy of obscurantism, with the most extreme Dixiecrats. But Mississippi is the last Southern state that preserves a predominantly planter economy. The Cotton Council opposed the Taft amendment, and so did Eastland.

By contrast, the other Southerners above listed comes from states where the political oligarchy has been more or less heavily infiltrated by large business and large industry. Moreover, the South is one of the two strongholds of the most reactionary element in the American business world—the other, of course, is in certain areas of the Midwest. And what has caused the sudden switch-over of the right-wing Southerners to the new isolationism is extremely simple and obvious.

They talk about "preserving the soundness of the American economy." But what they frankly mean is that they do not wish to raise taxes in order to pay for American security in this troubled world, or for any other purpose. Mon. - 4-18-49

* * *

VERY ROUGHLY SPEAKING, the importance of the right-wing Southerners' defection to isolationism will be determined by the President's leadership. If the president's policy is not sabotaged by those men around him who think like the Southerners, and if the president rouses the country to a sense of the world emergency, many moderate Republicans will follow Sen. Vandenberg, rather than Sen. Taft, as on the Taft amendment. The desertion of the Southerners can thus be counter-balanced. But since no one in his senses enjoys paying or voting for new taxes, the need must be brought home with great clarity and force. ©

McGILL IS A DOCTOR NOW

Editor Sees New Era In Southern Politics

The Constitution 34 Atlanta Ga.
Sun

MIAMI, Fla.—(UP)—Ralph McGill, editor of The Atlanta Constitution, said yesterday that "the old political structure of the South is beginning to fall apart."

Speaking at commencement ceremonies at the University of Miami, McGill urged the school's 700 graduating seniors to make their homes in the South and help build a greater region.

"The South, and especially Southern politics, needs some men and women with tough, inquiring minds," he said. "We need some common sense and an end to Ku Klux Klan mentality."

McGill, who was awarded an honorary Doctor of Laws Degree by the University, said that with industrialization sweeping the South "we are headed for an economy almost exactly like that of the Mid-West where a combination of industry and agriculture have teamed to build a prosperity that has been unequalled."

"Here in Florida, you are already far ahead of the parade in the South," he said. "Your growing pains show that plainly."

The widely-known Southern journalist pointed out that the new South "will not be a complete regional success until the Negro is integrated into it, using what skills he has on equal terms and wages."

The Negro vote in the South this year was 60 percent larger than it was in 1940, he said, and within the next four years at least 2,000,000 will be casting ballots in the States of the old Confederacy.

McGill said the South must not be "so bound by its own mores that it is going to let those votes go by default to politicians with Soviet backgrounds."

He also warned against letting the "Dixiecrat mentality, which piously and with great hypocrisy parades itself as the States Rights Party" exclude the Negro vote from Southern political parties and send it to "those who will take it and make it a balance of power to attain their own political ends."

He urged the passage of an anti-lynch law and the elimination of the poll tax but warned against any fair employment practices act "which would create a Federal police power to serve the bureau administering the act."

He asked instead an FEPC "which would operate under the Department of Labor and would have the power to hold hearings, to conciliate, recommend and arbitrate."

RALPH McGILL

Constitution
Atlanta Ga. (34)

The South Loses Political Power

Sun. 5-22-49

While I dislike the role of Jeremiah, it nevertheless is at times a necessary one. It seems to me so important that we in the South, while clinging to what is good in our history, shall not try to live on it, defensively.

The Dixiecrats, for example, seek to steer by the past and be guided by the dead finger of John C. Calhoun. Aside from the hypocrisy of their position, ill-masked by its pious front, the position is simply not tenable. The South is losing political power, not gaining. The loss in 1950 will be considerable, and painful.

Enough is known of the 1950 census trends to say positively that political power is moving westward. The United States News has an exhaustive analysis of the trend in the current issue.

Sun. 5-22-49

Power The needs, wants and demands of the West and Southwest will receive more and more attention from both political parties. The East, and especially the South, will be hard hit. The South, which proved so impotent in the November election, must be led to see that a withdrawal into a splinter party would be meaningless and ineffective. The Southern States, which have a determination to grow industrially, will neither wish nor be able to withdraw themselves from the American political scene. Their industrial and agricultural populations will not allow it. The Old Guard's grip is failing. Only in a State losing population and employment can it hold on.

Losses All indications are the changes to come after the 1950 census will strengthen the Democratic Party. The population on the move is almost entirely made up of persons who are seeking industrial employment. They do not join the Republican Party.

Two-thirds of the electoral votes to be lost by the Southern States and a portion of the East will go to California, Oregon and Washington State.

These new gains will result from a division of seats in the House of Representatives, which will be made after the next census. Each State has an electoral vote equal to the total of its Representatives and Senators. Thus, Georgia has 12, Virginia 11, Florida 8 and so on. House seats are divided on a basis of population after each census, to take care of immigration and population shifts.

Seats Six House seats will be taken from the South. Georgia, Alabama, Arkansas, Mississippi, North Carolina and Tennessee will lose a seat. From the so-called border States will go a seat each from Kentucky, Missouri and Oklahoma.

In the East, Pennsylvania will lose a seat and New York State two. The New England States, proper, remain unchanged.

In the West, only Colorado loses a seat. That means the Southern picture tells a story. South Carolina is regarded as sure to hold her present status. No State in the South has made as great an industrial gain, percentage-wise, in the present decade, as has South Carolina. It has attracted population. Louisiana also remains unchanged, on the basis of present estimates. Florida is the only Southern State to show a gain. It's population is up 18 percent. Industry and climate have brought new persons to Florida.

The Midwest States of Michigan and Indiana will gain a seat each.

In the Southwest, Texas, where industrial growth has been phenomenal, will gain a seat.

Some idea of how fast California has grown, in population and political power, is revealed by the figures. In 1910 California had 11 Representatives. After the 1940 census she had 23. After 1950 she will have 30. The population of the Far West has more than doubled since 1910. The gain has been at the expense of the

South, the East and the border States. That fact is becoming more and more clear to the political planners of both major parties. For the South now to be talking about forming an independent party is the sheerest sort of moonshine. It is an admission of defeat and surrender. Also, it is the talk of the status quo "Old Guard," which never learns.

Summing Up Said the United States News, in summing up:

The industrial East, including the New England States, has lost members regularly since 1910. Massachusetts and Pennsylvania stood at their peak in 1910 and have lost ground since. New York and New Jersey hit their peak in 1930 and New York now is losing ground.

The South, for the most part, lost ground. Migrations of Negroes and ambitious whites seeking better economic opportunity steadily cut the South's political power, in spite of its high birth rate. Florida and Texas gained steadily. Louisiana held its ground. North Carolina gained, but now is losing ground.

Border States lost steadily. Missouri and Kentucky had the biggest losses. Maryland and West Virginia held their ground. Oklahoma hit its peak in 1930 and has been losing since.

The Middle West is a big loser. Made up largely of farm States, it found its population moving toward industrial centers. Only Michigan and Ohio were able to run counter to the sectional trend, gaining ground since 1910. All other Middle Western States lost power.

5-22-49

The Mountain States remained almost static. New Mexico and Arizona each has gained a seat since 1910. The others stood still; but now Colorado is to lose a seat.

Pacific Coast made the big gains, California alone increased its industrial employment by 95 percent from 1939 to 1947.

For States with no oil, no coal, no valuable ores, the future demands an aggressive development of agriculture and of processing what raw materials we have—and they chiefly are the raw materials of our forests and our farm crops. Any sort of attempt to sit down by the roadside and weep, pointing to ancient glories and dead leaders whose problems were those of their time, is not an answer. Our best motto is, "Let's don't kid ourselves."

Tuskegee Civic Group Favors Congressional Probe Of Klan

Memphis, Tenn. Tribune

WASHINGTON — (ANP) — The Tuskegee Civic association came out in support of a congressional probe of the recent activities of the Ku Klux Klan in Alabama where terrorism has not hit the Negro but white persons as well.

In the meantime, white southerners and representatives spoke against the congressional investigations. The Alabama state legislature which recently passed a law banning masks in public passed a joint resolution denouncing federal action.

Speaking of Alabama's action, the Tuskegee group's statement signed by C. A. Walwyn, president and William P. Mitchell, secretary, said:

"It is quite apparent now that certain elements in Alabama are willing to sacrifice democracy in order to perpetuate segregation.... The Tuskegee civic association is unequivocably opposed to segregation or assigning the Negro to the position of a second class citizen.

SEEK TRUMAN TO STAND

"We unanimously call upon President Truman to stand by his orders and directives stamping out these un-American actions such as we condemn, any contrary position taken would in these times of mob violence be detrimental to the preservation of our democracy."

Chr. 9-8-49

Clancy E. Lake, Birmingham News reporter, objected to action by Congress. He said of action now being taken in Alabama:

"I am satisfied that everything is being done that is humanly possible to end these disturbances."

Rep. Battle called the whole affair a "political maneuver intended to enhance President Truman's civil rights program."

34a (1) 1949

Alabama (Electors)

Ala. Bill Would Curb Electors

Pittsburg Courier

(34a (1))

MONTGOMERY, Ala.—A bill to prevent Alabama Democratic Presidential electors from bolting the party for splinter groups such as the Dixiecrat movement, will be presented to the next session of the Alabama Legislature.

State Senator A. L. Patterson disclosed Wednesday that he and a number of other State Senators are drafting a law that will assure Alabama's Democratic vote for national party nominees for President and Vice President in the future.

Pittsburg Courier Jan-1-8-1949

Patterson said the measure would provide that the names of the Presidential candidates be placed on the ballot above the names of the electors. In the November election, only the names of the electors appeared on the ballot. There was no mention of the Presidential candidates.

Alabama electors, in rebellion against President Truman's civil rights proposals, pledged their support to Dixiecrat Candidate J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina. The State's eleven electoral votes were cast for the fourth party's nominees.

34a(1) 1949

City Council

Negro Candidate

34a(1)

Editor Constitution: I take this opportunity of thanking you for publishing my announcement for the office of the City Council in Augusta, Ga.

My only opposition [illegible] been the members of my own race. [illegible] to make this information, however it is very true. My latest endeavor, which was a meeting to be held at The Tabernacle Baptist Church, Rev. A. Leon Lowry, Pastor, was scheduled for Wednesday night, March 16, at which time we were presenting the Rev. Allen R. Cooper, A.B., D.D., Presiding Elder A. M. E. Church, Macon, Ga., as our guest speaker. Although the Pastor and officers had consented to our using the church for this specific purpose, when the appointed hour arrived we were bluntly refused and denied use of the church auditorium, thus embarrassing our speaker and turning away hundreds. It seems that a number of participants had already been advised not to appear.

You are at liberty to inform the people of the North that it is not the white people of the South that do everything to impede the progress of Negro people, but the Negro himself in the South is his biggest enemy. Selfishness, envy, malice, and prejudices among Negro people are our greatest handicap. I would appreciate it if you would publish this and send it to other white newspapers, in order that white people will know that they are not altogether to blame for the Negroes' plight. GEORGE ELMER ROSS.

Augusta.

34a(1) 1949

City Council

Doctor Refuses $10,000 to Quit City Council Race

34a(1) American

By DOUGLASS HALL

FAYETTEVILLE, N. C. — Dr. W. P. Devane, militant local physician, who is running for the city council here, revealed to the AFRO Saturday, that he had turned down an offer of $10,000 to withdraw from the race.

As the registration books closed Saturday, it was estimated that about 2,000 colored persons had registered, representing approximately two-fifths of the total registrants. Sat-4-30-49

Dr. Devane is claiming "practically all of the colored votes and a few from white persons." If elected he would be the first colored person to serve in the council.

Unidentified Caller

In explaining the bribe offer, the physician stated that " a well-dressed stranger entered my office and asked to speak with me privately. He pointed out that white councilmen could make quite a bit of money from the council job and that about all it would mean for me is hard work and no money.

"I had never seen the man before and he would not tell me whom he represented. He did not indicate that I would be harmed in any way. He stated that if I were smart I would get my hands on some cash and drop the whole matter. It was then that he placed a pile of money on the table in front of me and kept repeating over and over... 'ten thousand dollars, think of it, ten thousand dollars.'

34a(1)

Refused Bribe

"I told him that it would not matter if it were ten pennies or ten million dollars, I would not accept it; that I was in the race and I intended to stay there and win."

For the past week this small city, which draws its very life-blood from Fort Bragg, about ten miles away, has been a hot bed of political activity. During the first part of the week, more colored persons had registered than white.

The local paper played up this fact, and whites hurried to the books and by Thursday had gained a lead of about 300. There are 15 persons in the field and five to be elected. Sat-4-30-49

On Saturday morning, five leading white cab companies were hauling "without cost" persons who desired to register. White politicians were visiting colored persons in an effort to get votes.

Most certainly, colored voters have within their grasp an opportunity to send one of their group to the City Hall and to serve as a balance of power in the dog fight being waged among the white politicians.

Urge Block Vote

On May 3, the largest turnout at the polls in the history of this town is expected. Forces behind Dr. Devane have called upon colored persons to block their vote for their candidate. This has brought a loud protest from other persons in the field.

Dr. Devane stated: "We are within our rights to vote for as many or as few of the candidates as we like. Some rumors have been spread that persons who vote for only one candidate will go to jail. That is absolutely false."

Dr. Devane's office was a mass of activities. In the regularly political fashion, folks were waiting in every office to see him.

Here 25 Years

A convincing talker, he has lived here for the past 25 years. He was swept into the limelight last year when he held out, over a flood of stiff white opposition, that a local colored man had "died" in the city jail. Sat-4-30-49

I was in the court room that night and heard the applause of the people when he "went against the grain" and placed the blame squarely upon the shoulders of the city fathers.

Folks here have not forgotten that he spoke for them on that evening. He said just what every colored person in that courtroom wanted to say. Many told me that they were going to vote for "Doc" because he's got the guts to stand up and tell the truth.

"And a lot of whites told me that they were going to vote for me for that same reason," the doctor stated.

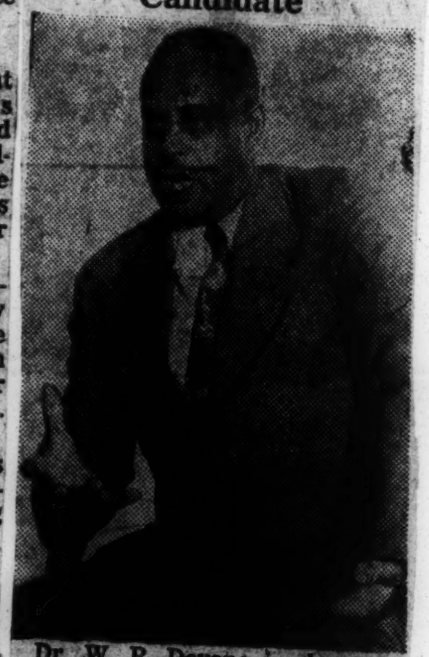
Shaw Graduate

A native North Carolinian, he attended high school at Allburn Academy, Franklinton, N.C., and graduated from Shaw University in 1911. He received a degree of Physician and Surgeon at the University of West Tennessee in 1915, and did graduate work in medicine at Long Island (NY) Medical College. Sat-4-30-49

In 1917, he was commissioned first lieutenant in the U.S. Army, and in 1918 received a degree of Doctor of Medicine at Meharry Medical College. He was one of the founders of the Community Hospital, Wilmington, and has done additional graduate work at the Universities of Pennsylvania and Chicago.

During World War II, he was appointed examining physician for Draft Board No. 1, Cumberland County, N.C.

Candidate



Dr. W. P. Devane is shown as he told an AFRO reporter about the $10,000 bride offered him to quit the race for city council in Fayetteville, N.C. Several Fayetteville radio announcers have conceded him the election. One commented that it would be "a good thing if he is elected, it is about time." The real test comes Tuesday, May 3, when voters will go to the pools.

Douglas Hall, Photo.

Negro Council Candidate Backed by Whites, Negroes

The Worker New York New York

Jun 3-27-49

DALLAS, Tex. — Jimcrow received one of its greatest jolts in the history of Dallas when Howard Daniels, 39, was certified to appear on the ballot for the municipal elections to be held April 5.

34a(1)

This marks the first time that a Negro has ever sought to be a candidate for the City Council. The nominating petitions for Mr. Daniels, a lifetime Dallas resident and the branch manager of a national Negro insurance concern, containing 347 signatures, were filed just 30 minutes before the midnight deadline on March 5.

An abortive attempt by reactionary politicians to have the petitions invalidated on the basis of minor technicalities was doomed by the popular acclaim accorded Mr. Daniels when his candidacy was announced.

DALLAS PROGRESSIVE PARTY leaders participated in as- [illegible] candidacy of Mr. Dan- [illegible] building a coalition of [illegible] white church, business, [illegible] labor leaders to engage [illegible] non-partisan effort to crack through Jimcrow and elect a Negro to the City Council.

Mr. William Walters, president of the Dallas Negro Chamber of Commerce and Mrs. M. Isom, a white civic leader, were elected co-chairmen of the campaign committee. Rev. Timothy M. Cham-

HOWARD DANIELS

bers, pastor of the Good St. Baptist Church, was named campaign director. Mr. N. Williams, Negro businessman and Mrs. Natalie Ross, state women's director of the Progressive Party, were chosen as co-financial directors.

Despite the fact that both the AFL and CIO in Dallas are tied to the Democratic county organization, a number of labor leaders and rank and file unionists have already pledged support to Daniels.

Jun-3-27-49

SEVERAL MINISTERS have preached sermons from the pulpit urging Daniels' election. Appeals for campaign funds in churches, made by Negro and white speakers, are receiving enthusiastic response. At the Boll St. Baptist Church, after an appeal by Rev. Ruckers, a line extending half way around the block was formed to give contributions to the campaign fund. Full support from the interdenominational Ministerial Alliance is expected.

Juanita Craft, Southwestern Director of the NAACP, has pledged support, and feels that the membership of her organization will be solidly behind Daniels.

Jun-3-27-49

Mr. Daniels, in campaign speeches, has told audiences that he intends to serve and fight for the needs of the average citizen, both Negro and white. His platform calls for shifting the tax burden from the low income and small home-owner groups to the commercial and industrial groups; a detailed program for civic improvements, including better parks, homes and hospital facilities for the Negro people; ending of discrimination and better pay for city employes; no city interference in church affairs.

Dallas politicians have been astounded by the whirlwind character of Daniels' campaign and he is conceded a good chance for election.

Texas Medic Seeks Election

Daily Worker New York

34a(1)

TYLER, Texas — Entry of Dr. H. C. Blakemore in the race for a city commissioner's seat has made history in this East Texas town. The 12 other candidates are white.

Dr. Blakemore, a prominent citizen of the city and Smith County, has practiced medicine here for more than 20 years. He is running on the Colored Democratic Voters League ticket.

There have been no threats of violence, or suggestions that he withdraw his name, Dr. Blakemore said. On the other hand, he has received many congratulatory messages, the personable physician stated.

Jun-3-27-49

It is estimated that there are about 1,500 Negroes among Tyler's 7,000 voters. Because of irregular payment of poll taxes, it could not be determined yet what percentage of them will vote this year.

34a(2) 1949

Birmingham Bans Bias in Elections

BIRMINGHAM, Ala. — Racial and religious intolerance is banned in the municipal elections slated for May 5 here.

Jefferson County Democratic Executive Committee in a closed-door session here Jan. 27 unanimously adopted a resolution presented by A. V. Simmons, chairman of the committee on racial and religious tolerance, calling for an outlawing of "hate politics."

Negroes Protest Bruce As Likely Bench Choice

Gov. Talmadge, faced with a letter from three Atlanta Negro leaders protesting reports he would appoint Atty. Charles G. Bruce to a Fulton County judgeship, said he would make the appointment "on the ability, integrity and character of the appointee if and when a vacancy arises."

Gov. Talmadge said no judicial vacancy exists at this time.

Bruce is slated to succeed Judge Jesse M. Wood as judge of the Criminal Court of Fulton County, in event Wood is elevated—as is anticipated—to the Superior Court.

The letter, charging Bruce with prejudice against the Negro race, said:

"According to newspaper reports, among those being considered for the judgeship of the Criminal Court of Fulton County, in the event that Judge Jesse M. Wood should be elevated to the bench of the Superior Court, is Mr. Charles G. Bruce.

"If the above reports are true, we wish to protest most vigorously, on behalf of the Negro people of Fulton County, against the appointment of Mr. Bruce to that office. We feel that no one possessing prejudice against any people on account of their race, color or religion is qualified to occupy any public office which requires the highest degree of fairness and impartiality.

"Mr. Bruce's public record demonstrates that his attitude towards and prejudices against Negroes are so pronounced that he is rendered incapable of performing the duties of that high office in a manner which will be in conformity with the oath which he would be required to take upon his induction therein.

"Unfortunately, Negroes comprise too large a percentage of those who have to be prosecuted in the Criminal Court of Fulton County. Nevertheless every person charged with crimes or misdemeanors has the right to feel that the magistrate before whom he must appear will administer justice impartially and without bias of any kind.

"We protest the appointment."

The letter was signed by A. T. Walden, President of the Georgia Association of Citizens Democratic Clubs; C. A. Scott, President, Fulton County Citizens' Democratic Club; and John Wesley Dobbs, President, Atlanta Civic and Political League.

Fri. 8-12-49

Alabama

Rankin File

Green And Connor: Will They Run 'Together?'

By Allen Rankin

Daily In The Alabama Journal

BIRMINGHAM, ALA.

WHEN city commissioners get quiet—or even get together, look out for the city hall dome; somebody's about to make off with it. If this old saying is true, Birmingham's battered old city hall dome is one of the safest in the land.

Even in the quietest times, there're plenty of noisy differences between Commissioners Cooper Green, Bull Connor and Jimmy Morgan. Now, if Green and Connor both run for governor, the usual bass rumblings should rise to shrill crescendo.

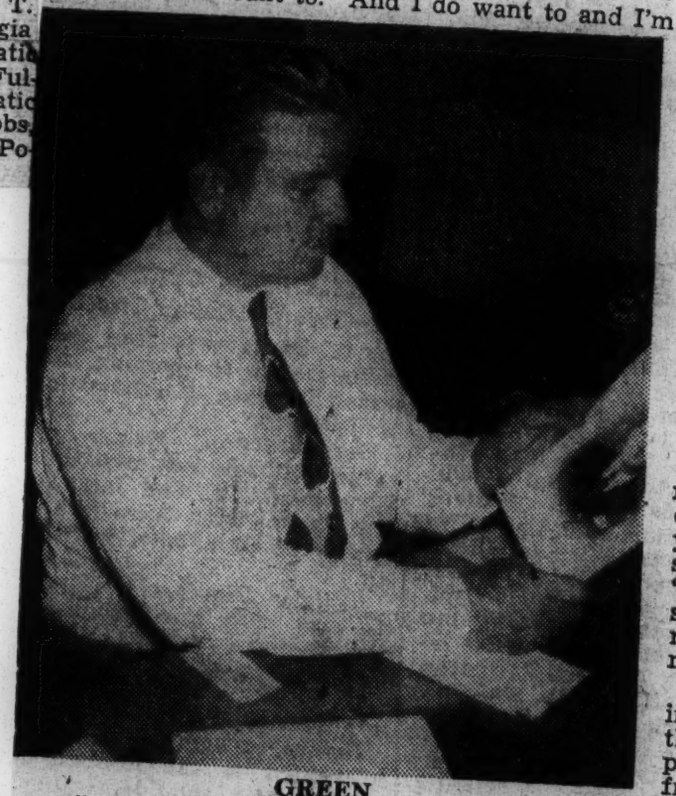
There's already a loud rumor that Bull will run if Cooper runs; won't run if Cooper does not. But much louder the rumor, of course—louder than almost anything in Birmingham—is Bull's bellow on this and many another subject.

"That's all Ka-fluey!" he boomed this week. "That's just more rumors, buddy. I'm over 21, buddy, and I can run for governor if I want to. And I do want to and I'm going to.

"Cooper is also over 21," Bull reminded me and several other parties around the block. "He, too, can run for governor if he wants to. But whether he runs or not has nothing to do with my race, buddy, I'm runnin'!"

Mayor Green wasn't quite ready to sound off that loud yet. He did say he was "strongly considering" making the race.

Both men insist they are the best of personal friends. "And if Cooper runs," says Bull, "we won't be running against each other. We'll just be running toward the same place."



GREEN

But publicly—in print—Green and his Police Commissioner Connor often war as jealously as virgin coquettes.

Two cases in point: Green's one-time blast that Connor was trying to sabotage his efforts to build the new 12-story city hall now in progress . . . Connor's blast at Green this week opposing "pay as you go" over-in loud part the Mayor's stand on annexing unincorporated com-hor. After the irresponsible Folsom such a man would seem munities for "Greater Birmingham."

Personally, Green went on smiling at Connor and calling him "old boy." Connor went on smiling at Green and calling him "old buddy."

But on the front page, Bull's blast against Green in the annexation fight trumpeted forth—and it was there on the front page that Green first knew there'd be such a blast.

That's the way it often is, "I'm over 21," says Bull again "and I can issue any statement to the paper I want to."

★

A Formidable Candidate

A race between Cooper and the Bull should be something to see even if it IS "just in the same direction" and not "against each other."

Green's record would make him a formidable candidate for the governorship or any other office. He is a business man. He has kept Birmingham within its budget for the 10 years of his mayorship. Not only that he has reduced the city's debt by about $5 million. Not only that, but while saving money (a thing today almost unheard of in municipal governments) he has built many a public building, and is now building the $3,500,000 new city hall . . . This without one extra's cent's expenditure. He is per Green is a far more formidable candidate just s Cooper Green. That means that almost no one has l the guy. He grins because he feels good and people enal.

★

Never Lost A Box

Green takes a middle-of-the-road course and calls it that. Though he sometimes booms out "The Irish is up and I'm in this fight and I'll fight it through," he usually manages to avoid fights. He somehow manages to remain the fair-haired boy of both capital and labor in a hotbed of labor disputes. It has been said Green would be worth his salary (about $9,000) just as a strike-breaker. He has broken 14 major strikes in Birmingham when, before his arrival, things looked deadlocked. Both sides forgot what they were fighting about, grinned, and said, "Hello, Cooper." It went from there.

Green is sometimes criticized as a "fence rider." He is an arch compromiser, on issues which he believes cannot be won by noisy attacks. Connor's thunderous frontal assaults on some questions are more colorful, but this remarkable fact remains:

In a city that is half capital, half labor; half white, half

34a(2)

Negro; half conservative, half liberal—Green has never lost one single box in any race for the mayorship. Twice he was unopposed. In his other two races he got from four to seven times as many votes as the combined votes of his opponents.

The fact that he is also America's Number One Mayor (by virtue of his election to the presidency of the National Mayor's Conference) doesn't hurt him a bit.

★

Bull Says What He Means

On the other hand, scrappy, noisy Bull Connor is also justly a man with his own big Birmingham following.

People like Bull or they don't like him, but they know where he stands. He tells them about States Rights, about "the niggers and the Communists" in a voice that roars over the land.

"Birmingham is the Southeastern headquarters for the Communist Party!" bellows Bull, and the echoes bounce back in the headlines of papers throughout the East.

Senator Glenn Taylor comes to town and insists on "making his own anti-segregation laws" and Bull obligingly throws him in jail. Thus, notwithstanding Green's frowns and quieter men's pangs, he gives Taylor, gratis, a million dollars worth of the kind of publicity he couldn't buy with a million.

But Bull gets some publicity, too—the kind he'll capitalize on in his "white supremacy" dash for the governor's chair.

Bull is playing his cards closer to his vest than Green, who is more interested in the national political picture. Bull—so called, he says, "because I used to shoot the bull as a baseball commentator"— is believed interested in fortifying only his local stronghold.

As loud as his shouting is, Bull has a reputation for scrupulous and absolute honesty. His worst enemy will tell you, "He'd lock up his own grandmother as quick as the next one."

★

Tight Rope And Hatchet

Bull is lucky in one thing. Despite his fulminations on white supremacy he has never been a Klan member. Green has. In the '20's almost any politician joined as a matter of course. Green was among them, drawing $50 a month as a secretary of the Tarrant City Klan. He resigned soon after.

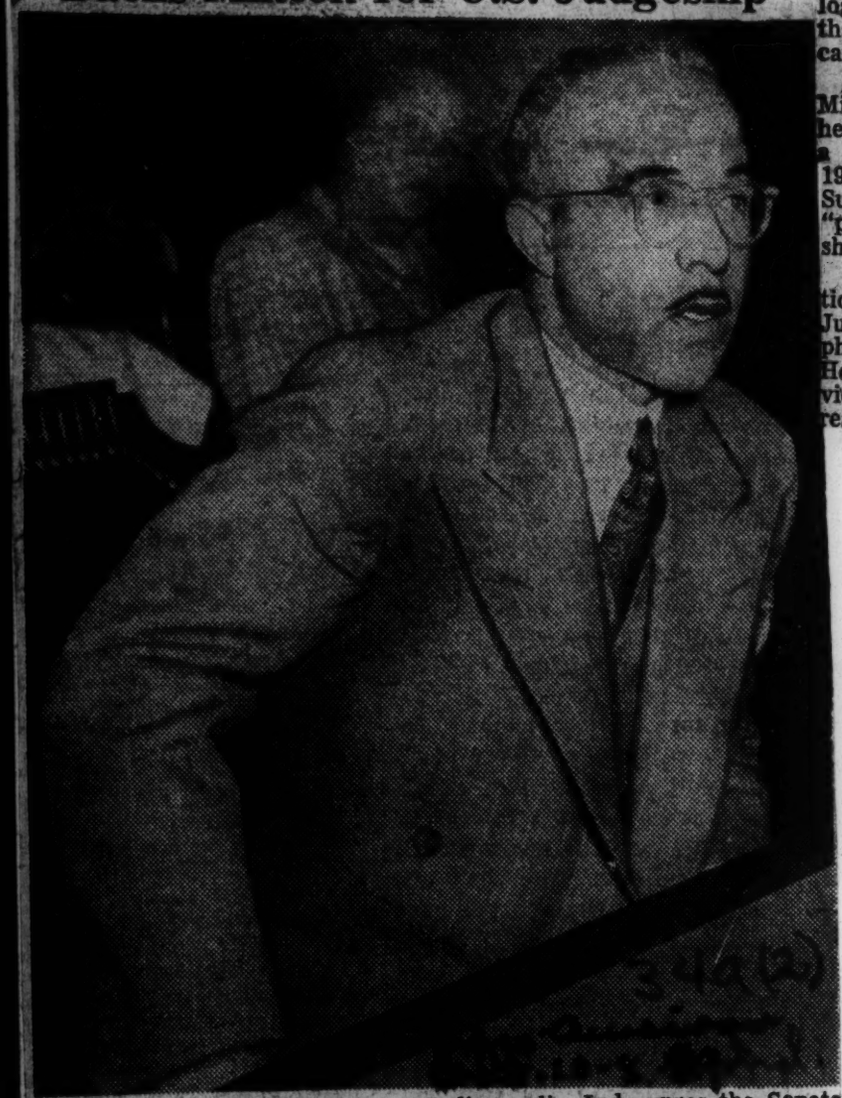
The national rumpus Bull Connor raises on the race question obviously often makes things more difficult for Green. On questions of zoning, segregation, etc., Green knows he stares the Supreme Court in the face; that any discriminatory action will almost surely bounce back. Through the hot fires of Birmingham's melting pot he tries to walk the tight rope of conciliation and compromise. Often Bull's verbal hatchet has—inadvertently or not—slashed at that precarious rope.

But so far, the Country's Number One Mayor—with the national spotlight shining upon him—has held his near-miraculous balance.

34a(2) 1949

Indiana

Backs Minton for U.S. Judgeship



Henry W. Richardson, lawyer, of Indianapolis, Ind., urges the Senate Judiciary Committee in Washington to report favorably the nomination of Judge Sherman Minton of the Seventh United Circuit Court of Appeals as an associate justice of the U.S. Supreme Court.

Bar Association Backs Minton for High Court

Henry J. Richardson, Indiana Lawyer, Says He Meets Standards; Nominee to Appear

34a(2)

WASHINGTON (NNPA)—After hearing two witnesses in support of confirmation of Judge Sherman Minton as a United States Supreme Court justice, the Senate Judiciary Committee last Tuesday voted, 5 to 4, to request the nominee to appear in person.

The group wants him to explain whether there has been any change in his philosophy since he was an ardent supporter of the New Deal while a Senator from Indiana.

The two witnesses were Sen. Scott W. Lucas of Illinois, Majority Leader, and Henry J. Richardson, Jr., a former member of the Indiana Legislature.

Appearing for the National Bar Association, Mr. Richardson said that the association believed that Judge Minton met its standards for the judiciary in "training, experience, ideals and character."

The association's decision to endorse Judge Minton and urge his confirmation was based upon "his phenomenal record," declared Mr. Richardson, who compared Judge Minton's birth in a log cabin in Southern Indiana to that of many other great Americans.

Senator Homer Ferguson, (Rep. Mich.), asked Mr. Richardson if he knew that Judge Minton, while a member of the Senate (1934-1941) had advocated packing the Supreme Court and whether that "philosophy" was the kind that should be on the Supreme Court.

Mr. Richardson said he questioned whether the philosophy of Judge Minton as a Senator is the philosophy he entertains today. He noted that men change their views "after very sound adult reasoning and analysis."

Dixie Favors New Method of Electing a President

The Afro American
34a(2) Baltimore, Md
Sat. 1-8-49

Leaders Welcome Change for Different Reasons; Fear Minority Voters' Power

WASHINGTON (ANP) — The South is ready for a change in the method of electing the nation's President, according to some conservative and liberal leaders in that region, all of whom have different reasons for supporting such a change.

Some States-righters feel that a new electoral system for choosing the President would help the South regain some of its old power. Other Dixie spokesmen believe that the time has come to create a two-party system.

Minority Voters Feared

A large number of Southerners, like some Northern, Mid-western and borderline States' politicians, continue to see nothing but evil in the fact that a minority group or a small bloc of intelligent voters can decide an election.

They are unduly alarmed because, as they tell it in speeches, writings and propaganda releases, colored voters in the North "wield to much political influence."

Minority or bloc voting, the South charges, is really responsible for President Truman's civil rights' program which was literally "shoved down its throat."

Ignoring of Area Cited

Another opinion among leaders in Dixie is, that a change in the electoral system would make both major parties campaign more actively in the South rather than ignore the region or take it for granted that it is an impregnable Democratic fortress as has been done in the past. Sat.

Two changes in election laws are advocated. Senator-elect Hubert Humphrey of Minneapolis proposes that the President be elected by popular vote. However, the other method of proportional electoral votes in the States is favored by more legislators here. 1-8-49

Kefauver's Views

One of the leading advocates for a Constitutional amendment to make electoral votes proportional to the popular vote in each State is the newlyelected Senator Kefauver of Tennessee, who said:

"The South, like New England and certain other States, has long suffered because of the one-party system. The passage of this amendment would result in the following factors:

"1. Limit the possibility of the people voting blindly for President and Vice President. The threat of electors not following the will of the party was present in 1944. It has now become a reality. (A Tennessee elector gave his Truman vote to Thurmond.)

Favors 2-Party System

"2. A strong two-party system is the only healthy way a democracy can operate. In the South, it would mean the end of the Dixiecrat movement. Sat.

"3. The position of the South and also other one-party sections would be given full consideration by the leadership of both national parties. A vote in the South would mean as much as the vote in New York or Pennsylvania.

"Both parties would consider the problems and attitudes of one party sections. 1-8-49

Eyes Cabinet Jobs

"4. The South and one-party sections would have a stronger demand for cabinet positions and and other high places in the government.

"5. Benefits from the Federal Government would be more evenly divided."

Senator-elect Kefauver said:

"The passage of this amendment is imperative for orderly elections and for fair consideration and representation of every section of our nation."

34a(2) 1949

New York

Puerto Rican Woman To Help O'Dwyer

Black Dispatch

NEW YORK — (ANP) — Miss Josefina Rincon, acting mayor of San Juan, Puerto Rico, arrived in New York last week on a trip announced to help reelect Mayor O'Dwyer and President of the City Council Vincent Impellitteri.

Miss Rincon said that the chief reason for her action is to "clear up misunderstanding about Puerto Ricans being Communists because some of them follow "Rep. Vito Marcantonio. She estimated that of 3,000,000 persons in Puerto Rico only 300 were Communists.

34b 1949

Anti-Bais Housing Vote
Afro American
Shows Friends, Foes of
Baltimore, Md.
Civil Rights
Sat. 4-30-49

Washington- (NNPA)- Here is how Senators voted on the Bricker amendments which would have prohibited discrimination and segregation in public housing subsidized with Federal funds:

FOR THE AMENDMENT-31

DEMOCRATS (3)

Gillette (Ia.) Magnuson (Wash.)
Johnson (Colo.)

Republicans (28)

Baldwin (Conn.) Langer (N.D.)
Bricker (Ohio) Lodge (Mass.)
Bridges (N.H.) McCarthy (Wis.)
Butler (Neb.) Melone (Nev.)
Cain (Wash.) Martin (Pa.)
Capehart, (Ind.) Mundt, (S.D.)
Cordon (Ore.) Reed (Kans.)
Ecton (Mont.) Schoeppel (Kans.
Ferguson (Mich.) Smith (N.J.)
Gurney (S.D.) Thye (Minn.)
Hendrickson (N.Y.) Vandenberg (Mich.)
Hickenlooper (Ia.) Watkins (Utah)
Wherry (Neb.)
Ives (N.Y.) Saltonstall (Mass.)
(Calif.)

AGANIST AMENDMENT-49
Sat. 4-30-49

DEMOCRATS (41)

Anderson (N.M.) Dilgore (W.Va)
Byrd (Va.) Long (La.)
Chapman (Ky.) McClellan (Ark)
Chavex (N.M.)
Connally (Tex.) McFarland (Ariz.)
Douglas (Ill.)
Ellender (La.) McMahon (Conn.)
Frear (Del.)
Fulbright (Ark.) Maybank (S.C.)
George (Ga.) Murray (Mont.)
Hayden (Ariz.) Myers (Pa.)
Hill (Ala.) O'Conor (Md.)
Hooey (N.C.) O'Mahoney (Wyo.)
Holland (Fla.) Pepper (Fla.)
Humphrey (Minn.) Robertson (Va.)
Hunt (Wyo.) Russell (Ga.)
Johnson (Tex.) Sparkman (Ala.)
Johnston (S.C.) Stennis (Miss.)
Kefauver (Tenn.) Thomas (Okla.)
Kerr (Okla.) Thomas (Utah)
Tydings (Md.)
Withers (Ky.)

Sat. 4-30-49

REPUBLICANS (8)

Donnell (Mo.) Taft (Ohio)
Flander (Vt.) Tobey (N.H.)
Millikin (Colo.) Williams (Del.)
Morse (Ore.) Young (N.D.)

Sat. 4-30-49

On the Bricker amendment to prohibit discrimination in Federally subsidized public housing defeated 46 to 32, Senators Donnell and Williams switched their votes from "nay" to "yea".

Senator Neely, who did not vote on the first amendment, voted "nay"; and Senator Murray, who voted "nay" on the first amendment, and Senator Martin, who voted "yea", did not vote on the second amendment.

Paired: Kem. Republican, Missouri, for, and Aiken, Republican, Vermont, against; Jenner, Republican, Indiana, for, and Eastland, Democrat, Mississippi, against. Not voting but position announced: Brewster and Smith, Maine, both Republicans, for, and Lucas, Illinois, Green, Rhode Island, McGrath, Rhode Island and Miller, Idaho, all Democrats, against.

Sat. 4-30-49

Senate Bill No. 12

Yakima Herald Republic

STATE OF WASHINGTON, 31ST REGULAR SESSION
January 13, 1949. read first time, ordered printed, and referred to Committee on Labor.

Seattle Post-Intelligencer

AN ACT

(Continued From Last Week)

Wed. 3-23-49

(b) To meet and function any place within the state.

(c) To appoint an eexcutive secretary and chief examiner, and such investigators, examiners, Clerks, and other employees and agents as it may deem necessary, fix their compensation within the limitations provided by law, and prescribe their duties.

(d) To obtain upon request and utilize the services of all governmental departments and agencies.

(e) To adopt, promulgate, amend, and rescind suitable rules and regulations to carry out the provisions of this act, and the policies and practices of the Board in connection therewith.

(f) To receive, investigate and pass upon complaints alleging discrimination in employment because of race, creed, color or national origin.

34b

(g) To hold hearings, subpoena witnesses, compel their attendance, administer oaths, take the testimony of any person under oath, and in connection therewith, to require the production for examination of any books or papers relating to any matter under investigation or in question before the Board. The Board may make rules as to the issuance of subpoenas by individual members as to service of complaints, decisions, orders, recommendations and other process or papers of the Board, its member, agent, or agency, either personally or by registered mail, return receipt requested, or by leaving a copy thereof at the principal office or place of business of the person required to be served. The return post office receipt, when service is by registered mail, shall be proof of service of the same.

Wed. 3-23-49

No person shall be excused from attending and testifying or from producing records, correspondence, documents or other evidence in obedience to the subpoena of the Board or of any individual member, on the ground that the testimony or evidence required of him may tend to incriminate him or subject him to a penalty or forfeiture, but no person shall be prosecuted or subjected to any penalty or forfeiture for or on account of any transaction, matter or thing concerning which he is compelled, after having claimed his privilege against self-incrimination, to testify or produce evidence, except that such person so testifying shall not be exempt from prosecution and punishment for perjury committed in so testifying. The immunity herein provided shall extend only to natural persons so compelled to testify.

Wed. 3-23-49

34b 1949

Mrs. Dunnigan Testifies On Physically Handicapped Bill

Daily World
Atlanta, Ga.

WASHINGTON—(ANP)— Being a member of the President's Committee on National Employ the Physically Handicapped Week, Mrs. Alice A. Dunnigan, Washington correspondent of the Associated Negro Press, was called upon last week to testify before the House Education and Labor subcommittee on a bill to establish a Federal commission on services to the physically handicapped.

Sat. 7-23-49

In her testimony, Mrs. Dunnigan stated that for the two years which she has been a member of the Committee on NEPH, she has participated in programs designed to promote employment of the physically handicapped.

34 r

While she believes that the work of the Committee has been of great value, still she said she could see a grave weakness in it because of too much "voluntarism" in it and not enough paid and responsible officials and employees.

Interpreting "to much voluntarism" she stated that it had been her experience that "where there is fixation of responsibility, there is no way to really determine who is to do a job, when it is to be done, and what result may be expected."

RESPONSIBILITY

For this reason she approved the establishment of an agency which would be charged and held by the Congress and the Chief Executive with the responsibility of attending to the needs of the handicapped—treating them medically, when necessary,—educating and training, or retraining them, if such be required in order that they may attain skills essential to earning a living—lending vocational guidance, and when all of these factors have been properly applied, then giving them proper placement in suitable employment. This, she continued, is most important and necessary part of the work of our Federal government.

Expressing her deep concern with the situation affecting the several million of handicapped people in this country today, the witness said she was particularly concerned about the Negro handicapped people both in the field and in the factory who have been victims of disabling disease and injury and who have had given to them a relatively small part of the assistance offered in the rehabilitation program.

Mrs. Dunnigan said she was particularly interested in the section of the bill which deals with the aspects of Cooperative Enterprises. Sheltered workshops, she said, would provide one means of taking care of those people suffering from respiratory diseases, chiefly Tuberculosis of which Negro people are chief sufferers.

7-23-49 Sat

SHOW MEANS OF CHECKING

Although some State and local programs are beginning to show effective means of checking this dreadful disease, yet, the aftermath necessitates long periods of recuperation, wherein the patient cannot work, or at best, can only perform light work. This situation can be taken care of under the provisions offered in this section of the bill.

She also expressed interest in the section of the bill which deals with educational grants to non-feasible cases because this "would be most helpful to my people."

"It is a sad commentary, indeed," concluded the speaker, "that our great Government which spreads beneficence and largess over the entire globe, has not, up to now, seen fit to attend to its own people as should be the case, and while I approve of these efforts to aid foreign lands, yet, I am that type of American who demands that our own people, who need assistance, not to be ignored, in favor of other people abroad."

Congress Gets Bills On Rights

Pittsburgh Courier

WASHINGTON — Several civil rights bills were introduced on the first day of the Eighty-first Congress Monday. Others were scheduled to be dropped into the Congressional hopper in the first few days.

Congressman Adam C. Powell of New York dropped in his bills on Interstate Travel Segregation, Lynching, D. C. Civil Rights, Poll-tax, and Armed Services Jim Crow.

DAWSON ACTS

Congressman William L. Dawson said that his bills covering the same issues with the exception of Interstate Travel and Army Jim Crow would go into the hopper during the first week.

Housing legislation was put in by several Congressmen, including Representative Helen G. Douglas of California, one of the most persistent proponents of housing during the Eightieth Congress.

Much of the social and liberal legislation now being introduced is the same as that stymied in the Eightieth Congress practically no changes were made.

"RIGHTS" GET BREAK

The Democratic leadership, on its first test with the new Eighty-first Congress House constituency, last week-end forced a party caucus to vote overwhelmingly for stacking the Rules Committee of the House with pro-Truman men and curbing its powers to arbitrarily bottleneck administration bills.

Humphrey Introduces Antilynching Measure

Washington, March 25 (U.P.)—Senator Humphrey (D., Minn.), today introduced an antilynching bill.

He immediately challenged Republican leaders to test their contention the new antifilibuster rule pushed through the Senate last week by a G.O.P.-Southern Democratic coalition did not kill chances of civil-rights legislation.

Humphrey, in filing the bill contended the "overwhelming majority" of the American people support President Truman in his fight for a civil-rights program. The antilynching bill represents "the heart and core" of the program, he said.

HEARINGS ARE OMITTED ON ANTI-LYNCHING BILL

Ferguson's Measure Goes To Full Committee

Commercial Appeal

By W. D. SISSON

(For The Commercial Appeal)

WASHINGTON, April 25.—Without bothering to hold hearings, a Senate judiciary subcommittee Monday reported the Ferguson Anti-Lynching Bill to the full committee.

Senator Ferguson (R., Mich.), author of the bill, said he hopes the full committee will report the bill out next week so that it can be placed on the Senate calendar for early action. If the full committee should approve the bill next week it would become the first so-called Civil Rights measure to reach the Senate floor at this session.

Senator Kilgore (D., W. Va.), subcommittee chairman teamed with Senator Ferguson to report the bill to the full committee over the opposition of Senator Eastland (D., Miss.), the third member of the subcommittee.

The bill acted on Monday is the "watered down" version which won full committee approval last year after lengthy hearings and committee discussion. However, the bill died on the calendar in the last minute adjournment rush.

Struck from the original bill was a section which would have made local governments liable for damages resulting from lynch mob action.

The bill provides that local and state officers failing to take "all reasonable" steps to protect lynch victims would be subject to Federal prosecution and would be liable to fines not to exceed $5000 and jail terms of not more than five years.

Another section provides that if the Federal Government establishes a conspiracy between the lynchers and officers those participating would be subject to maximum penalties upon conviction in Federal Court of 20 years imprisonment and $10,000 fines.

The bill also would permit lynch victims or their survivors to bring damage suits against officers charged with failing to prevent the mob action.

Weak Anti-Lynch Bill Moving Up

Commercial Appeal

WASHINGTON — A subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee last week favorably voted the Ferguson Anti-Lynch bill, S-91. The bill is expected to be presented to the full judiciary committee this week for consideration.

S-91, introduced by Sen. Homer Ferguson, (R.-Mich.), is not considered a strong anti-lynch bill and does not have the support of Negro interest lobbyists.

Celler Anti-Lynching Bill Urged on House by Clark

By The United Press.

WASHINGTON, June 16—Attorney General Tom C. Clark today urged the House Judiciary Committee to approve a new anti-lynch law and erase "a blot on our national life."

His views were expressed in a letter to Representative Emanuel Celler, Democrat, New York, chairman of the committee and sponsor of the Administration's anti-lynch bill.

"The Federal Government today has the obligation to protect all inhabitants of the nation from the forcible deprivation by mob action of the right to a fair trial," Mr. Clark wrote.

"It is essential that a lynching bill put the Government in a position to prosecute the members of a lynch mob, particularly where there is no element of conspiracy with local officers," he said.

Anti-Lynch Bill Ready For Test

WASHINGTON—An anti-lynching bill was cleared for floor action by the Senate Judiciary Committee as hearings on several anti-lynching bills and the general Civil Rights act were opened by a House Judiciary subcommittee.

The Senate measure, introduced by Senator Ferguson (R., Mich.) was passed by voice vote. It is the first civil rights legislation to be approved by a Senate committee at this session of Congress.

Democratic Leader Scott W. Lucas of Illinois, refused, during his conference with newsmen, to be drawn out on whether other rights measures would be brought before the Senate at this session. He said that decision will have to wait a while.

The Ferguson anti-lynching bill provides a maximum penalty of a $10,000 fine or 20 years in prison, or both, for conspiracy to incite, aid or commit a lynching. It would apply to peace officers as well as members of a lynch mob.

It also provides that any officer who wilfully fails or refuses to protect persons against lynching can be fined up to $5,000 and imprisoned for five years or both.

A like penalty is provided for Federal officers who wilfully refuse or fail to make "all reasonable efforts" to capture and prosecute any person who violated other sections of the act.

A person who is lynched, or his next of kin, would be entitled to file civil damage suits against those responsible for the lynching.

Another section of the bill would make the Federal kidnapping law applicable to the interstate transportation of persons seized by a lynch mob.

34b 1949

Anti-Poll Tax Bill

Washington Notebook

By LEM GRAVES JR.

(Courier's Washington Correspondent)

Yeah? But What Else Did You Do?

WASHINGTON—Last week's vote on the anti-poll tax bill in the House of Representatives is NOT a true guage of civil rights sentiment in Congress. Let us make no mistake about that. If we don't make that mistake we may avoid making the greater mistake of crediting a lot of moss-back reactionaries with fine motives and democratic instincts.

Poll taxes are maintained in seven Southern states. So this bill offers the congressmen from the other forty-one states an opportunity to get on record on a civil rights issue which does not remotely affect the interests in their own state. Because many congressmen who are not genuine friends of legislation of vital interest to Negroes take advantage of this recurring opportunity to cast a recorded vote, the very insincerity of this situation repels many Southerners who otherwise despise the poll tax. The result is a sectional split over an issue that everybody knows will not come to a vote in the Senate. It would be interesting to see how the House vote ran if the Senate rules had not been so rigged as to make a record vote on the bill in the upper chamber virtually impossible.

* * *

LET'S SEE WHO some of the "aye" voters on poll tax were: Samuel K. McConnell, Republican, of Pennsylvania who has been the most vicious opponent of FEPC in the House labor committe. He is the man who has organized the Dixiecrat-GOP coalition in that committee in an effort to kill the FEPC bill. There is job discrimination in Pennsylvania and the Pugh-Grundy controlled Manufacturers Association of Pennsylvania is a mortal enemy of this bill.

Also, Christian Herter of Massachusetts and Clarence Brown of Ohio, two GOP members of the House Rules Committee which has, with their help, refused to grant rules on a bill which would provide a resident commissioner for the Virgin Islands, thereby giving another Negro a seat in Congress and a Negro territory representation in Washington. These gentlemen have also opposed rules on several other bills of interest to Negroes and have forced sponsors of much liberal legislation, including this poll tax bill, to have to resort to discharge petitions or the twenty-one-day rule in order to get their bills on the floor for decision.

Or let's take these four: Brent Spence (Ky.), Mike Monroney (Okla.), Jesse Wolcott (Mich.), and Ralph Gamble (N. Y.). All were members of the joint House and Senate conference committee on the Housing Act of 1949 and they all sat on their hands when Senator Paul Douglas looked around in vain for a second to his motion that the conference committee accent the Powell amendment which would have provided safeguards for minority groups in housing redevelopment. They voted FOR the poll tax bill.

* * *

OR TAKE RICHARD NIXON (Cal.), Carroll Kearns (Pa.), Tom Steed (Okla.), and Thurston Morton (Ky.), all of whom voted adversely on FEPC in the House Labor Committee but who lined up for the record on poll tax. Or Pennsylvania's Frank Buchanan, a member of the House Banking and currency committee who told civil rights leaders in the presence of this reporter that he would fight for housing safeguards by making a floor speech at the time of consideration of the conference housing bill and who failed to do so.

These are a few of the specific incidents. Generally speaking, the "liberals" have shown little sincerity in the civil rights fight. Majority Leader John McCormack plainly implied, two weeks ago, that the anti-poll tax bill was being brought up to get even with the Southerners who defeated the administration's pet Brannan farm plan. The use of civil rights as a club to whip Southerners into line is deeply resented by true liberals who believe that the civil rights program has merit in its own right.

When your congressman comes back home this fall and tells you he voted for the anti-poll tax bill, we think you should nonchalantly answer: "Yeah? But what else did you do?"

Still Alive And Kicking

THE Truman Civil Rights program which is supposed to be as dead as a dodo, raised its head again last week in the sweltering heat of Washington.

The House voted 273 to 116 in favor of the anti-poll tax bill after beating down Dixiecrat and Republican efforts to kill it. This is the fifth time in ten years that an anti-poll tax bill has passed the House. It was the Senate that killed it before, and may do so again.

The FEPC bill, another must in Truman's Civil Rights program, was approved by the House Labor Committee, with a 14 to 11 vote. Political observers, however, insist that this bill, too, will get nowhere at this session of Congress.

Despite all the gloomy views, the pessimism, and the bad luck, the President's program is still alive and kicking.

Congress is not going to deliver for us until we force its hand. We have got to put the pressure on the Congressmen in the same way that Catholics, Labor, the National Association of Manufacturers and other groups do. We have got to flood them with letters, and we have got to back up our letters with registered voters in every Congressional district where Negroes live.

It has been said that Negroes are slow to write letters. Some people think that they are not important enough to write their Congressmen, that their letter will be ignored. Such thinking is strictly baloney.

The Congress is full of politicians. They are supposed to represent you anyway. If you do not express your wishes, they will never know how you really feel about the issues at stake today. Your letter will be read because the election is right around the corner, if for no other reason.

The Dixiecrats cannot stop civil rights legislation by themselves. They will have to get support from Yankees, and we can clean out those traitorous Yankees who come from districts where Negroes live.

Legislature passes only anti-jim crow measure

34 The Tribune Los Angeles, Calif. Sat 7-2-49

SACRAMENTO — The State Legislature will probably adjourn with only one piece of completed legislation relating to minority groups to its credit.

This is Northern California Negro Assemblyman Byron Rumford's measure abolishing segregation in the state militia. The bill carried the Senate the second time around, 29-0, and is now awaiting Gov. Warren's signature.

Four other measures have a small chance of passing:

1. AB 22, past the Assembly, now in the Senate Financial Institution Committee, prohibiting auto insurance discrimination;

2. AB 451, now in Senate Judiciary, removing ban on inter-marriage;

3. AB 1537, also in Senate Judiciary, prohibiting State Bar discrimination;

4. AB 2636, in Judiciary, prohibiting discriminatory questions on employment blanks.

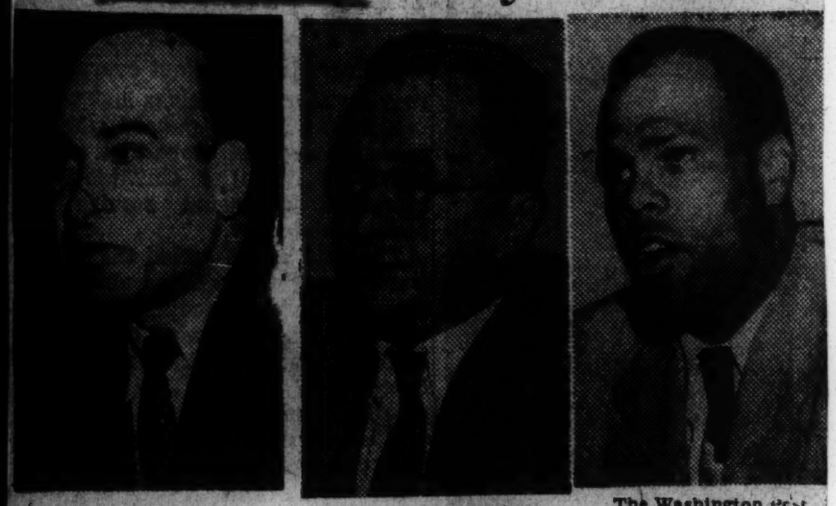
San Francisco Assemblyman George Collins' FEPC bill was killed decisively on the floor of the Assembly last week. The Assembly voted three times on the bill, and each time it was defeated overwhelmingly by Republicans. Box score: Republicans—favorable, 17; unfavorbale, 104; absent or abstaining, 11; Democrats—favorable, 84; unfavorable, 8; absent or abstaining, 13.

Los Angeles County was evenly divided, with 43 favorable, 42 against; San Francisco leaned in favor of the bill, 16-7.

34b 1949

Home RuleBill

House Unit's Friday Hearing On Home Rule May Be Last



The Washington Post

JACK DOLTON MORTON LIFTIN VINCENT BROWNE

Witnesses Before House District Subcommittee

34b

Political

By Edward F. Ryan

Post Reporter

Home Rule Poll

Capital home rule hearings, cut short yesterday by a quorum call in the House, will continue at 10 a. m. Friday in what may be the final session.

Post

In yesterday's half-hour meeting, the House District Judiciary subcommittee heard a witness sharply oppose home rule and two others appeal for its approval.

Against the bill was Jack Dolton, of the Amalgamated Casualty Insurance Co., which he said insures more than 50 per cent of all the taxicabs in Washington. He said he had taken up the question of home rule with hundreds of persons, and "I've yet to find one man interested or who wants this bill."

Thurs. 7-21-49

Dolton charged the home rule bill would lay Washington open to a communistic government. He said there is nothing wrong with the present government, and that "if you pass this bill, I'm afraid you're going to have a lot of trouble."

Post

Morton Liftin, representing the the Washington Industrial Union Council, indorsed the Senate-approved home rule bill.

"In the light of the solemn pledges of both major political parties, in the form of their platform commitments to the American people, we doubt that the residents of the District should be granted home rule," Liftin said.

Vincent J. Browne, testifying for the Washington Branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, also indorsed the bill. He hit at the argument that national representation for the District should come before home rule, saying:

"In the fully organized territories of Alaska and Hawaii, the people govern themselves without national representation. It is interesting to note that some of the people who are saying that home rule for the District wouldn't mean much without national representation are also saying that since Hawaii and Alaska have local self-government, they don't need national representation."

Race and Home Rule

Negroes constitute not less than one third of the people of the District of Columbia. An organized, militant "minority," holding the balance of power, backed by the Truman Administration, directed by the NAACP and the Council of African Affairs, together with the Communists, these Negroes (aided by new arrivals, the Negroes of Washington are increasing in number at a considerably greater rate than the whites) would from the first under home rule dictate wholly the political, and largely the social, government. The city would almost immediately become primarily the capital of the Negro race, and only secondarily the Capital of the United States. Naturally the Negroes of the Nation favor this. No doubt a majority of the informed white people of Washington and the Nation are opposed to it.

JOHN W. SIMPSON.

Alexandria.

Strange Progressivism

The Senate may well look with a jaundiced eye upon Senator Bricker's scheme to attach an antidiscrimination amendment to the housing bill. The Senator's record as a foe of public housing strongly suggests that he is more interested in sabotaging the housing program than he is in ending discrimination. The amendment would, of course, have the effect of combining the votes of Southern Democrats with the votes of the anti-public-housing forces against the housing bill. That is doubtless the chief reason why it was rejected by the Senate Banking Committee and why it probably will be rejected by the Senate itself.

The Washington Post has taken a strong stand in favor of civil rights, but we do not believe that all improvements and reforms in other fields should be abandoned until bias and discrimination can be eliminated from all phases of our national life. Low-rental housing for families that cannot provide decent living quarters for themselves is desperately needed in communities that practice segregation as well as in those that do not. By improving conditions under which the most unfortunate segments of the population live, public housing can do much to minimize racial antagonism.

To halt such improvements in States and communities that insist on segregation would tend to defeat the larger purpose of promoting equality of rights and opportunities. Especially when the foes of a progressive measure seek to weigh it down by an antidiscrimination amendment, we ought to make certain that it is [illegible] the substance of reform and not [illegible] shibboleth.

Anti-Bias Rider Put in Housing Bill

Democratic leader, plagued by House absenteeism, yesterday saw the House tentatively write a tight antidiscrimination amendment into the middle-income housing bill.

The amendment, which leaders say will kill the bill's chances in the House, if it remains in the measure, was introduced by Representative Vito Marcantonio (ALP, N. Y.).

Marcantonio appeared almost as surprises as the floor managers for the bill when enough Republictns trooped up the aisle to give a teller count of 77 to 57. A handful of northern Democrats joined with the GPO supporters of the Marcantonio amendment. In general, Republicans have opposed some features of the bill.

Roll-Call Vote Planned Today

Administration leaders immediately called off further debate on the bill until today in the hope they can muster enough votes to defeat the amendment on a roll-call vote.

Actions taken yesterday could be only tentative because the House was sitting as a committee of the whole. All actions under such circumstances are subject to a possible roll call later.

The Marcantonio antisegregation amendment was adopted after the House had adopted an amendment introduced by Representative A. S. (Mike) Monroney (D., Okla.) permitting direct loans to veterans.

The Monroney amendment put back into the bill a section which the Rules Committee had directed the Banking and Currency Committee to strike out.

Indorsed by Veterans

"This section of the bill," Monroney said, "is indorsed not just by the housing committees of the Veterans of Foreign Wars and the American Legion, but it was indorsed by their national conventions, as a means of trying to make available, particularly in the small towns and in the rural communities, the advantage of this 4 per cent home loan money that the Congress intended to make available to veterans everywhere.

"In the larger centers there is no question whatever about the veterans being able to get their money at 4 per cent interest, but in many of the small farming communities, where there are only one or two, or perhaps three, sound financial institutions in existence, many of those institutions, because they do not like to trouble with the red tape of Government procedures, are refusing to make these 4-per-cent loans to the veterans."

$5000 Penalty Provided

The antisegregation amendment, offered by Marcantonio, would impose a penalty of not more than $5000 on any person who under the act would exclude any individual from housing because of race, cred or color. It was pointed out that this would apply to private builders constructing a home for a veteran under this act as well as to Government agents.

Until the anti-segregation amendment was adopted, Administration leaders were hopeful of having a middle-income housing bill which would speed through the Senate as well.

Aid Asked for Cooperatives

Meanwhile, a group of House Democrats asked President Truman to throw his support behind their efforts to obtain direct Federal aid for housing cooperatives and other nonprofit housing groups. Representative Hugh B. Mitchell (D., Wash.) acted as spokesman for the group.

He said the group is trying to encourage housing which is within the means of families earning from $2000 to $4000 a year. Mitchell said the President indicated interest in the plan and promised to ask Raymond M. Foley, Federal home loan administrator, to make a report on it.

Accompanying Mitchell to the White House were Democratic Representatives Andrew J. Biemiller, (Wis.), Franklin D. Roosevelt, jr. (N. Y.), Helen Gahagan Douglas (Calif.), Baratt O'Hara (Ill.), John A. Blatnik (Minn.) and Charles B. Deane (N. C.).

House Refuses Racial Ban Surety In Housing, In Truman Plan Approval

Daily World
Atlanta, Ga. Thu. 6-30-49

WASHINGTON — (INS) — The House Wednesday approved the Truman Housing program's one and one-half billion dollar slum clearance proposal but refused to adopt a guarantee against racial discrimination in the renting of low-cost apartments.

Approval of the slum clearance plan marked the first important stride toward final action on the mammoth housing measure, which has undergone five days of torrid debate in the lower chamber.

Rejection of the anti-discrimination amendment, sponsored by a majority of House Republicans, came in a 168 to 130 ballot that joined both liberal and southern democrats but split the two Negro members of the lower chamber.

Thu. 6-30-49

The administration bill provides for government aid to municipalities developing plans for wiping out their slums.

Other provisions awaiting action include authorization for the construction and housing research. The administration is seeking authority to build 810,000 public housing units in six years.

LOCAL ADMINISTRATION

The slum clearance program woud be administered by local groups over a five-year period. Federal assistance would amount to one billion dollars in loans and 500 million dollars in grants.

Both liberal and old line democrats said the anti-discrimination amendment, sponsored by Rep. Fulton, (R., Pa.), was "dynamite" and might defeat the entire housing measure by alienating Southern supporters.

Rep. Powell (D., N. Y.), voted for the anti-discrimination guarantee, thus splitting with Rep. Dawson, (D., Ill.).

Powell put through, 199 to 41, a provision that would give "preference" in public housing rentals to people dispossessed by slum clearance projects.

By voice vote the lower chamber approved provisions to extend for 60 days beyond the June 30 expiration date features of the present national housing act affecting aid to private construction.

Another step taken was approval of an additional 500 million dollars for government underwriting of mortgages on privately owned single dwellings and on multiple unit rental housing.

Thu. 6-30-49

"CRIPPLER" DEFEATED

Earlier, administration forces defeated, 133 to 132, a "crippling" amendment which would have barred the construction of low-rent public housing until it was ratified by a local referendum.

As the housing battle wore on, Speaker Rayburn predicted passage of the bill as a "substantial majority." However, Rep. Wolcott (R., Mich.), opposition leader, contended the measure will be beaten.

The legislation originally provided for construction of 1,050,000 public housing units through local authorities in seven years.

The tenants would pay less than the cost of the housing and the federal government would allot 400 million dollars a year for 40 years to make up the difference between their rent and the cost of building and operation.

House democratic leaders, however, have agreed to cut the construction figure to 810,000 units in six years, with annual federal contributions up to 308 million dollars. This is the version passed by the senate.

Industry Should Welcome, Not Fear, Housing Bill

Courier-Journal
Louisville, Ky.
7-1-49

FIVE years ago, a committee of the U. S. senate began a study of every side of the nation's housing problem. This work culminated Wednesday when the house of representatives passed, after many ups and downs in voting, the hotly controversial housing bill. The senate previously had passed it by vote of 57 to 13.

The bill calls for a five-year slum-clearance program, two-thirds of the cost to be borne by local communities with the help of repayable federal loans. It provides that 810,000 publicly (locally) owned housing units be built in six years. Another section provides help for a program of new farm housing, which no legislation has touched before. There is to be research in materials and methods to spur home construction by cutting costs of building.

Private interests of the building and real estate fields fought the bill fiercely. For one thing, they raised the cry of economy, which has a special and compelling appeal at this time. They charged in this connection that the program would cost the public treasury a total of 20 billion dollars over 40 years. In one of his most vigorous messages, President TRUMAN disputed this, only to draw a hotter and more stubborn response.

However, the most insistent charge of the opposition was that the bill and its program were socialistic, portending the end of private enterprise, setting government in business against the private enterpriser.

Cou.-J. 7-1-49

The opposition broke against a set of solid facts that are common knowledge. They are facts especially well known to the new families of veterans who had been promised dwelling places but who have been forced to discouraging and costly shifts. They are facts known to every city dweller who sees daily the crumbling sections, the dilapidation and dwindling of tax resources, the signs of crowding and squalor.

These facts were the basis of the declaration of national housing policy which the bill set forth squarely. As summarized in the senate committee's report, this policy is simple, forceful and true:

"The general welfare and security of the nation require the realization as soon as feasible of the goal of a decent home and a suitable living environment for every American family."

Who, now, will stand up against this? Then the policy declaration proceeds. It "recognizes the necessity of attaining a rate of housing production sufficient to overcome the serious shortage and to replace slums and other inadequate housing."

Here again the opposition found itself at a loss. To deny this would deny that there is a shortage, that slums do exist, that housing is inadequate. The "free enterprise" groups fell back on the insistence that they, in the good old American way, could remedy the situation if left without interference and tax-subsidized competition, as if they ever had done so. But the policy declaration had an answer for them there as well:

"The bill also recognizes that primary reliance has been and must continue to be on private enterprise to do the major part of the task. It provides that private housing enterprise shall be encouraged to serve as large a part of the total need as it can and that governmental assistance should be utilized to the extent feasible to enable private enterprise to serve more of the total need."

The thing boils down to an encouragement for expansion, activity and community desire for betterment. Neither Louisville nor any other city is forced to do anything it does not choose to do or have the vision and energy to do. And it could well be suggested that the building industry might rise up and bless the new legislation in days to come, when its effect in stabilizing operations, in keeping employment and production high, is seen. The housing bill may be seen as an instrument for protection against slumps, on one hand, and booms and artificial high prices on the other. Nothing in our economy has been so haphazard, so much the creature of shifting conditions, as home building. The housing bill offers a plan.

Southern Bloc Rejects Idea Of Home Rule

Post
Washington, D.C.
June 23-49

House Members 74-8 In Opposition; Border States Divide Evenly

By Chalmers M. Roberts
Post Reporter

House members from the border States are about evenly divided on Washington home rule, while Southern members are overwhelmingly opposed.

This is shown in the last of 10 surveys by The Washington Post. Here are the totals for the two areas:

Border States (Oklahoma, Missouri, Kentucky and West Virginia):

For: 15
Against: 13
Noncommittal: 5.
Not Available: 3.

For the 11 Southern States:

For: 8.
Against: 74.
Noncommittal: 17.
Not Available: 6.

Adding all nine surveys by The Washington Post, including the 1948 voting records of members who also served in the 80th Congres, the final totals for the entire House membership are:

For: 235.
Against: 133.
Noncommittal: 55.
Not Available: 10.
Vacancies: 2.

Of the 116 House members who were not in Congress last year when a home rule bill twice weathered House floor roll calls but did not reach a final vote, 71 have told The Washington Post they favor home rule in one form or another.

Many Favor Kefauver Bill

Many said they favored the Senate-approved Kefauver bill, shelved last week by the House District Committee. Twelve others were opposed to home rule, 31 were noncommittal and two could not be reached.

These are the opinions of the new members from the border States:

Dixie Gilmer (D., Okla.):

"I do favor some sort of home rule for the District."

Tome Steed (D., Okla.):

"Congress ought either to do a more conscientious job (on District affairs) or find some other way to do it. By and large I think I could be convinced there is a way to do it. I'm inclined toward the general idea without knowing the best way to go about it."

Victor Wickersham (D., Okla.):

"I'm noncommittal. I really don't know."

George H. Wilson (D., Okla.):

"I'm inclined for it, though I don't have a very strong opinion on the matter."

Carl Magee (D., Mo.):

Robert L. Ramsay (D., W. Va.):

"You ought to have your own government. Certainly I'd vote for it. I'm tired of spending a day a week on city affairs."

Harley O. Staggers (D., W. Va.):

"I would be for a home rule bill."

M. G. Burnside (D., W. Va.):

"I'm in favor of District citizens voting on local issues. I think they have that right as American citizens. Voting is one of the cardinal principles of America—I've taught that for many years in the schools."

Three members from the area were not recorded on last year's home rule roll calls and two others divided their votes. Checked this time, three are opposed (Spence, D., Ky.; Whitaker, D., Ky., and Short, R., Mo.), one is noncommittal (Stigler D., Okla.) and the fourth is for home rule (Kee., D. W. Va.).

Three members could not be reached for comment: Irving (D., Mo.), Welch (D., Mo.) and Bailey (D., W. Va.).

2 Favor Principle

Of the 15 new House members from the 11 Southern States, two said they favor the home rule principle. They are:

Carl Elliott (D., Ala.):

"My feeling is that the District of Columbia ought to have home rule since it comprises nearly a million people. If I get a chance, I'm going to vote for it."

Charles E. Bennett (D., Fla.):

"I've never made a thorough study of it though I'm in favor of home rule in principle. I think the people here are entitled to elect their own officials and have representatives in Congress. Maybe you should try a delegate in the House, first, on that."

Only one new member, James B. Hare (D., S. C.) said he was flatly opposed. Eleven others said they were undecided and noncommittal and a twelfth could not be reached.

Of the 12 House members from the South who did not vote or divided their votes on home rule last year, one said he now favors it, six were noncommittal and five others could not be reached.

In favor was J. Vaughan Gary (D., Va.) who represents the city of Richmond. He said:

"So far as I know now, I'm for home rule. And I see no reason why I should not support it."

"I haven't made up my mind though my present inclination is to let the people of the District vote on a national rather than a local basis."

Morgan M. Moulder (D., Mo.):

"I'll vote for it."

Richard W. Bolling (D., Mo.):

"I'm for it. I think it's an urgent necessity."

George H. Christopher (D., Mo.):

"I have no hard and fast opinion. As I stand at present I would be in opposition, but I have an open mind and I'm willing to listen to the arguments."

A. S. J. Carnahan (D., Mo.):

"I think I'd go along with them on home rule. I think the city should have it."

Paul C. Jones (D., Mo.):

"I've made a policy of not expressing myself on bills in advance."

Voted to Kill Bill

As a member of the House District Committee. Jones voted (after making this statement) to kill the Senate-approved Kefauver bill.

John B. Sullivan (D., Mo.):

"I'd want to see what's in it and what the proposals are (before commenting)."

Raymond W. Karst (D., Mo.):

"My first reaction was to be against home rule and nobody has argued with me for home rule. I'm not too sure."

Thomas R. Underwood (D., Ky.):

"I'm noncommittal."

Carl D. Perkins (D., Ky.):

"I'm going to vote for it. I'm for home rule; yes, indeed."

James S. Golden (R., Ky.):

"I'd have to read the bill and the report first."

After Hot Debate

Anti-Segregation Amendment To Housing Bill Beaten Down

Flanders Wants Names of Slums' Owners Published

By Thomas Winship
Post Reporter

"As a warning to "clean up or shut up" substandard dwellings here, Senator Ralph E. Flanders (R., Vt.) last night urged publishing names of all property owners now violating District health regulations.

In another move to meet the city's recently-criticized slum conditions, the Senate expects today to vote on an amendment to the national housing bill, restoring land acquisition power to the National Capital Housing Authority.

The amendment, sponsored by Senator John J. Sparkman (D., Ala.), is designed to permit NCHA to launch a low-rent housing program here under public housing provisions of the pending national measure.

NCHA lost its site acquisition authority to the District Redevelopment Land Agency with the enactment of the local slum clearance act three years ago.

In other local housing developments yesterday:

1. The Home Builders' Association of Metropolitan Washington charged that the "disgraceful" slum conditions here are "not the result of housing, good or bad, they are the result of non-enforcement of sanitary codes and regulations governing the number of persons who may live in a dwelling."

"It is high time the District of Columbia enforce proper health and sanitary laws," said William S. Banks, Home Builders' Association president, said. "Other cities can do t, why not here?"

2. Senator Homer Ferguson (R., Mich.), who is urging a model antislum code of law enforcement and tenant education here, called a conference for 10 a.m. today in his office with Federal housing and District planning officials program included in the party platform.

Beaten the first time, Bricker revised his amendment to prohibit only "discrimination" instead of "discrimination or segregation." But that, too, was slapped down, 55 to 32.

With four amendments acted upon, Acting Democratic Leader Myers of Pennsylvania held the Senate in session in an effort to reach a final vote last night.

Two other Bricker-Cain proposals had been beaten down earlier.

One, defeated 55 to 21, would have let the citizens of individual communities say at the polls whether they want public housing in their areas.

The other would have barred employes of local, State and Federal governments from living in federally subsidized public housing. It lost 53 to 27.

Action on those proposals started the Senate voting on a string of amendments after four days of general debate on the bill.

The Senate turned to amendments after Senator Taft (R., Ohio), one of the sponsors of the bill, called for speedy action on housing aid because "it is one of the most important social and economic problems before the people of the United States."

Taft plugged hard for the bill just 24 hours after his Ohio colleague, Bricker, had criticized it sharply.

The bill provides for construction of 810,000 public housing units during the next six years, for a $1,500,000,000 slum clearance program, for housing research to cut building costs, and for a farm housing program.

The public housing would be built for lowest income families. The Federal Government would contribute up to $308,000,000 annually for as long as 40 years to help finance the projects. However, most of the cost would be met from the rents collected, along with local community contributions.

The public housing projects would be owned and operated by the local communities.

Civil Rights Battle Delays Housing Bill

WASHINGTON—The civil-rights issue exploded with a bang in the Senate over an effort to write an anti-segregation amendment into the long-range housing bill.

Backers of public housing, many of whom also support civil-rights legislation, promptly warned that injection of the issue could kill the housing legislation.

The outbreak slowed progress on the bill and there was no indication when a final vote might come.

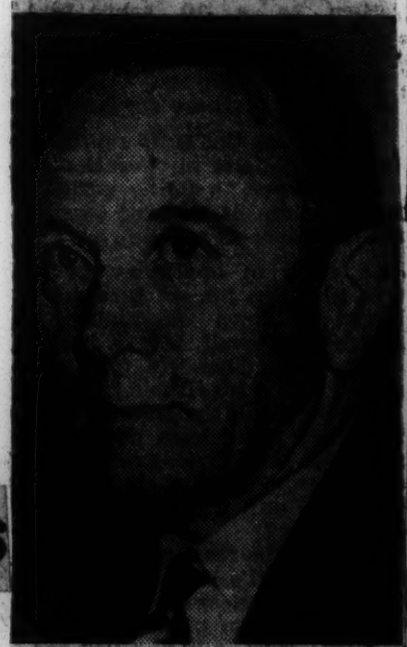
SENATOR CAPEHART (R., Ind.) touched off the crackling debate when he urged the Senate to approve the anti-segregation amendment offered by republican Senators Bricker (O.) and Cain (Wash.).

This quickly pointed up the deep split within the Republican ranks over social legislation such as housing. Senators Taft (R., O.) and Thye (R., Minn.) jumped to their feet to oppose the amendment, while defending the housing measure.

"The question in my mind," Thye told Capehart, "is whether we should support the amendment and lose the housing bill."

The bill before the Senate calls for the construction of 810,000 public housing units during the next six years. The Cain-Bricker proposal would prohibit any discrimination on the basis of race, creed or color in the renting of public housing.

Envoy Named



Associated Press Wirephoto

President Truman nominated Vice Adm. Alan G. Kirk ambassador to Soviet Russia as successor to Lt. Gen. Walter Bedell Smith. This meant a continuation of Mr. Truman's policy of placing experienced military men in the difficult Moscow post. Kirk, soft-spoken career naval officer, played a major role in World War II, commanding the big naval task force in the Normandy invasion in 1944.

For the Third Time

Again the Senate has passed the housing bill, and again the great decision rests upon the House. This is the answer to America's need for slum clearance and homes. The issue has confronted our people too long; we cannot wait year after year. At this point the Senate has spoken with an unmistakable firmness that more and better housing is imperative, and we hope that the House at last swings into line. The national temper is unmistakable; the best brains of both parties are in agreement on dominant aims and practical details. The final Senate vote, 57 to 13, has a passionate authority that commands an end to distraction.

Senator Bricker tried to beat down the housing bill on a befogging amendment to forbid segregation as a price for accepting Federal construction funds. It was a proposition that may have tried the souls of some Senators, but the choice was plain—housing or no housing. In this futile and embarrassing exercise, the Senate saw through the confusion and responded to the immediate welfare. Some who voted against the Bricker amendment may suffer political reprisal, but we trust that their courage will carry its overweighing compensations. Honesty has a way of paying off.

Three times the Senate has earnestly delivered its verdict for public housing. Let the House this time stop its shilly-shallying. We must have housing.

Anti-Bias Clause Defeated

By VENICE SPRAGGS
Defender Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — Following a knock-down and drag-out fight, the Senate by a 57 to 13 vote passed the Administration's housing bill with only a few minor revisions, after staunch supporters of the President's civil rights program joined by Dixie Democrats beat down 49 to 31 a predominantly Republican support for an anti-segregation amendment to the housing bill proposed by Senator Bricker (R., Ohio) who previously had announced that he was out to kill the public and rural housing provisions of the bill under which Negroes stood to reap their greatest gains.

The job of gaining support for the defeat of the Bricker amendment was assigned to freshman Senator Paul Douglas (D., Ill.) who stated that he realized it was a task which might cut his political throat from "ear to ear."

Douglas was supported by such champions of civil rights as Senator Hubert H. Humphreys (D., Minn.) who led the fight at the Democrats convention in Philadelphia for a strong civil rights plank. Also Senator Glen Taylor (D., Idaho) who was vice-presidential candidate on the Progressive Party ticket and Senator Wayne Morse, (R., Oregon) who has fought long and hard for civil rights whenever the opportunity presented itself.

279,000 HOMES

Making crystal clear that he was opposed to racial segregation in housing and stating that he would vote for the Bricker amendment to be applied to a local housing project in Chicago, Senator Douglas said he was moved by the fact that to pass the housing bill would mean about 279,000 new homes for Negroes which would house approximately one and one-third million persons. And that he was realistic enough to know that to insist upon the Bricker non-segregation amendment would kill off about 30 votes, or at least 25 southern votes "without any commensurate gain" from the Republican side of the aisle.

Douglas refused to be tricked by Senator Long of Louisiana into saying that Negroes wanted to be segregated in their housing.

Long then tried to get Senator Douglas to say that segregation of the races in the housing facilities would not be discrimination inasmuch as those constructed for white and Negroes would be the same.

Senator Sparkman (D., Ala.) said that even if the Bricker amendment could have been passed, it would not require southern states to end segregation in public housing projects, since under the provisions of the bill no housing project is to be imposed upon any city or any local housing authority which does not apply for it.

Senator Morse took issue with a telegram sent to members of the Senate by Leslie Perry, Administrative Assistant in the Washington Bureau of the National Association

ciation for the Advancement of Colored People, supporting the Bricker amendment, urging its passage, and asking that its provisions be extended to include any developer benefiting from Federal funds.

The Senate-passed housing bill now goes to the House where its fate is uncertain. As finally approved, it provides for the building of 810,000 public housing units during the next six years at an average rate of 135,000 per year with the President empowered to step up the rate to 200,000 a year.

It also provides a billion dollars in Federal loans and 500 million in Federal grants for slum clearance over a five year period.

Segregation Ban In Housing Loses

Courier-Journal 34 Louisville Ky. Wed. 6-29-49

Home-Rule Provision Also Beaten; Final Vote on Bill Expected Today

Washington, June 28 (AP)—The racial issue was injected into the housing-bill battle today, but the House promptly defeated an amendment that would have prevented segregation in publicly owned housing projects. The vote was 168 to 130.

With this major hurdle cleared, the House quit for the day, postponing a final vote until tomorrow.

The racing amendment, offered by Representative Fulton (R., Pa.), would have permitted white and Negro tenants to occupy the same public-housing buildings. It read:

"There shall be no discrimination against any person because of race, color, religion, or national origin in the rental or occupancy of any housing constructed under the provisions of this act."

Home Rule Defeated.

Earlier a tie vote narrowly saved President Truman's housing bill from a home-rule amendment that would have barred publicly owned housing in any city unless its voters first approved it.

The Administration forces then were defeated on two lesser amendments, but won tentative approval of the slum-clearance section of the multi-billion-dollar measure. Wed. 6-29-49

On the home-rule-referendum amendment Representative Boggs (D., La.), presiding at the time, announced the vote as 132 to 132. He quickly added:

"The chair votes no, and the amendment is defeated." (A tie vote would have killed the amendment).

Spence Speaks Out.

The vote on the racing issue came after Chairman Spence (D., Ky.) of the House Banking Committee, leading the housing fight, said:

"If somebody wants to scuttle the bill, that is the way to do it . . . Let them bring this issue up in separate legislation."

In offering the amendment Fulton be at Representative Marcantonio (A. L., N. Y.) to the punch. Marcantonio had announced he would offer such an amendment.

Republicans were virtually solid in their support of the Fulton amendment, but were aided by only a scattering of Democrats. Louisville, Ky.

There was no record vote, but Representative Powell, Negro Democrat from New York, was seen standing for the amendment; the other Negro member, Representative Dawson (D., Ill.), stood against it.

49-27 Vote Turns Down

Home Rule

Washington Post

Segregation Amendment

Washington Post Wed. 6-1-49

Kefauver Measure Is Approved With Surprising Speed; Now Goes to House

Washington Post Wed. 6-1-49

(Roll Call, Page 13)

By Edward F. Ryan
Post Reporter

The Senate [redacted] proved the [redacted] rule bill by [redacted] sent it to the House.

Passage of the bill came with dramatic and unpredicted suddenness at 2:33 p. m. Sponsors had feared a filibuster. None developed. Wed. 6-1-49

The Senate's final two hours' work on the bill went to debating and finally defeating, 49 to 27, a segregation amendment by Senators Eastland (D., Miss.) and Johnston (D., S. C.).

Called for Referendum

Their proposal called for giving District voters, through referendum, the final "yes" or "no" on any change in Washington's pattern of racial segregation.

Defeat of the amendment was followed within a few seconds by approval for the bill in the form it was prepared by the Senate District Committee.

"It's a great day for the District of Columbia and for our Nation," said Senator Kefauver (D., Tenn.), head of the subcommittee which drafted the bill.

Finch Comments on Speed

"Did you ever see anything happen so fast in your life," exclaimed Wilbur Finch, president of the Washington Central Suffrage Conference. He had watched progress of the bill from the Senate gallery. Wed. 6-1-49

"Passage of the home rule bill is really a milestone in the history of the District," said Finch. "It's the first time since 1878 that either House of Congress has approved any major legislation affecting reorganization of the District government and participation of its citizens in the Government."

Fate In House Is Question

Senate passage raised the big question of what the House will do with the bill. It goes to the House District Committee whose present leadership opposed last year's similar home rule bill. The House itself last year debated the home rule measure then sponsored by Representative Auchincloss (R., N. J.) and laid it aside as unfinished business."

Auchincloss yesterday received word of the Senate's action with this comment, "No kidding—it didn't take them long."

"I think it's great. I'm delighted. I'll take it up at the next meeting of the District Committee (scheduled for Monday) and ask what the committee will do about the bill. I'll ask for prompt action."

District Committee Chairman McMillan (D., S. C.) was reported en route here from South Carolina and was not reached for comment.

Rep. Harris (D., Ark.), chairman of the House District Judiciary Subcommittee, shares with District Committee Chairman McMillan a record of opposition to home rule last year, and a key position in handling the bill this year. His subcommittee earlier was given custody of home rule matters, handled in the last Congress by a special District subcommittee headed by Auchincloss.

Harris said he would see what is the attitude of the full District Committee before deciding what to do. He said 12 or 14 bills are awaiting action of his subcommittee. Wed. 6-1-49

He expressed concern over the Constitutional aspects of the home rule bill, and "I don't believe that under the Constitution Congress' legislative authority over the District can be delegated."

Congressional and civic backers of the home rule bill both voiced concern about the future of the bill in the House. Even though the measure has passed the half way mark, they suggested, the hardest part of the battle for final approval may still be ahead.

Finch Notes Difficulty

Finch predicted that if the bill comes to a vote in the House it will pass, but that the difficulty may arise in getting it before the House. Auchincloss pointed out that failure to act this year would not kill the bill; the Senate-approved measure would still be before the House next year. 6-1-49

Finch warmly praised the Senate handling of the bill. He said it felt all along that the best way to handle the home rule measure was for the Senate to act on it first. He said that now the measure has an improved chance of going through the House since it carries the prestige of Senate approval.

Kefauver said its passage was made possible only through bipartisan support. He cited the backing given to the bill by Senator McGrath (D., R. I.) chairman of the Senate District Committee and of the Democratic National Committee; and Senator Taft (R., Ohio) chairman of the Senate Republican Policy Committee.

Bipartisan Backing Cited

He cited, too, the bipartisan group of District Committee members listed as coauthors of the bill. These include McGrath and Kefauver, Senators Hendrickson (R., N. J.); Margaret Chase Smith (R., Me.); Hunt (D., Wyo.); Miller (D., Idaho); McCarthy (R., Wis.); Neely (D., W. V.), and Schoeppel (R., Kans.).

Kefauver said that District organizations had also given valuable help in preparing the bill.

"I'm certain that when the bill is passed by the House and is enacted, we'll have a better District government," said Kefauver.

Senator Kefauver was asked for his view on why opposition to the bill wilted after the Eastland-Johnston amendment was defeated. Wed. 6-1-49

"I think they figured we had the votes to pass it," said Kefauver. He said, too, that the recent statement by Senator Russell (D., Ga.) that the home rule bill was not a part of the issues raised by the President's civil rights program had an effect on the final Senate decision.

Senator Eastland said he had no explanation for the quick end of the fight. He said his main concern was his amendment, although he was opposed to the bill and voted against it.

Amendments Differ

Eastland presented his amendment as soon as the Senate resumed the home rule debate which had started Friday afternoon. The amendment Eastland and Johnston presented yesterday differed sharply from the one they filed Friday.

The Friday plan called for proposals to change the segregation setup to be submitted first to a referendum, with approval by act of Congress required as a final step. 6-1-49

Their revised plan, on which yesterday's vote was reached, would have left Congress in the same reviewing role for legislation to change the segregation pattern it would have for any other

the other side if the Johnston-Eastland plan were adopted.

Kefauver said that theoretically every issue probably should be passed on by the people, but that no other city charter that he knew of in the country required a referendum in segregation matters.

In urging support of his amendment, Senator Eastland said "we hear a lot about majority rule, this amendment would simply provide it."

Senator Kefauver Opposes It

Eastland-Johnston opposed the Kefauver said that in preparing the bill, the District Committee had tried to steer clear of the issue of segregation and nonsegregation. He said proposals were made to write classify employment Practices sections into the bill, and those were said amendments of the District and their council any real jurisdiction over changing the racial segregation pattern.

Holland said the new plan, completely different in form, did not depart at all from the home rule idea and would help the bill. He said it would simply classify changes in the segregation system with bond issues, already subject to referendums in the bill, and with the bill itself, which would take effect only if approved by a referendum.

Senator Holland (D., Fla.), a leading advocate of home rule, told the Senate he would have opposed the first Eastland-Johnston plan but he urged approval of their new one.

He said the first plan would have taken away from the people of the District voters in a referendum, but regulations that segregation changes would take effect only if approved by District voters in a referendum.

Senator Holland Opposes Plan

Senator Holland (D., Fla.), a leading advocate of home rule, told the Senate he would have opposed the first Eastland-Johnston plan but he urged approval of their new one.

He said the first plan would have taken away from the people of the

RACIAL AMENDMENT IS BEATEN
AS HOUSING BILL NEARS VOTE
By Clayton Knowles

Washington, June 28-The Democratic leadership of the House, driving to obtain final passage of the Administration's multi-billion-dollar national housing bill, cleared a major hurdle today in marshaling the votes to defeat an anti-segregation amendment.

The proposal was beaten 168 to 130, on a teller vote in which only eight Democrats could be counted for it. Four Republicans were observed vo ting against it. A teller vote is a non record vote in which members are encounted as they pass down the aisles.

The proposing the amendment Representative James G. Fulton, Republican of Pennsylvania, declared he was motivated solely by the desire "to see the colored people treated like Grade A, Class 1 citizens in public housing."

To the argument of Administration forces that passage of the amendment would lead either to defeat of the bill, or, if it passed, to virtually no public housing in the South, Mr. Fulton retorted that Democrats were "too prone to ignore one principle to get action or another principle.

Through the course of five hours action on amendments, many of them crippling, only two proposals not supported by the Banking and currency Committee won approval. "either is damaging to the Administration program.

The first of these successful amendments, offered by Representative Adam Clayton Powell, Jr., Democrat, of New York, would require the preference be given in new housing to families displaced from their homes by slum clearance and redeveliped activity if they were able to pay the rents.

This proposal prevailed 199 to 41.

The second amendment approved was offered by Representative Charles E. Bennett, Democrat of Florida. Similar to a provision written in to the Senate approved version of the bill, this amendment, passed 167 to 164, will require that public hearings be held in any community before slum clearance was undertaken.

New York Times
Wed. 6-29-49
New York, N.Y.

WILLARD Townsend

The Judd Bill And How It Affects Asiatics

The Defender 34

My good friend Masamori Kojima, editorializing in "Shimpo," has passed on to me the following article, which I liked so much I am passing on to my friends through this column.

"If the Judd Bill passes the Senate in the same form approved by the House of Representatives, certain immigration rights will be taken away from Chinese, Filipinos and British West Indians. Four cornered representations by Japanese, Chinese, Filipinos and Negroes on the bill's immigration section shows it something less than ideological delivery on American fair play as so proudly reported in the nation's press and extolled in high-winded Congressional oratory.

"Joker one: The amended Judd Bill says that wives, unmarried children and husbands of American citizens emigrating from countries with quotas under 200 shall be chargeable to the quota. But this lumps all Asiatic countries together since their quotas are less than 200 (producing a racial classification separate from European countries) and counts Chinese wives, Filipino wives and unmarried Filipino children who, by present law, are not included in a quota count. Chicago Ill.

"Joker Two: The unamended Judd Bill says that all Asiatics shall be chargeable to the quota of the land of their native origin, no matter from what point in the world they emigrate. A Japanese born in Canada entering the United States from Canada is counted against Japan's quota. Sat. 6-18-49

"Joker three: The unamended Judd Bill puts British West Indies (Jamaica, Dominican, Bahamas, etc.), on a colonial quota of 100. But West Indians, mostly Negroes, are under present law included in Great Britain's quota of over 65,000. British West Indians are put on a status with all other colonies, hence the bill's supporters say, this is "equalization" not "discrimination." This is verbally persuasive. But the picture looks different for the motivations when one knows that most West Indians are Negroes and in the main emigrate to New York City. They augment Negro political power by their numbers and abilities. The Judd Bill, by reducing West Indian immigration, chops at the tree of Negro political strength.

"Each of these groups, Chinese, Filipino and Negro, was asleep at the switch and failed to appear at the public hearings when the Judd Bill was in the House sub-committee ... Local west coast campaign by Chinese emphasized effect on quota-free Chinese wives and de-emphasized the twin aims of Japanese naturalization and Japanese immigration. The only mention in the Negro Press (Chicago Defender, Afro-American of Baltimore) picked the clause affecting West Indian immigration and left out the story of Japanese naturalization and immigration. The Japanese American press itself and the reports from the JACL-ADC office in Washington, although carrying full text of the Powell-Marcantonio debate on the House floor, fluffed over the significance of the sections affecting Chinese, Filipinos and Negroes.

"No one has expressed aloud the extreme to which each minority group is prepared to go to protect its own rights first, but I submit that that extreme point is far enough to create a crossfire between minorities themselves ... So it is good to see the crossfire averted in part when the JACL-ADC gingerly split the issue by getting a naturalization bill introduced in the House separated from immigration ... But this still leaves us with the other two Judd Bill jokers, Filipino and West Indian immigration. We want to see more than statements supporting Filipino and West Indian rights and calls for public hearings. We want to see JACL-ADC wage a joint full dress fight with every affected minority of this bill so that absolutely nothing shall be taken from what is already given in the law."

National GRAPEVINE

By CHARLEY CHEROKEE

Defender
Sat. 7-30-49

The People

LESLIE Perry, NAACP lobbyist, urged Congress to admit immigrants from British West Indies and other Caribbean Islands on a non-quota basis . . . Elmer Henderson, lobbyist for ACHR (combined Frats) urged same thing and called on Papa Harry to appoint a colored American in vacancy created by death of Supreme Court Justice Murphy.

Lawrence Oxley of USES is offered an $8,000 organizing job by a large veteran's organization which feels pinch of competition . . . Theresa Hamilton of Ypsilanti, Michigan, Seawoman First Class in WAVES, is assigned to office of Defense Secretary Aide James Evans . . .Thomasina Johnson of USES and Playwright George Norford, recently married, will be tendered a big reception at National Council of Negro Women headquarters in Washington, August 6.

Adam Powell led move against tabling FEPC bill in House Labor Committee and brings it to Committee vote Friday, July 29 . . . J. Finley Wilson of Elks spoke at Bill Of Rights Conference in New York and lambasted these "self-styled statesmen who wrap themselves in the flag" and label everybody who disagrees with them . . . Campbell Johnson, army colonel and selective service advisor, took over as vice Chairman of Community Chest Campaign in D. C.

West A. Hamilton, army colonel who started as private in 1905, served on Mexican border and in France, retired after 45 army years . . . Blevins Davis, white millionaire, will pay transportation of Howard U. drama group to Norway, where they will present Ibsen's "The Wild Duck" . . . Frank Horne of Housing called on key people for vigilance to see the Housing Act is carried out to best interests of the underprivileged and was joined in the statement by housing aides Booker McGraw, Corienne Robinson, Frank Thorne, William Dabney, George Nesbitt, George Washington, Robert Pitts, Clarence Johnson, Maceo Smith, A. Thompson, DeHart Hubbard and Edward Rutledge.

Lobbyists Spent $5,524 In Final '48 Quarter

34 B

Pittsburgh Courier

WASHINGTON, — (NNPA) — The quarterly report of the American Council on Human Relations, lobbying organization supported by six national fraternities and sororities, filed with the Clerk of the House and the Secretary of the Senate, showed receipts of $12,005 and expenditures of $5,524.48.

This covered the fourth calendar quarter of 1948. The receipts included: contributions, regular, $10,625; a special contribution from Alpha Kappa Alpha Sorority, $500; inaugural dinner of the council (receipts), $880.

The disbursements covered office equipment, office rent, salaries, printing and stationery, traveling expenses, telephone and telegraph. Lesle Perry, administrative assistant in Washington Bureau of the NAACP, reported no expenditures. Pot. 2-26-49

K. K. K. Lobbyists Fight Anti-Mask Bill At Capitol

The News

Pair Identify Selves As William H. Morris, Talladega Minister

Birmingham, Ala.

MONTGOMERY, Ala., June 21—Ku Klux Klan lobbyists, two of them admittedly officials of the hooded order, appeared in the Capitol lobby today for the announced purpose of opposing the Mize anti-masking bill. Tue 6-21-49

The two admitted officials identified themselves as William Hugh Morris, of Birmingham, who said he was "state Klan director," and the Rev. Alvin Horn, Baptist minister of Talladega County. The latter said he was a member of the Klan board of directors.

* * *

A THIRD PERSON, who identified himself as L. C. Albright Birmingham attorney, also was busy in the lobby this morning. Albright said he was not a member of the Klan. He said he had been.

"I came down here as individual citizen of Jefferson County," said Mr. Albright. "I have been a lawyer in Birmingham since 1919 and have not been a member of the Klan since the days when Hugo Black, Gov. Graves, Judge Fort, Matt Murphy and others were members of the Klan.

"I am opposing this bill because it is besmirching the names and reputations of many people whom I have a right to believe had no more to do with all of this flogging than I had. And I know I had nothing to do with it." Tue. 6-21-49

Both Morris and Horn told this reporter they were out to fight the Mize bill and expected to go before the House judiciary committee at 9 a.m. tomorrow in opposition to it. The judiciary committee has set a hearing at that time on the Mize bill.

"We are opposed t othe Mize bill because we consider it class legislation," said Mr. Morris. "I'm not a lawyer but if this bill passes I am certain that the Supreme Court will hold it unconstitutional on the grounds that it is discriminatory."

* * *

THE REV. MR. HORN declared: "I will tell the judiciary committee tomorrow what we know to be the facts about the Klan, what it has done and what it has been accused of doing. We don't want history repeating itself."

"You mean, I assume," interrupted Morris, "that we don't want a return of carpetbagger rule."

"Yes," replied Horn, "we don't want a return of carpetbagger rule or nigger rule."

He added, "already we have offered $500 for proof that the Klan has any connection with the recent disorders in the Birmingham area."

"And," interrupted Morris again, "we will be willing to disband our organization if it can be proved we have violated the law."

The Rev. Mr. Horn said he had been a Baptist preacher for many years and at present is a member of the Coosa River Baptist Association. In recent years, he has been pastor of the Pleasant Grove and Blue Eye Baptist Churches, both in Talladega County.

The News

MEANTIME, THE KLAN apparently had a strong defender in the House in Rep. E. E. Nelson, of Clay County, a former school teacher.

Rep. Nelson announced this morning he is opposed to the Mize bill.

"I'm against anything the Klan does not want passed," Rep. Nelson added. He insisted, nevertheless, that he is not a member of the Klan.

Earlier today, two of the three senators who voted against the Mize bill discussed their reasons for opposing it.

Sen. George Quarles, of Dallas, the other senator who voted against the bill, was not present today.

Birmingham, Ala.

FROM A MEMBER of the Jefferson delegation, Rep. J. G. (Jimmie) Adams, Jr., came a suggestion that the bill apply to two or more persons who invade private premises—whether they wear masks or not.

Rep. Adams said he believes the House will pass the anti-masking bill without delay and added:

"I think it ought to be broadened so as to provide punishment for thugs and terrorists who do their dirty work with or without masks."

His proposal, Adams believes, could be so worked that it would stand up in court.

Tuscaloosa Sen. Henry H Mize, whose name the bill bears, commented he has no "general" objections to strengthening the bill.

* * *

SEN. MIZE SAID, however, that he didn't want to see it "fouled up by any technical changes—however well-intentioned."

The bill's sponsor noted that it would include a range of punishment for violators, from misdemeanor fines and jail sentences to felony or penitentiary imprisonment.

In the Senate last week Lt. Gov. Clarence Inzer ruled that an amendment, similar to Rep. Adams' proposal, could not be considered with the Mize bill since it dealt with a different subject.

There are laws already on the state books against two or more persons invading premises, threatening or committing physical violence.

TITLE 14, SECTION 407 provides misdemeanor punishment up to six months' hard labor for unlawful assemblies of two or more. Herald

Title 14, Section 15, provides felony punishment, up to 10 years imprisonment, for floggings or beatings by masked gangs.

3 Race Lobbyists Listed in D. C.

The Pittsburgh Courier

Pittsburgh, Pa.

WASHINGTON (ANP) — Three Negro lobbyists were listed in the recent quarterly report and registration of Congressional lobbyists last week in the Congressional Record. Sat. 5-21-49

They were two full-time lobbyists, Leslie S. Perry of the NAACP and Edgar G. Brown of his own National Negro Council, and one part-time, Mrs. Pauline E. Myers of the National Association of Colored Women, Inc.

In his report Perry said he had been working as a lobbyist since Oct. 8, 1942 and he earned a salary of $4,400 a year.

Brown reported he received his money from membership contributions. His reports said he received $1,49[illegible] in the third quarter of 1948 and spent $1,016.3[illegible]. In the fourth quarter he received $800 and spent $735.50.

Washington Notebook

By Lem Graves Jr.

Help! Help! Lobbyists for Civil Rights Really Need It

34 B

The Courier, Pittsburgh, Pa. 7-2-49

WASHINGTON—Lobbyists for civil rights legislation say they need more help than they are getting from the folks back home!

This raises the question of just what the average Negro citizen can do about national civil rights legislation. There are several things which need to be done and the evidence reveals that none of them are being done adequately by the people who have the greatest stake in the fight.

To begin with, politics is generally a once-every-four-years proposition with most of us. We get excited about the national Presidential election and that is about all. Last summer this reporter made the assertion that the matter of whether Dewey or Truman won the Presidential election was not the most important consideration. That opinion has not changed.

The important political fact, from a legislative point of view, is what kind of man is elected to Congress. Civil rights bills have to be passed by Representatives and Senators and, as it has already been shown, these gentlemen care very little about the President's views on legislation. They care little about anything except the wishes of the people who voted them into office. It is here that political activity pays off to the average citizen. Sat. 7-2-49

Mr. Graves

SO, IT IS most vital to be politically active at the local ward, district and State level and to let the politicians know that you are active and that you want certain things. This is important to remember in the forthcoming off-year elections of 1950. There will be no national ticket to serve as a stimulus and Negroes must overcome their apathy toward local elections. It is time for us to understand that Presidential elections are less important than are congressional races.

Having voted, there are other important steps to be taken, according to your lobby representatives in Washington. You must maintain contact with your Congressman and Senator. A penny postcard, a three-cent stamp, a 50-cent night letter or a two-buck telephone call will transmit your wishes to the source of legislation.

Liberal Congressmen complain that they get practically no mail on this critical civil rights problem while their offices are flooded daily with sacks of mail on everything else from oleomargerine to super-carriers. All other special interest groups do a better mail-pressure job than do those who have a stake in civil rights.

* * *

THERE'S SOMETHING ELSE to be done yet. All members of Congress maintain offices and staffs back in the home neighborhood. Negroes generally do not call on these offices to make their desires known. Volume

pressure exerted at this point is generally very effective. In addition, voters ought to make it their business to call on their Congressman when he returns home during summer recesses or when he is back home on the week-end. Organized door-bell ringing, petitioning and other devises work well at the grass roots of our political system. If you are coming to Washington, set up your appointments through the ward leader or some other political figure so that your Congressman will know that you are a bona-fide voter in his district.

It is easy to assume that politicians have a deeply Christian morality. But, it is also dangerous. Actually, politicians are moved primarily by votes and by well-articulated demands from organized voters. Morality is purely incidental. Pittsburgh, Pa.

* * *

THIS REMINDS YOUR reporter that the border and upper South States offer Negroes their greatest political opportunity of the present. In the North voting is unrestricted but the volume of Negroes is small. In the deep South the volume is great but voting is restricted by various criminal devises. The border States combine a fairly accessible voting booth with a large volume of potential Negro voters and here the Negro vote can be most effective. If this potential could be properly organized along grass roots political lines, no border State Senator or Congressman could ignore civil rights legislation with impunity. You can do a better job on civil rights than can your Washington lobbyists if you go to work.

Sat. 7-2-49

* * *

HERE AND THERE: While we welcome the fast action of a Congressional committee and the FBI in launching investigations of the floggings of white people in Alabama, we can't understand why no such interest is usually manifest when the victims are colored.

We are generally happy about some of the integration plans being promoted in the armed services but we are greatly disturbed by rumors that the Fahy Committee plans to fold up soon, that it's key staff officers are looking around for other jobs, and that the two key men on the Personnel Policy Board, Thomas Reed and Gen. Charles Lanham, are expected to depart soon. From long experience, Negroes have learned that watch-dogs are required to police policy statements. Without consistent follow-through, racial policy declarations have a way of going astray. We urge continuation of the Fahy Committee, with a small staff, for an indefinite time into the future.

The Civil Service Commission's FEP board has banned the public and newspaper reporters from hearings on discrimination in the New Orleans Postoffice. The hearings were held early this week. Closed hearings on public issues suggest that the FEP board may whitewash jim-crow activities of Government agencies. In the interest of truth we urge this rule be abandoned.

What's Going on In Washington, D. C.

County

34 L Pittsburgh, Pa.

(Pittsburgh Courier Press Service)

WASHINGTON — A completely integrated group of more than 2,000 demonstrators—of whom at least one-third were colored—lobbied all over Capitol Hill on behalf of civil rights legislation, Taft-Hartley repeal and other social welfare legislation on Wednesday of last week.

The group was called a "People's Lobby" and was organized jointly by the American Labor party and the Progressive party.

Sat. 6-18-49

WASHINGTON — Although the House rules subcommittee, which conducted anti-poll tax hearings for more than a month, voted down a favorable report on poll tax legislation by a 4-3 count, Congresswoman Mary Norton, chairman of the full rules committee, predicted that the bill would be favorably reported to the House floor.

* * *

WASHINGTON — Continuing a vigorous campaign designed to prove the Democratic administration is "insincere" about civil rights, Val J. Washington, assistant to the chairman of the Republican National Committee, last week made political "hay" when the Senate Judiciary Committee suddenly reported out a Republican anti-lynch bill.

This move, which had not been preceded by hearings, came as a surprise to most local observers.

Mr. Washington seized upon this strange development and immediately released to newspapers a long statement which claimed, for the Republicans, credit for the only piece of civil rights legislation to come out of a Congressional committee in the six months during which the Democratic-controlled Eighty-first Congress has been in session.

National GRAPEVINE

By CHARLEY CHEROKEE

The People

Chicago, Ill. 34 L Defender

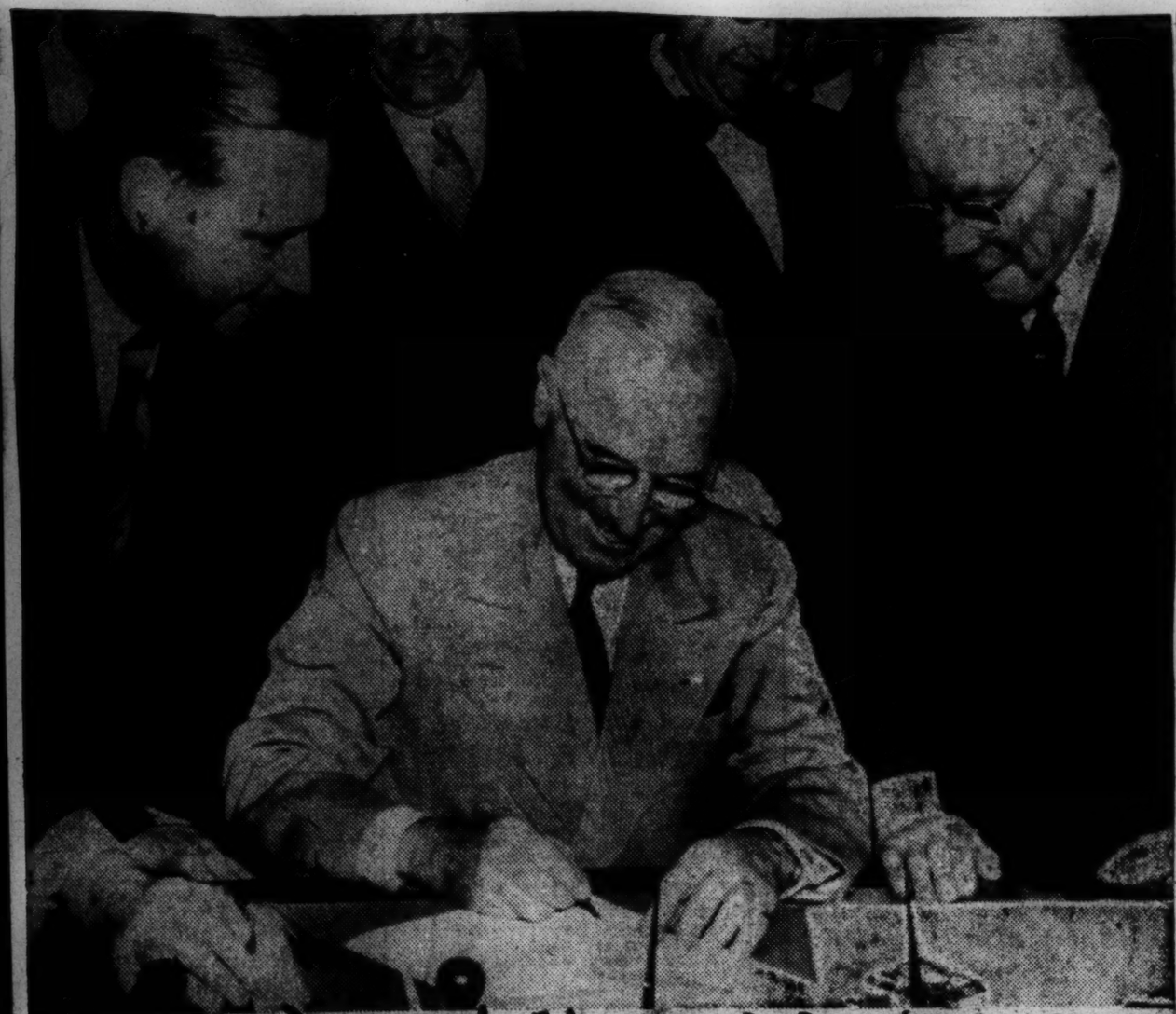
LESLIE Perry, NAACP lobbyist, urged Congress to admit immigrants from British West Indies and other Caribbean Islands on a non-quota basis . . . Elmer Henderson, lobbyist for ACHR (combined Frats) urged same thing and called on Papa Harry to appoint a colored American in vacancy created by death of Supreme Court Justice Murphy.

Lawrence Oxley of USES is offered an $8,000 organizing job by a large veteran's organization which feels pinch of competition . . . Theresa Hamilton of Ypsilanti, Michigan, Seawoman First Class in WAVES, is assigned to office of Defense Secretary Aide James Evans . . .Thomasina Johnson of USES and Playwright George Norford, recently married, will be tendered a big reception at National Council of Negro Women headquarters in Washington, August 6.

Sat. 7-30-49

Adam Powell led move against tabling FEPC bill in House Labor Committee and brings it to Committee vote Friday, July 29 . . . J. Finley Wilson of Elks spoke at Bill Of Rights Conference in New York and lambasted these "self-styled statesmen who wrap themselves in the flag" and label everybody who disagrees with them . . . Campbell Johnson, army colonel and selective service advisor, took over as vice Chairman of Community Chest Campaign in D. C.

West A. Hamilton, army colonel who started as private in 1905, served on Mexican border and in France, retired after 45 army years . . . Blevins Davis, white millionaire, will pay transportation of Howard U. drama group to Norway, where they will present Ibsen's "The Wild Duck" . . . Frank Horne of Housing called on key people for vigilance to see the Housing Act is carried out to best interests of the underprivileged and was joined in the statement by housing aides Booker McGraw, Corienne Robinson, Frank Thorne, William Dabney, George Nesbitt, George Washington, Robert Pitts, Clarence Johnson, Maceo Smith, A. Thompson, DeHart Hubbard and Edward Rutledge.



Courier-Journal Times. 10-27-49

Associated Press Wirephoto.

MINIMUM-WAGE LAW is signed by President Truman as Secretary of Labor Maurice Tobin, left, and A.F.L. President William Green look on.

Wage-Floor Bill Signed By Truman

Courier-Journal Times 10-27-49

President Hails Law as Victory For Fair Deal

34b

By the Associated Press.

Washington, Oct. 26.—Hailing it as a "major victory" for his administration, President Truman today signed the bill increasing the national minimum wage from 40 cents to 75 cents an hour.

The new minimum—expected to cost employers about $300,000,000 annually—does not go into effect, however, until 60 days from now. At that time an estimated 1,500,000 workers are due to have from 5 to 15 cents added to their hourly earnings.

Government officials said the pay raise in most cases will not exceed 15 cents, since most workers now are receiving more than the old 40-cent-an-hour minimum.

Makes Various Changes.

The new Fair Labor Standards Act, adopted just before Congress adjourned, makes various changes in the old law which went into effect just 11 years ago last Monday.

Besides raising the pay "floor" for workers engaged in interstate commerce, among other things it tightens the ban against use of child labor and gives added enforcement powers to the wage-hour administrator.

Truman expressed "regret" that the new version will take some of the 22,600,000 persons now covered off the lists. But he said "the improvements made by the new law will go far toward achieving our basic purpose of assuring minimum labor standards necessary for health, efficiency, and general well-being of workers."

'Child Labor Eliminated.'

Among the "improvements" he cited the following:

1. Tightening of the child-labor clause which he said should result "in the virtual elimination of the evil of child labor from our interstate and foreign trade and industry."

2. A provision authorizing the wage-hour administrator to bring suit on behalf of a worker for unpaid back wages. Truman said this "should greatly improve the effective enforcement of the law."

3. A "comprehensive" formula for determining a worker's regular pay rates which also will be used in figuring the amount of overtime due him when working over 40 hours a week.

On this point the President said the new law will "encourage the development of any plans for employment on an annual basis through collective bargaining by providing greater flexibility in the overtime provisions. These plans assure stability of income for wage earners and stability of operation for employers."

Labor Leaders Attend.

The President signed the measure at a White House ceremony attended by labor leaders and Government officials. Among those present were A.F.L. President William Green, Secretary of Labor Tobin, and Senator Elbert Thomas (D., Utah), chairman of the Senate Labor Committee. C.I.O. President Philip Murray, who is attending a union convention in Cleveland, was represented by Jacob Potofsky, head of the C.I.O. Clothing Workers, and Emil Rieve, head of the C.I.O. Textile Workers.

Even before the President had signed the new bill into law, Rieve called on his 450,000 textile-union members to "renew our campaign for an increase in the federal minimum to $1 an hour."

"Even that figure," he added, "can barely provide a subsistence standard of living."

Refused to Broaden Law.

Although Congress went along with the President's request to raise the wage floor to 75 cents it rejected his plea for bringing more workers under the law's protection.

The House voted to exempt 1,005,000 persons now covered, while the Senate cut that figure to about 200,000. Under the compromise measure finally adopted the total number excluded was put somewhere between the two figures. Government labor experts say it probably will take years and court actions to find just how many workers have been excluded.

The new measure specifically exempts:

Courier-Journal

1. Employees on small newspapers, including dailies, with a circulation of 4,000 copies or less in the county of publication and adjoining counties.

10-27-49

Newsboys Are Exempt.

2. Newspaperboys who deliver papers to the reader.

3. Sawmill and logging operations in the woods. Lumber processing and other inside operations are not exempt.

4. Small Western Union agencies doing less than $500 business each month and telephone-switchboard operators in exchanges with less than 750 stations.

5. Employees of taxicab operators; workers engaged in the first processing of buttermilk; employees of carriers by air who are not subject to the provisions of the Railway Retirement Act; irrigation workers on nonprofit projects used exclusively for the supplying and storing of water for agricultural purposes.

6. Retail establishments which manufacture the goods they sell, provided employees of such concerns work on the same premises as the retail establishment, and not more than 15 per cent of the goods sold by the firm move in interstate commerce.

In-State Sales Required.

7. Retail or service establishments generally if over 50 per cent of their annual dollar volume of sales is made within the state.

8. Laundries and other places which clean and repair clothing or fabrics, provided more than 50 per cent of the annual dollar volume of sales is made within the state and 75 per cent of such volume is derived from sales to customers who are not in the mining, transportation, manufacturing, or communications business.

34b

In tightening the child-labor provisions, the lawmakers added a prohibition against parents employing children under 16 on hazardous jobs.

The present law generally bars employment of boys and girls under 16, but an exemption is made in the case of those working in motion pictures or theatrical productions. This exemption also was broadened to include children working in radio or television shows.

Given More Latitude.

The new formula for figuring "regular rates" of pay and compensation for overtime work gives employers more latitude in working out agreement for irregular working hours which in the long run average out to 40 hours a week.

There is a provision for excluding from calculation of the rate such thngs as Christmas bonuses, other genuine gifts, vacation and holiday pay, and payments under profit-sharing or trust funds.

Some of those items already have been ruled out by the wage-hour administrator and the revised language gives those rulings the force of law.

Gov. Hastie Gets Recess Appointment

WASHINGTON, D. C.—(NNPA)—President Truman last Friday made recess appointments of twenty-three Federal judges, including Governor William H. Hastie of the Virgin Islands, whom he named to the Third United States Circuit Court of Appeals at Philadelphia.

The appointees, who will fill the jobs until next January, were given the recess appointments two days after the Senate adjourned without acting on their nominations.

Before Congress adjourned, the Senate Judiciary Committee gave notice that it would hold public hearings on seventeen of the appointees beginning next January 5. Included in the notices was one concerning the nomination of Governor Hastie.

Notices of hearings on judicial nominations are a mere formality required by Senate rules. If there is no opposition to the nominee, a favorable report is ordered. If there is opposition, the matter is heard by a subcommittee.

The subcommittee named to hold hearings on all seventeen of the nominations, including that of Governor Hastie, consists of Senators Herbert R. O'Conor, of Maryland, and Estes Kefauver, of Tennessee, Democrats, and William Langer, Republican, of North Dakota.

The nominations, however, will have to be returned to the Senate by President Truman at the beginning of the next session.

The Senate Judiciary Committee, however, has promised to take "expeditious action" on the nomination, if the recess appointees are renominated.

Governor Hastie was in Washington early last week in connection with hearings before the Budget Bureau on estimates of appropriations for the Virgin Islands for the next fiscal year. He said he was returning to the Virgin Islands immediately but expected to return to Washington very soon and go to Philadelphia to seek housing accommodations for himself and his family.

Governor Hastie also said there were several pending matters which he wished to wind up before resigning the Virgin Islands Governorship to take the Federal judgeship at Philadelphia.

Atlanta, Ga.
Daily World
Tues. 10-25-49

THAT BLACK CABINET BUSINESS IN D.C.

We sometimes wonder just how important the so-called Washington Black Cabinet membership is to the rest of us who don't live in Washington. None of them can vote there. They've done nothing that's concrete to get Jim Crow off the books in the nation's capital, yet they burn up train and plane fare chasing throughout the country to tell the rest of us what to do to get rid of segregation, discrimination and Jim Crow.

New York, Amy. Age
Dec. 11-17-49

It doesn't make sense.

How can somebody who makes Washington his or her sphere know who you and you and you should vote for in Chicago, New York, Detroit, Philadelphia, Boston or Los Angeles?

34c D.C.

Who set them up as leaders? Who gave them a greater sense of what we all suffer that makes them "spokesmen" for millions who don't even know what they look like?

Whatever they are thinking or doing in Washington, it pays off. They get close to whatever administration is in power and grab off the nicer jobs and appointments for themselves or their buddies and when the net results are announced, the rest of us have nothing but the chance to applaud the advance of some individual who has been campaigning all his life to personally get somewhere himself.

Sure, Roosevelt made some nice appointments of Negroes to key jobs. So has Truman. But neither FDR or Harry S. had to go further than 7th and T Streets in Washington to find somebody to name to a post.

It looks from here as if the boys and girls play the thing jam up by raising train fare to Washington and being around where somebody can see them and then run in and grab off the plums before the fruit can be packed and shipped to destinations where those entitled to it can get a crack at it.

We rightly honor those of us who through intelligence, hard work and the other qualities needed for success plug on until the way becomes clear. But we are doggoned if we can get too excited about people who use us as a basis for a high powered "hustle." It's almost axiomatic that few, if any of the so-called Black Cabinet membership can lead two Negroes across the street, unless they are blind and soliciting aid from someone. Yet, official Washington acclaims them as being tops among our leaders. Let's wake up and see what's going on—especially in the nation's capital.

Will Do Special Work In Capital

Mrs. Z. P. Price, head of the home economics department and teacher training at Alcorn College, has been appointed to serve on the staff of the Home Economics Education Service, Office of Education, by the Federal Security Agency, Office of Education, in Washington, D. C. She is on leave for three months from the college and is the first Negro to be employed in the capacity of program specialist until January 1950. A native of Mississippi, Mrs. Price is a 1933 graduate of Hampton Institute, a member of Alpha Kappa Alpha Sorority and other civic and social organizations.

Baltimore Afro-American
Dec. 17-49

Pres. Truman Accepts Hastie Resignation From Governorship

34c Federal

34c Federal

WAHINGTON, D. C.—(NNPA)—President Truman has accepted the resignation of William H. Hastie as governor of the Virgin Islands with "decidedly mixed feelings."

Memphis

The president expressed gratification that Hastie is to assume a judgeship on the United States Third Circuit Court of Appeals at Philadelphia but "real regret" at his leaving the governorship of the Virgin Islands.

Inserted

In an exchange of letters, Governor Hastie wrote Mr. Truman as follows:

"Dear Mr. President: I hereby tender my resignation as Governor of the Virgin Islands of the United States and request that this resignation become effective at the close of November 30, 1949.

"It is with great regret that I leave the post where I have been privileged to serve for more than three and one half years. I hope that my sucessor may find some of the work which we have accomplished and projected useful to him as he undertakes the responsibilities of government in the Virgin Islands.

Dec 3 1949

"I shall always be grateful and proud that my own administration of the government of the Virgin Islands has enjoyed the continuing support of the President."

TRUMAN REPLY

Mr. Truman, accepting Hastie's resignation, wrote him as follows.

"Dear Governor Hasite: Your letter of November 14 submitting your resignation as Governor of the Virgin Islands in order to take office as judge of the Third Circuit Court of Appeals, has been recieved with decidedly mixed feelings.

"I am gratified that you are to assume the important position of a judge in one of our highest courts. To you as a member of the legal profession and a public spirited citizen few fields or service could offer a greater challenge or more satisfying rewards.

"On the other hand, your departure from the difficult and highly responbible post of Governor of the Virgin Islands is a matter of real regret. As the first Negro to be appointed Governor of one of our territorial areas, you have been in a conspicious position. You have rendered fine service to the people of the Islands and to the national government in the improvement of the local government and in the advocacy of sound social and economic policies. This you have done so effectively that the Congress has recognized in increasing degree the needs for Federal assistance in the sound development of the area."

Hastie's 'Fine Service' in V.I. Cited by Truman

Afro American

Practical Ed.

Resignation as Governor Accepted With 'Real Regret', Judgeship Post Challenged

Pat. 12-3-49

WASHINGTON, (NNPA)—President Truman was accepted the resignation of William H. Hastie as governor of the Virgin Islands with "decidedly mixed feelings."

34c

The President expressed gratification that Mr. Hastie is to assume a judgeship on the U.S. Third Circuit Court of Appeals at Philadelphia but "real regret" at his leaving the governorship of the Virgin Islands.

Hastie's Letter

In an exchange of letters, Governor Hastie told Mr. Truman:

"Dear Mr. President: I hereby tender my resignation as Governor of the Virgin Islands of the United States and request that this resignation become effective on Nov. 30.

"It is with great regret that I leave the post where I have been privileged to serve for more than three and one half years.

"I hope that my sucessor may find some of the work which we have accomplished and projected useful to him as he undertakes the responsibilities of government in the Virgin Islands.

"I shall always be grateful and proud that my own administration of the government of the Virgin Islands has enjoyed the continuing support of the President."

Federal

President's Reply

Mr. Truman, accepting Mr. Hastie's resignation, said:

"Dear Governor Hastie: Your letter of Nov. 14 submitting your resignation as Governor of the Virgin Islands in order to take office as a judge of the Third Circuit Court of Appeals, has been received with decidedly mixed feelings.

"I am gratified that you are to assume the important position of a judge in one of our highest courts.

"To you as a member of the legal profession and a public-spirited citizen few fields of service could offer a greater challenge or more satisfying rewards.

Did Effective Job

"On the other hand, your departure from the difficult and highly responsible post of Governor of the Virgin Islands is a matter of real regret.

"As the first colored person to be appointed Governor of one of our territorial areas, you have been in a conspicuous position.

"You have rendered fine service to the people of the Islands and to the national government in the improvement of the local government and in the advocacy of sound social and economic policies.

"This you have done so effectively that the Congress has recognized in increasing degree the needs for Federal assistance in the sound development of the area.

Service Called Symbol

"With the greatly increased public interest in the Islands and the greater degree of Federal support, I am confident that the people of the Virgin Islands will move forward rapidly to high levels of economic and social achievement.

"Your service as Governor as well as other phases of your career may well serve as a symbol of that opportuntiy for high achievement which must always be open in increasing measure to all our citizens."

Going to Washington

34c Sat. 1-11-49

Rep. Isidore Dollinger, Bronx Democrat, and his new secretary, Ivan Warner, confer at Dollinger's office, 170 Broadway, before leaving for Washington. Warner, it is understood, will be the first Negro secretary to serve a non-Negro congressman. STAR Photo by John A...

Lenapah Councilman

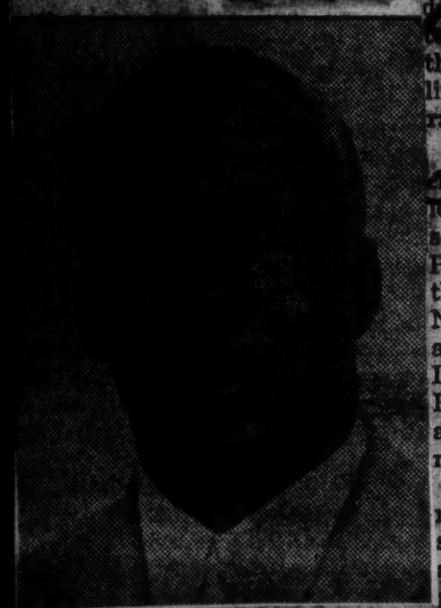
Rex Buffington, a colored resident of Lenapah, Okla., last Saturday days, became a member of the city council Tuesday to the delight of his many friends of both races.

34c

Mr. Buffington is a conscientious worker, an outstanding civic leader and at the present time is serving as local president of the P-TA organization, president of the Lenapah branch of the NAACP, and for four years served as commander of the American Legion, Post No. 229, of Nowata. He is regarded as a leader in all affairs for the upbuilding of humanity.

Sat. 1-22-49

Mr. Buffington is a well known rock mason and has constructed some of the finest rock buildings and church edifices in the northeastern part of Oklahoma.



REX BUFFINGTON

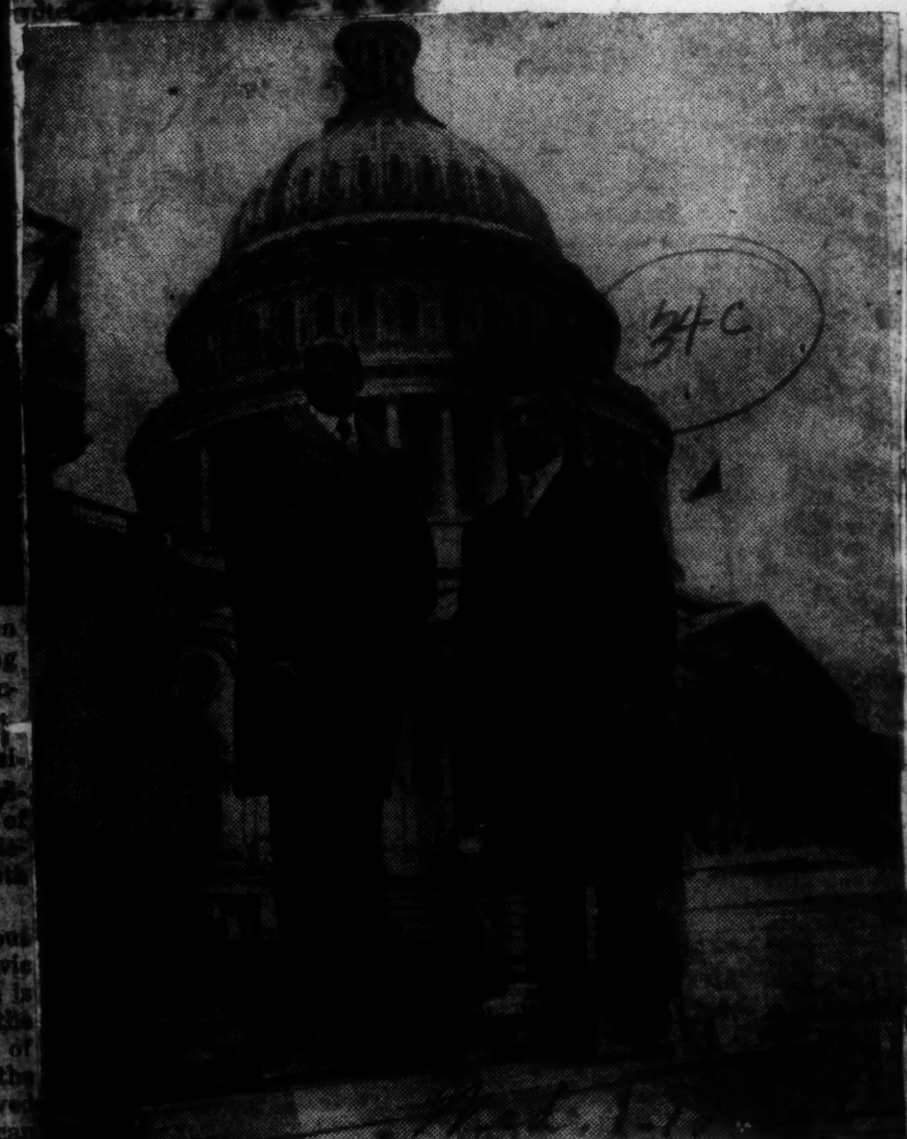
Negro Seeks Council Post

Constitution State News Service

AUGUSTA—For the first time in the history of Augusta a Negro will run for a seat in City Council. George E. Ross, contractor, yesterday announced his candidacy for Council from the Third Ward, a heavily populated Negro section.

The candidate said he would run without political affiliation, and without making promises to anyone.

In the Third Ward there are 1,464 Negroes registered against 343 white persons. Ross is almost assured of election if the Negroes vote [illegible]



34c

WASHINGTON, D. C.—Negro Representatives William L. Dawson, D., of Illinois, left, and Adam Clayton Powell (D.), of New York, are shown at Capitol. Dawson, the dean of the Negro Congressmen in beginning his fourth term in Congress, and Powell, in his third, Dawson will be chairman of the House Executive Expenditures Committee, the first Negro to be chairman of a Congressional committee.

Ex-Solon Didn't Know That One Day He'd Administer From Bench Laws He Authored

Sat. 7-9-49

By L. ALEX WILSON

Rich reward comes to him who serves well through devotion alone to a just cause.

Without question, that can be said of Henry J. Richardson, Jr., who resides at 4057 Rookwood, Indianapolis, Ind.

Back in 1932 when he was helping to make progressive laws as a legislator, he didn't know that one day he would have the privilege of administering the legislation from the bench as a judge.

The cause he has fought courageously and steadfastly for is: fair play for all American citizens under the law, regardless of race, creed or color.

Constitution

Court starting in 1931; was special prosecutor and special federal attorney for the now defunct FOLC and served as a member of the State Board of Public Welfare.

In 1948 he began service as special judge of Criminal Division 1 of the Criminal Court of Marion County, Ind. Sat. 7-9-49

Life Threatened

Judge Henry J. Richardson has given no quarter in the fight for the extension of civil rights in his state. And the path he trod has been one pitted with rugged obstacles. Yet, he never gave up but continued to plod doggedly ahead.

The jurist is quiet spoken, brown-hued, bespectacled and of medium height. One notes instantly his outstanding physical characteristics denoting leadership calibre—a firm angular jaw, broad forehead and keen, probing and intelligent eyes.

He said: "A number of times in my fight for first-class citizenship for minorities, my life has been threatened. But that is over now. Since the people of the state know that I will maintain the truly democratic position in regards to full rights for all, in spite of threats, I have been left alone."

Ropes Jim Crow Legally

The bills Judge Richardson authored and aided in passage in the state legislature and his efforts in correcting other offensive legislation on the books are testimonials of his endeavor.

Judge Richardson was elected as representative during the past 45 years in the state.

He held a number of top positions including service as Judge pro tem of Indiana's Supreme

He authored the Indiana fair employment bill which passed in 1935, and authored and helped to pass the seditious literature bill which became law in 1935. The latter legislation prohibits the distribution of literature that defames the character of political candidates in the state. No longer can hate groups ridicule Negro or any other candidates for office in degrading posters, leaflets, etc.

He was successful in amending the 1857 Constitution of Indiana by striking out the word "white" that applied to prerequisite for members of the state militia.

Showdown With KKK

The infamous Ku Klux Klan is becoming bold in its attack on citizens in the South. This is not true, as of this date in Indiana. It is traceable possibly to the fight led by Judge Richardson in 1933 to abolish the hooded order in the state.

He was successful in getting a bill passed which prohibited any group from wearing masks or hoods in public.

The jurist's attack on the Klan drew fire from the local mobsters. He was told that he would be tarred and feathered on Feb. 7, 1935, if he didn't lay off. The record speaks for itself. The judge continued his campaign through the support of appreciative and alert citizenry.

In 1947 Judge Richardson was chairman of the Legal Committee that drafted and passed the anti-hate bill.

Breaks School Strike

It is the only law of its kind prohibiting any fascist group to operate as an official body in the state. The legislation forbids any group from profaning the race or religion of person or persons. It carries a penalty of a fine of $1,000 and up to 10 years in the penitentiary and disfranchisement for any one found guilty. Gal. 7-9-49

It was this legislation that broke the back of the Gary school strike in 1947, which attracted nation-wide attention.

Recently Judge Richardson aided the passage of the anti-public school segregation bill in the state legislature. It bans segregation and discrimination because of race, creed or color in the upgrading of teachers or students.

The measure was supported by the state NAACP and sponsored by the jurist.

Judge Richardson's law office, located downtown in Indianapolis, has a staff of four. In September, 1948, the law firm handled all of the legal processes and secured a permanent injunction against the Dixiecrats — Ralph Gates, then governor of Indiana and the State Board of Election Commissioners, barring from the state ballot the names of Dixiecrat candidates.

Recent Legal Victory

The case set a precedent in that Indiana was the only state by injunction able to bar the Dixiecrats from the state ballot.

Another significant victory was added to the judge's record last week when the U. S. Supreme Court reversed the conviction of victed in Shelby County Circuit Court Jan. 28, 1948, for the shotgun slaying of Mrs. Mary Lois Burney in her home at Meridian Hills.

The Indiana high court denied an appeal. And Judge Richardson, counsel for the Indiana NAACP, took the cse to the U. S. Supreme Court. The appeal was based on the questionable manner in which police obtained the Watts confession. A five-man defense team, including Thurgood Marshall, aided Watts during the trial.

Can't Beg and Demand

Asked what he thought the Negro could do to accelerate his liberation from second-class citizenship, the leader said:

"People who beg have to come to the back. You can't beg and demand at the same time."

Making clear his point, he explained:

"It is my firm belief that because of the Negro's precarious economic status, a substantial percentage of every nickel he makes should be contributed to safeguard his civil rights and civil liberties."

Judge Richardson completed his academic study at the University of Illinois and received his law degree at Indiana University School of Law in 1928.

The jurist and his wife, Mrs. Roselyn V. Richardson, are the parents of two sons: Henry III, 8, and Rodney Charles, 1.

Honored By Law Group

Recently the Cook County Bar Association of Illinois honored him on his birthday at Toffenetti's Triangle Restaurant in Chicago at a luncheon.

Without doubt the glowing tribute paid the jurist and family man by the group for his monumental contributions in the fight to unshackle minorities from second-class citizenship—was a fitting one.

Ambition was not the mainspring to his height today. Rather it was a fervent desire to remedy the injustices to mankind.

JUDGE RICHARDSON

Meet Bill Veeck

ALDERMAN ARCHIBALD J. CAREY, JR. of Chicago's Woodlawn can put down in capital letters the word "assist" behind Bill Veeck's name in his housing fight. Veeck is president of the Cleveland Indians. He signed Larry Doby, Paterson, N. J., player who became the first Negro to play in the American League and the first Negro to hit a home run in a world series.

Ald. Carey is pastor of the Woodlawn A. M. E. church and the son of the late Bishop A. J. Carey who was Chicago's first Negro civil service commissioner.

Alderman Carey is leading a fight in the Chicago city council to make it illegal to segregate tenants in buildings constructed with the aid of public funds. To make it more specific, our good friend, Dr. Carey, doesn't want the city's money to be spent for projects labeled "for whites only" or "for Negroes." If the money is to be appropriated, Dr. Carey wants any project opened to applicants regardless of race, creed or color.

To this we say "Amen."

Illinois Senator Hires Negro Woman Secretary

Chicago Daily World
34c
Chicago Defender
Wed. 1-12-49

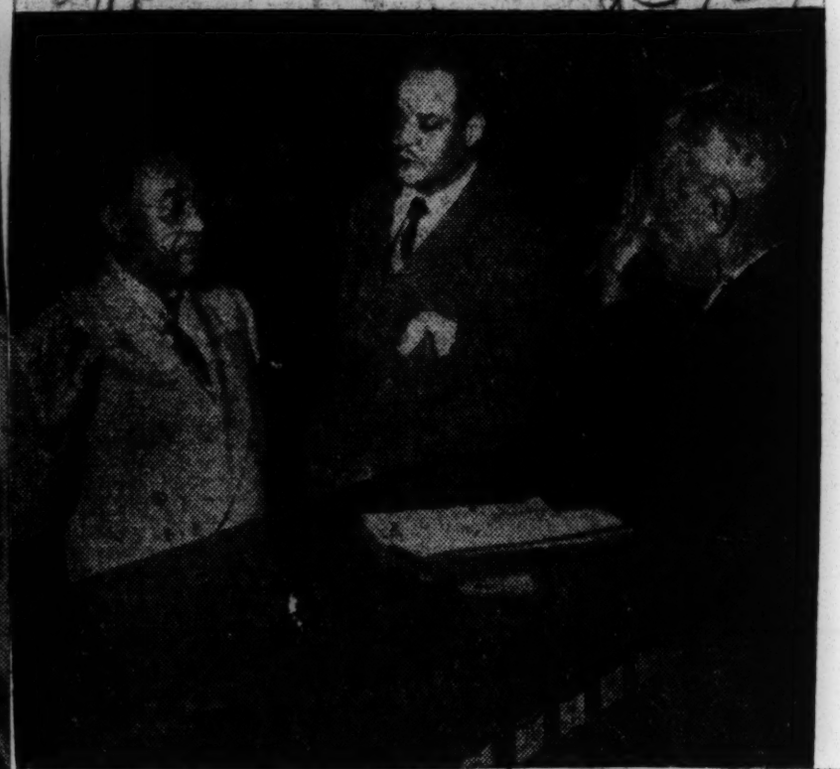
CHICAGO — (ANP) — For the first time in the history of the U. S., according to reports, a U. S. senator has hired a Negro to his staff.

Newly elected Senator Paul Douglas of Illinois has as a member of his Washington staff Marguerite Ingram, a graduate of Roosevelt College in Chicago. Although she is the first Negro to be a member of a senator's staff, several Negroes have worked on the staffs of representatives.

Missouri State Legislators Take Office

Four Negro Democrats were among the members of the State Legislators who took the oath of office at the bi-annual session of the body in Jefferson City last Wednesday. They are left to right: John W. Green, J. M. Neal, Walter Lay and Atty. J. J. Cole. All are from St. Louis but Neal who hails from Kansas City.

Sworn In As City Court Judge



Frank S. Bledsoe shown as he was sworn in as provisional judge in City Court No. 1, St. Louis, Mo. He is the first Negro to hold this post in St. Louis. David M. Grant, Bledsoe's law partner, is watching.

NEAL IS FIRST TO CHAIR COMMITTEE IN MO. LEGISLATURE

Rep. William McKinley Neal is the first member of his race to become chairman of a permanent committee in Missouri's legislature.

Rep. Neal, who looks a lot younger than his 50 years, has been named by House Speaker Roy Hamlin of Hannibal, Mo., as chairman of the visiting committee.

Neal, like Hamlin a Democrat, was born in Greensboro, Ga., went to grammar school there and was graduated from Jewel Academy at Athens, Ga.

He owns and operates a pharmacy in Kansas City and is married to a registered pharmacist.

34c 1949 New York

Block Move to Unseat Ben Davis

A move to declare Councilman Ben Davis' City Council Seat vacated was stymied Tuesday when the Council decided to pass on to its Committee on Rules, Privileges and Election a motion made by Councilman Hugh Quinn (Democrat, Queens) that the body immediately rule Councilman Davis excluded from membership. Davis' name, it was found, cannot be removed from the ballot and he can be voted for and elected.

Councilman Quinn made the motion during the regular meeting of the Council held in its City Hall chambers shortly after the beginning of the session. To gain entrance to City Hall, he, with other members of the Council, had to elbow his way around 400 pickets, carrying signs objecting to what the pickets termed the "stab in the back" tactics Councilman Quinn would use.

34c N.Y.

Picket vs. Cop

The picketing, which lasted for two hours before the Council meeting got underway, was interrupted when one of the pickets, Ed Grant, 28, of 405 Franklin Ave., Brooklyn, engaged in fisticuffs with Ptl. Arnold Venas of the 21st Precinct, on hand to retain order. Grant was arrested on charges of third degree assault.

In the Council Chambers following Quinn's motion, strenuous objection was voiced by Councilman Eugene Connolly (ALP, Manhattan). Other Councilmen were apathetic.

Basis of Motion

Mr. Quinn based his action on Section 896 of the City Charter which provides that any Councilman who wilfully violates the oath to defend the Constitution that he took in assuming office would forfeit his position and be forever barred from holding office in the city government.

Also, according to Mr. Quinn, under Section 30 of the City Charter, the Council has the right to pass on the qualifications of its membership.

34c

One thing is certain, however, and that concerns Mr. Davis' name on the ballot. He cannot be taken off that. The problem arises, though, if he is re-elected whether or not he can be seated.

Fight Goes On

As far as the effect of the conviction is concerned, Mr. Davis', Ray Tillman, campaign manager for Davis, issued a statement attacking the moves to oust the Councilman as "political gangsterism."

NEGROES in the HALLS of CONGRESS

ADAM CLAYTON POWELL Jr.

Adam Powell Jr. Knows His N. Y. Politics, Has Made Some Solid Achievements

Courier Oct. 8-13-49

By LEM GRAVES Jr.

(Twenty-seventh and Last in a Series)

HIS detractors say Adam Clayton Powell Jr. treats his congressional responsibilities too much like a part-time sideline. But they haven't been able to make political hay out of what is probably a pretty valid charge largely because they don't understand Negro politics in New York as well as does Adam Powell.

Being a member of Congress from New York's Twenty-second Congressional District is a sideline for the Rev. A. C. Powell Jr., young, tall, handsome pastor of New York's Abyssinian Baptist Church. Scion of a well-to-do Gotham family, heir of an ecclesiastical dynasty, husband of the wealthy and talented concert pianist, Hazel Scott; top man in an imposing financial empire built around valuable properties, former publisher and editor of the crusading People's Voice, and currently a columnist for the revived New York Age, Powell has many irons in the fire, and from the point of view of monetary rewards, his job in Congress is one of the least of these.

Johnnie Come Lately

In a more mature political environment—like Chicago, for instance—Powell might have trouble holding on to his post. But Chicago is a precinct town, where organization and regularity bring rewards at the local level and where national prestige and popularity have nothing to do with politics. On the other hand, New York's Negro voters have come lately to the political trough and still exert little influence in local politics.

With its many political fractions of all shades, New Yorkers ride off in all political directions often motivated by the search for emotional will-of-the-wisps. Glamour, ideological appeals, fire and brimstone speech-making and spectacular labels count for much in Harlem. Ward-heeling and precinct payoffs count for little. These things Adam Powell knows.

Source of Power

In addition to knowing these things, Congressman Powell has a gilt-edged security in his political rights. Although the "gentleman from New York stumbled into politics, he stumbled with a solid, loyal mass of 14,000 supporters who were members of his church, the largest Protestant church in the world. These 14,000 church members—who undoubtedly have friends—live in the heart of the Twenty-second Congressional District and that advantage is the main source of Powell's power.

Born in New Haven, Conn., to the Rev. and Mrs. A. C. Powell Sr., on Nov. 29, 1908, Powell attended an exclusive New York prep school, where he played tackle on the football team, took a B. A. degree from Colgate in 1930, won his M. A. from Columbia in 1932. (Shaw gave him the D. D. degree n 1934). He succeeded his father as pastor of Abyssinian in 1937.

Active Civic Life

Between graduation from Colgate and succession to the pastorate of the huge Harlem church, Powell had an active civic life, asserting his natural instincts for leadership in many of the various organizations which perpetually

spring up in Gotham. He got interested in jobs for Negroes in Harlem's vicious ghetto which was being bled to death by selfish white businessmen.

When the telephone company refused to hire Negroes, Powell called upon every interested Negro to tie up New York's telephone exchanges at a designated time. It worked. So did other mass boycott and pressure techniques devised by the ingenious young minister. But even these job successes didn't excite Powell's interest in politics.

'Single-Shot' Vote

A telegram from a ward politician, Joe Ford, did. Powell was vacationing when Ford wired him that there was a chance to get a Negro elected to the City Council. Powell abruptly called off his vacation. He persuaded the voters to take advantage of New York's complicated proportional representation system by "single-shot" votes. He got bi-partisan support and won.

About this time, the Republican New York Legislature passed a reapportionment bill with a special gerry-mander of Harlem which made the Twenty-second Congressional District almost entirely colored. Powell took advantage of it and ran for Congress. He won the Republican, Democratic and American Labor primaries and didn't have to campaign in the general election of 1944. Like all other Negro Congressmen, Powell had been a Republican. But he spoke for Roosevelt in 1944 and, when elected to the Seventy-ninth Congress, he adopted the Democratic label officially.

Once in Congress, Powell became the articulate Congressman-at-large for U. S. Negroes in general and the vocal advocate of all downtrodden people.

Extremely Vulnerable

Frequent absences from the floor of Congress make Powell extremely vulnerable, but so far neither his congressional opponents, Grant Reynolds in 1946 nor Sarah Pelham Speaks in 1948, has been able to come even close to defeating him. He was re-elected to the Eightieth and Eighty-first Congresses.

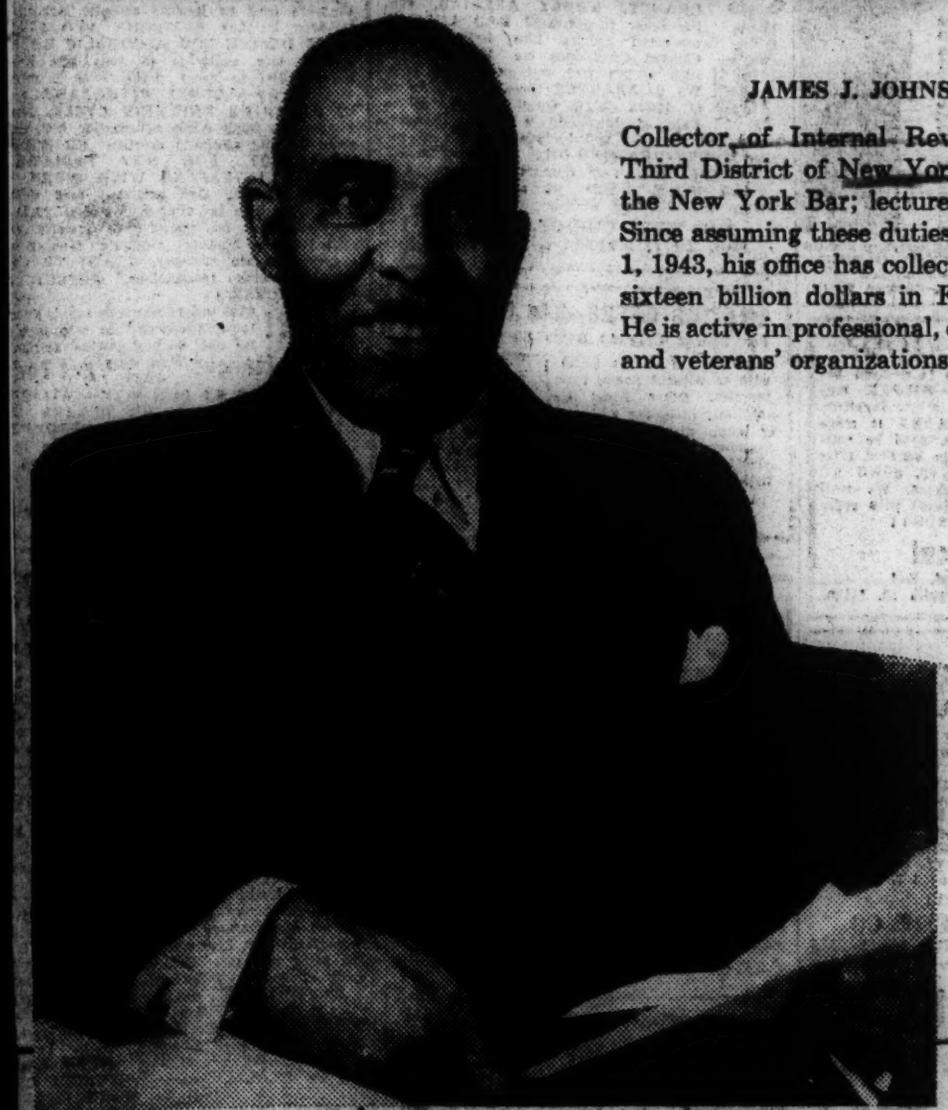
Powell has, in the course of his congressional career, authored the usual list of civil rights bills and has been a far more vigorous spokesman of the civil rights cause than have other Negro Congressmen. He has also been interested in labor and is second man on the Democratic totem pole in the House Labor Committee. He gets on the record often with strong speeches and is easily the best showman of the Negro congressional lot.

Naval Nominee

But almost obscured behind the glamour is some solid achievement. Powell shepherded his Naval Academy nominee, Wesley Brown, through four years and saw him become the first Negro in history to graduate from that service school. He won the first Negro-sponsored legislative victory when his anti-discrimination amendment to the national school lunch act was adopted. He headed a labor subcommittee which favorably reported an FEPC bill in the present Congress and fought vainly to have the House pass this bill. He fought against West Indian immigration restrictions. He helped mastermind the deal which resulted in recommital of the Wood Labor Bill after the administration failed to repeal Taft-Hartley. He saved the Virgin Islands Corporation in 1948 when its charter was about to expire. And a few weeks ago, he cleverly maneuvered a protective amendment into the long-range housing bill during floor debate in the House only to see his amendment sabotaged in the all-powerful conference committee.

Powell's hard-hitting attacks on the floor of Congress cover a wide range of Negro-interest subjects and practically every state in the Union. The fact that he is the race's congressman-at-large is the source of votes in New York where the political interests of the ghetto melting pot are so diverse.

LEADER IN HIS FIELD:



JAMES J. JOHNSON 34c

Collector of Internal Revenue for the Third District of New York, Member of the New York Bar; lecturer on tax laws. Since assuming these duties on December 1, 1943, his office has collected more than sixteen billion dollars in Federal Taxes. He is active in professional, civic, fraternal and veterans' organizations.

Afro-American 7-16-49

LEADER IN ITS FIELD: DELICIOUS PEPSI-COLA!

There's a claim to fame in every sparkling drop of Pepsi! For no other cola has such obvious *quality* in every sip. And when a drink *so good* gives *so* much, it just can't help making friends. Enjoy Pepsi, the finer-tasting cola, today!

Why Take Less... When Pepsi's Best!

School Board Members Take Oath

The Post, Washington, D.C.

SWORN IN—Taking the oath of office are three members of the District School Board sworn in yesterday for three-year terms. They are (from left) Dr. Phillip T. Johnson, Mrs. Edward C. Magdeburger and Adelbert W. Lee. Richard F. Harris administers the oath.

The Washington Post

Wisconsin Assembly Has First Negro as Speaker

Milwaukee Sentinel 5-13-49

MADISON, Wis., May 12 (AP).—For the first time in Wisconsin's history a Negro presided over the Lower House of the Legislature today.

New York, N.Y.

He was Assemblyman Leroy J. Simmons, Milwaukee Democrat, who relieved Republican Speaker Alex Nicol.

Pm 5-13-49

After adjournment, Mr. Simmons was guest of honor at a luncheon sponsored by the state American Federation of Labor and Congress for Industrial Organizations. He was elected to the Assembly in 1944.

34c(1) 1949 California

Eastside man becomes 1st Negro correctional officer

Passing the Civil Service examination with a score of 91, a Negro, Hercules Bowden, of 1223 E. Santa Barbara, today had been appointed a state correctional officer.

Bowden, a 24-year-old graduate of Fisk and UCLA, and of a course in applied science at the University of Chicago, will serve on the staff of Chino Institute for Men, a rehabilitation institution for convicted men.

H. 1-22-49

For two years, Bowden was employed by the State FBI in the identification and investigation department.

Bowden's appointment came through the good offices of Walter Gordon, of Berkeley, chairman of the Board of Prison Directors.

34c(1) 1949

Congressman William Dawson
Vice-Chairman- Democratic National Committee

WASHINGTON MERRY-GO-ROUND Drew Pearson Says:

Negro Named To High Democratic Post

WASHINGTON—Very quietly this week, a Negro was made vice chairman of the party which once went to war over the issue of slavery. 34c(1)

The Negro is Congressman William Dawson of Chicago, and the man whose place he is taking as vice chairman of the Democratic National Committee is Boss Frank Hague of Jersey City.

Courier-Journal

The change was engineered by Democratic National Chairman William Boyle and has an interesting background. Date 12-3-49

The vice chairmanship of the Democratic National Committee long was held by Mayor Ed Kelly of Chicago. Kelly, an active Roosevelt man, made the position important. After his retirement as mayor the vice chairmanship went to Boss Hague of New Jersey, who last month suffered a crushing defeat.

Louisville, Ky

At that time Hague announced that he was ready to resign as vice chairman of the committee, and Bill Boyle expressed the hope privately that he would.

"I'd grab his resignation in a minute," Boyle told friends.

This week Boyle acted. William Dawson, long a Democratic member of Congress from Chicago, last January was the first Negro congressman to become chairman of a Congressional committee. As head of the House Expenditures Committee he has got along well with broad-minded Representatives Hardy of Virginia, Lanham of Georgia and Bonner of North Carolina. So Chairman Boyle quietly elevated him to the vice chairmanship of the Democratic National Committee.

EVEN MORE INTERESTING is the political background behind Dawson's appointment.

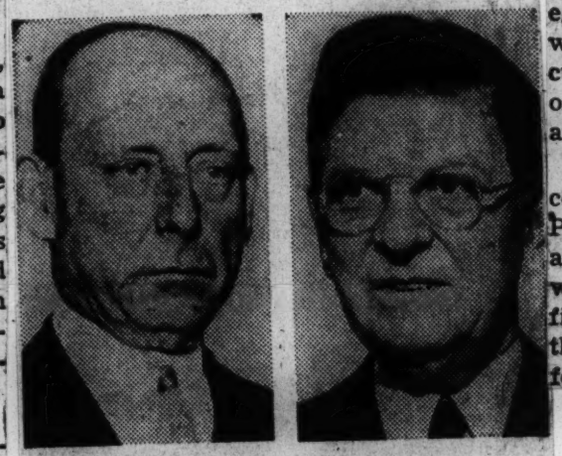
The Chicago district which sends him to Congress used to be Republican. And during the Herbert Hoover landslide in 1928 it sent Oscar de Priest, Negro Republican, to Congress—the first Negro elected to that body in many years. Result was a hue and cry from Washington society, including many Republicans, that Congressman de Priest should not be invited to the regular White House reception which the President gives to all members of Congress.

President Hoover did not take a forthright stand on the matter, and although de Priest was finally invited, the debate hurt the G.O.P.'s standing with the big-city Negro populations. Various other factors were involved, of course, such as F.D.R.'s relief program, and Truman's civil rights program, but ever since then, the Republicans have lost the Negro vote.

Today two Negroes are members of Congress—Dawson from Chicago, and Adam Clayton Powell of Harlem, N. Y. Dawson is always invited to Congressional receptions, but Powell, whose wife Truman dislikes, is not.

THERE HAS BEEN a lot of backstage cabinet debate over the U.N. Food and Agriculture Organization's plan to feed the world's needy areas from U.S. farm surpluses. Though President Truman has given his official blessing, his Secretary of State and Secretary of Agriculture are definitely against it.

They are not opposed to the principle of



Hague Kelly

. . . changing of the guard

feeding the hungry, but to the cost and machinery involved. What the F.A.O. advocates is an international clearinghouse where surplus commodities could be gathered, then distributed to impoverished nations. Secretary Acheson's opposition to this idea has been well known, but it was thought Secretary Brannan was opposed to him. However, he is not. Their joint opposition is based on the fact that a world food clearinghouse would cost an estimated five billion dollars, to be divided among nations according to their national income, which would mean Uncle Sam would foot about half the bill. In other words, It fould cost Uncle Sam about 500 million dollars the first year to give away only 360 million dollars worth of surpluses.

Therefore Acheson and Brannan argue that it would be cheaper just to give away the surpluses. They are sure Congress will think so too.

BRANNAN AND ACHESON had a joint session at the White House the other day at which they gave the President the following facts:

The Department of Agriculture now has in its bins 236 million pounds of dried skimmed milk, 100 million pounds of butter and 64 million pounds of dried eggs, worth a total of about 360 million dollars. But Europeans will not eat the dried milk and eggs. The wheat is on hand, which they will eat, is just enough to supply regular customers and keep a small reserve in case of emergency. Corn isn't popular in Europe and can't easily be shipped abroad.

So far the only crops curtailed in this country are tobacco, peanuts and potatoes. Peanuts are too expensive for basic food, and potatoes can be shipped overseas only when refrigeration conditions are right. The first shipload, intended for Europe after the war, had to be dumped in the bay before it left port.

WASHINGTON MERRY-GO-ROUND

Negro Named To Democratic Committee

BY DREW PEARSON

WASHINGTON—Very quietly this week a Negro was made vice chairman of the party which once went to war over the issue of slavery.

The Negro is Congr. William Dawson, of Chicago, and the man whose place he is taking as vice chairman of the Democratic National Committee is Boss Frank Hague, of Jersey City.

The change was engineered by Democratic National Chairman William Boyle and has an interesting background.

The vice chairmanship of the Democratic National Committee long was held by Mayor Ed Kelly, of Chicago. Kelly, an active Roosevelt man, made the position important. After his retirement as mayor, the vice chairmanship went to Boss Hague, of New Jersey, who last month suffered a crushing defeat.

At that time Hague announced that he was ready to resign as vice chairman of the committee, and Bill Boyle expressed the hope privately that he would.

"I'd grab his resignation in a minute," Boyle told friends.

This week Boyle acted. William Dawson, long a Democratic member of Congress from Chicago, last January was the first Negro congressman to become chairman of a congressional committee. As head of the House expenditures committee, he has got along well with broad-minded Reps. Hardy, of Virginia; Lanham, of Georgia, and Bonner, of North Carolina. So Chairman Boyle quietly elevated him to the vice chairmanship of the Democratic National Committee.

* * *

GOP And Colored Vote

EVEN MORE INTERESTING is the political background behind Dawson's appointment.

The Chicago district which sends him to Congress used to be Republican. And during the Herbert Hoover landslide in 1928 it sent Oscar DePriest, Negro Republican, to Congress—the first Negro elected to that body in many years. Result was a hue and cry from Washington society, including many Republicans, that Congr. DePriest should not be invited to the regular White House reception which the president gives to all members of Congress.

President Hoover did not take a forthright stand on the matter, and although DePriest was finally invited, the debate hurt the GOP's standing with the big-city Negro populations. Various other factors were involved, of course, such as F. D. R.'s relief program and Truman's civil rights program, but ever since then the Republicans have lost the Negro vote.

Today two Negroes are members of Congress—Dawson, from Chicago, and Adam Clayton Powell, of Harlem, N. Y. Dawson is always invited to congressional receptions, but Powell, whose wife Truman dislikes, is not.

Maj. Dixon Joins Gov. Bowles' Staff

34c(1)

HARTFORD, Conn.—In what may be described as the most auspicious occasion of his life, Maj. Edward Thornton Dixon last Wednesday performed his first duties as a member of Connecticut Governor Chester Bowles' military staff.

Major Dixon, a 26-year-old U. S. Army Air Forces veteran, has the distinction of being the first Negro appointed to a Governor's military staff in the recorded history of the United States. He was named to the staff with the commission of major by Governor Bowles three weeks ago. The appointment is honorary. Sat. 1-15-49

Major Dixon received his orders to attend the Governor at the new Chief Executive's inauguration and traditional incident ceremonies along with all other members of the staff.

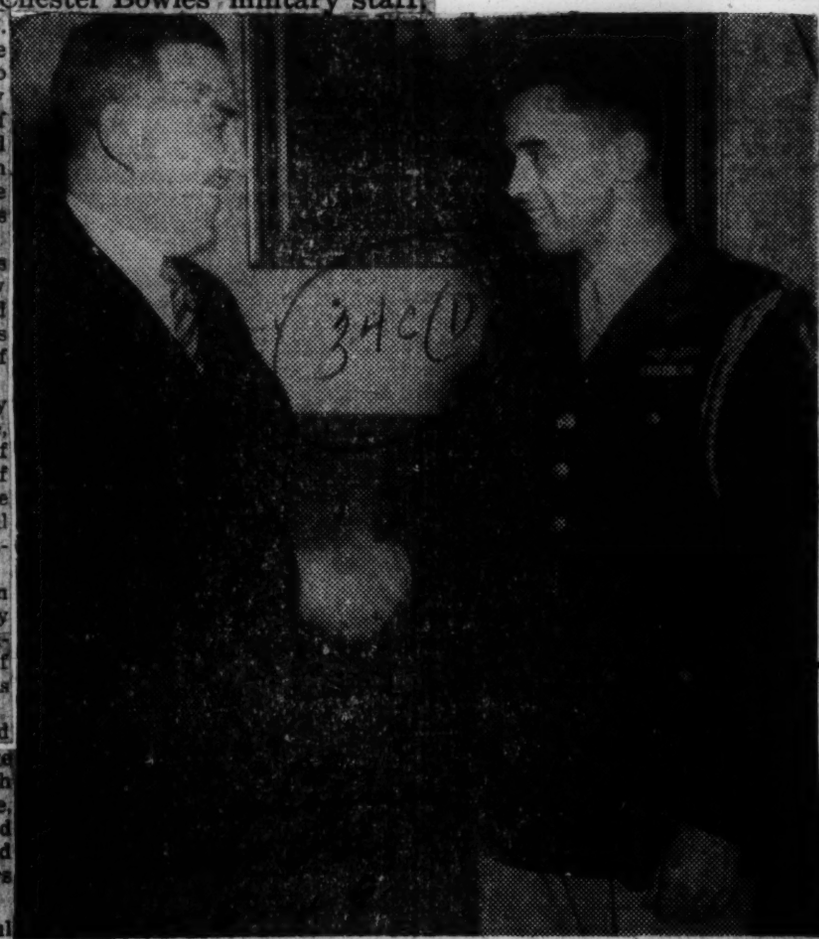
Inauguration Day was decidely out of the ordinary for his wife, the former Gwendolyn James of this city, too, since the ladies of the Governor's military staff were invited and were present at all functions attendant to the inauguration.

First there was a luncheon given in honor of Governor Bowles by retiring Governor James C. Shannon at the Hartford Club, one of the most commodious private clubs in the city.

Smartly attired in a grey checked suit and a black hat with a huge bow on top, Mrs. Dixon dined with Mrs. Bowles, the Governor's wife, and other distinguished guests and State officials while her husband ate with the Governor and others of his party.

This was followed by a colorful parade through the business section of the city, the lesser congested area and on to the State Capitol. Major Dixon rode in a State limousine with three others of the military staff.

Major Dixon, the son of Mr. and Mrs. Charles E. Dixon of Lynn, Mass., was graduated from Tuskegee in 1944 as a pilot and a second lieutenant. He served with the 517th Bomber Squadron of the 477th Composite Group under Col. B. O. Davis Jr. at Lockbourne Air Base in Ohio. He was separated from the service with the rank of captain. Currently he is attached to a composite group in the U. S. Air Force Reserve here. He attended the University of Connecticut and Trinity College here.



34c(1)

GOVERNOR'S MILITARY AIDE—Connecticut Gov. Chester Bowles greets his military aide, Maj. Edward Thornton Dixon at the Governor's inauguration last week at the State Capitol, Hartford, Conn. Major Dixon, the first Negro ever appointed to the military staff of a Governor in the recorded histoty of the United States, is a 26-year-old U. S. Army Air Corps veteran.—James Lee Photo.

REPORT NEGRO MAY BE NAMED U.S. SENATOR

34c(1)

Chicago Daily World

Chicago, Ill.

Bowles Nominee Would Be First Since 1881

Wed. 5-11-49

BY WALTER TROHAN
(Chicago Tribune Press Service)

Washington, May 10—Capital political speculation has been centering in recent weeks on the possibility that a Negro may be named to the United States senate by Connecticut's Democratic governor, Chester Bowles.

Sen. Baldwin (R., Conn.) is giving up his seat next December to take a place on the state's Supreme court at the hands of the governor, who served the New Deal as price czar.

Rumors that Bowles, who has Presidential hopes for 1952, would pick a prominent Negro lawyer, trickled into the capital from Connecticut. They were given credence because Bowles had appointed the first Negro military aide in the state's history. Wed. 5-11-49

Would Serve Till Election

It was recognized that such a step by Bowles would not endear him to the south in 1952, but would aid him in heavily populated northern cities. The appointee would serve from December to the following November, when the vacancy would be filled at a state-wide election.

Sen. McMahon (D., Conn.) who must run for election in 1950 along with Bowles and the candidate for the senate vacancy, said that he does not believe there is a scintilla of truth or fact in the rumor. McMahon was formerly the big voice in federal patronage in the state, but lost that role when Bowles replaced a chain of Republican governors. Wed. 5-11-49

McMahon is worried about returning to the senate. Republicans may possibly pick Clare Boothe Luce, former congresswoman, to run against McMahon. She is an able and glamorous campaigner.

Hold Move Dramatic

Observers here, while agreeing with McMahon that appointment of a Negro to the senate may be unlikely, hold that it would be a dramatic move on the part of Bowles.

No Negro has sat in the senate since March 4, 1881, and only two before that, both from Mississippi, elected as Republicans in reconstruction days after the Civil war. The first was Hiram Rhoades Revels, who served from Feb. 23, 1870, until March 3, 1871, and the second was Blanche Kelso Bruce, who was elected to a full six year term in 1874 and who retired from the senate March 4, 1881.

Sen. Revels was a college graduate and minister when he was elected to the senate after the readmission of Mississippi to the union. Sen. Bruce, who was a well known figure in Washington many years, was born and raised as a slave, tutored by his master's son and taught school in Missouri before he moved to Mississippi and was elected senator. After he completed his term he was appointed recorder of deeds of the District of Columbia and still later registrar of the treasury.

34c(1) 1949 D. C.

ANN ARNOLD HEDGEMAN (left) is ... in as assistant to Federal Security Administrator Oscar Ewing (center) to become the second ... woman appointed to a major governmental ... last month. Administering the oath ...

...-Howard Prof. ... Consul Post

...—Dr. Johan F. E. ... Howard University ... of anthropology was ... appointed consul for the ... Netherlands at the consulate general ... Einaar, ... 406 Hobart ... N. W., taught at Howard University from 1945 to 1947.

Dr. Einaar studied at Leyden, Holland, and London University. He got his Ph.D. at Leyden in ... From 1936-1938 he was a librarian to the National Museum of Anthropology at Leyden. In 1938 he was sent by the Netherlands Government to Surinam (Dutch Guiana) to establish a ... museum for the ... 1939-1945 he was an elected member of the Legislative Council of Surinam and in 1942 he was appointed advisor of native affairs to the Colonial Secretary.

The first native of the Western Hemisphere to be appointed to consul in the Netherlands foreign service, Dr. Einaar now resides in New York.

Congressional Committee Clerk

$9,000-Year Job To Dawson Secy

Pittsburgh Courier 1-29-49

34c(1) Pittsburgh, Pa

(Pittsburgh Courier Press Service)

WASHINGTON—First Negro appointed clerk of a Congressional committee is Mrs. Christine Roy Davis, elected last week-end to the approximately $9,000 per year job as clerk of the House Committee on Executive Expenditures. The chairman of the committee is Congressman William L. Dawson of Chicago.

Prior to receiving this appointment, Mrs. Davis was secretary to Congressman Dawson. Before Mr. Dawson's election to the Congress in 1942, Mrs. Davis was secretary to Representative Arthur W. Mitchell.

Mr. Dawson opened committee hearings Monday on a bill he recently introduced to permit President Truman to submit plans for the organization of the Executive Department to Congress.

Congressman Dawson is the first Negro to head a Congressional Committee. Sat. 1-29-49.

Scheduled as witness before the committee Monday was former President Herbert Hoover, who is head of the commission working on plans to reorganize the executive branch of the Government.

High U. S. Post to Anna Hedgeman

34c(1)

Mrs. Anna A. Hedgeman being sworn in as assistant to Federal Security Administrator Oscar Ewing (center) in Washington last Friday. At right is a notary public.

Sat. 1-29-49

Former FEPC Executive Was Active In Campaign for President Truman

Pittsburgh Courier

34c(1)

(Pittsburgh Courier Press Service)

WASHINGTON—The appointment of a Negro to a high level staff position in a Government agency, without relation to any special duties involving racial matters and purely on the basis of qualifications, took place here last week.

Mrs. Anna Arnold Hedgeman, former executive director of the National Council for a Permanent FEPC, was sworn in last Friday as assistant to Federal Security Administrator Oscar Ewing.

While several other Negro officials hold positions here as special assistants, all of them have assignments expressly dealing with racial relations and other similar matters. The Federal Security Agency, in announcing Mrs. Hedgeman's appointment, stated that she has not been appointed for special assistance and consultation on racial matters.

As one of Ewing's four administrative assistants, Mrs. Hedgeman will rank all other colored employees in that agency, which includes the Office of Education, the U.S. Employment Service, Social Security board, U. S. Public Health Service, Childrens Bureau and other welfare and public benefit agencies.

Mrs. Hedgeman, who has been active in public life for over 20 years, traveled all over the country during the recent presidential

Woman To ... Month

Sat. 1-29-49

Chicago Defender

34c(1)

month when she was appointed assistant to Oscar Ewing, Federal Security Administrator, last week. The job pays $8,500 annually.

...man Hedgeman Is Second W... Get Top U.S. Post Within ...

WASHINGTON — Mrs. ... Arnold Hedgeman became the second Negro woman named to a high government post within the past

campaign in her capacity as executive director of the Citizens Committee for the Re-election of President Truman. Her appointment had the endorsement of Congressman William L. Dawson, John H. Sengstacke, Mrs. Mary Bethune and other leaders of the national program which worked for President Truman's re-election.

Mrs. Christine Ray Davis was recently named clerk of the House Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Department. Mrs. Thomasina Johnson has served two years as minority representative in the United States Employment Service.

Moss Kendrix Gets Post In Education

Chicago Defender

WASHINGTON — Moss K. Kendrix has been appointed to serve with the Legislative-Federal Relations Division of the National Education Association for the current school year.

Moss Kendrix

A native of Atlanta, Ga., he is a graduate of Morehouse College, and has been engaged in public relations work for nine years.

Kendrix formerly held assignments with the Republic of Liberia and the Federal government. At one time he served as managing editor of "Monthly Summary of Events and Trends in Race Relations," published by the Social Science Institute of Fisk University. He is a member of the American Public Relations Association.

Truman Names Negro To Commission

Pittsburgh Courier

WASHINGTON — Hilyard R. Robinson, 49-year-old architect, was recently named by President Truman to the National Capital Park and Planning Commission.

He succeeds Gen. Ulysses S. Grant III, grandson of the late President, who served on the commision since 1926.

Our Opinions

Our First Ambassador

The late and distinguished James Weldon Johnson and several other American Negroes in the past have represented the United States government with distinction in foreign countries. Recently Dr. Ralph Bunche, who was loaned by the State Department to the United Nations, has won world-wide fame and recognition for his achievements in the Palestine dispute.

Last week, President Truman nominated a Negro, Edward R. Dudley of New York, to be ambassador to Liberia. Mr. Dudley, who is now minister to Liberia, becomes the first Negro to attain the rank of full ambassador. This is the third history-making appointment of President Truman and it is a tribute to us and to Liberia. Mr. Truman broke precedent in naming William Hastie governor of the Virgin Islands and in making Irvin C. Mollison Judge of the U. S. Customs Court.

All three of these great honors have gone to Negroes who by training and experience are eminently qualified and fully prepared for the responsibilities which have devolved upon them. In this latest appointment President Truman has done far more than pay a deserving tribute to an able Negro. He has demonstrated the great esteem which Americans today have for the republic of Liberia.

In many respects this African republic is a creature of our own country. Its birth and history are linked directly with America, and Negroes from our shores were the founding fathers of this outpost of democracy on the African continent. Colored Americans have always been conscious of the bond between the two countries and Liberians recognize the importance of our friendship.

Today Liberia is on the eve of great developments and it is becoming an increasingly important member of the democratic bloc of nations in this divided world. Millions of dollars of private American capital are going into Liberia through the efforts of the recently organized Liberia Company which is headed by former Secretary of State Edward R. Stettinius. This program deserves the support of all Americans and especially those of us who are tied by blood and color to Liberians.

In his famous inaugural address President Truman stressed our responsibility as the world's greatest democracy to aid the less fortunate nations of the world which seek peace and freedom. Mr. Stettinius and his associates, among whom are Dr. Channing Tobias and Claude Barnett, have a program for the development of Liberia for Liberians which represents the kind of action recommended by the President.

We believe that President Truman has acted wisely and well in naming Edward R. Dudley as ambassador to Liberia. He has set a precedent for us and given fresh inspiration to a deserving people. Further, he has given encouragement to Americans who are seeking to lift the social and economic standards of a country which can be of invaluable service to our democracy in this confused period of international unrest.

New Ambassador Calls On Truman

WASHINGTON—Edward R. Dudley, first United States Ambassador to Liberia, paid President Truman a courtesy visit to discuss progress being made in the African Republic with the financial and technological assistance of this country.

Dudley is here conferring with State Department officials, and is attempting to work out a plan for the extension of President Truman's Four-Point program to aid Liberia.

AUSTIN CLEF NEWS

By LUCIUS C. HARPER

Long Waiting, But We Get An Ambassador

IN addition to stifling the Civil Rights program of President Truman, the twenty-three Republicans in Congress who have turned traitors to the cause of Negro advancement by joining with southern Democrats are also holding up Senate confirmation of the appointment of a Negro as ambassador through their filibuster activities.

Lucius Harper

It was decided sometime ago to change the foreign relations status between this country and Liberia from that of a ministership to ambassador, and President Truman has sent the name of a Negro to the Senate for confirmation for that post. He is Edward R. Dudley, now serving as Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to Liberia.

Dudley is a young New York lawyer who served on the legal staff of the NAACP and later became legal advisor to Gov. William Hastie in the Virgin Islands. When Dr. R. O'Hara Lanier resigned as Minister to Liberia, Dudley was given that post. His confirmation would mark the first time in history that a colored American has been granted such an honor.

Down through the years the Negro has suffered immeasurably in his representation in the diplomatic and consular service. The number of Negro presidential appointments has steadily declined from 1901 to the present year. It probably had its greatest period between 1901 to 1912 when Theodore Roosevelt and William Howard Taft were presidents. It began to lag a bit when Woodrow Wilson came in power from 1913 to 1920. It remained the same under the Harding-Coolidge administrations between 1921 and 1928, and held on somewhat haphazardly under the coolness of the Hoover administration, 1929 to 1932, but under the Roosevelt regime, 1933 to 1944, it dwindled to almost nothing. From eight Negroes in the Consular Service under Roosevelt and Taft in 1912, it siphoned to one, Hon. James G. Carter, Consul to Calais, France, under Franklin Roosevelt. Even Woodrow Wilson retained six Negroes in the Consular Service, representing the interest of the United States in such countries as West Africa, Madagascar, West Indies, Haiti, France and Venezuela. All of this Negro representation has been wiped off the political slate.

• • •

THERE were two presidents who were not opposed to Negroes serving as diplomats to strictly white countries. They were James A. Garfield and William McKinley—Garfield more so than McKinley. It was McKinley who appointed a Negro, Richard T. Greener, as U. S. Consul to a small port in Russia. Save for a few small possessions in France, the other presidents appointed Negroes to the consular service in Latin American countries, where the color of skin did not matter. Had the late Wendell Willkie become president, it is believed he would have appointed Negroes to consular and diplomatic posts to white countries, and also would have placed a Negro as near the Cabinet as he could get him. He said: "To aid in solving this race question, we must appoint competent Negroes to high government offices where they will come in contact with white people, here and abroad. It does not strike me as accomplishing very much to appoint capable colored men to office where they will only come in contact with their own people. Why not one in the Cabinet? Why not one as an ambassador?" But, of course, men like Willkie die too young, while the Rankins seem to live forever.

President Garfield, who was elected in 1881, seemed more intent on appointing Negroes as government representatives in white countries—than any president, before or since his time. Shortly after he came to the White House he summoned Frederick Douglass for a conference on this matter. All this was ended, however, by an accursed bullet of an assassin. Speaking of this after Garfield died, Mr. Douglass said:

"Only a few weeks before his tragic death, he invited me to the Executive Mansion to talk over matters pertaining to the cause of my people, and here came up the subject of his foreign appointments. In this conversation he referred to the fact that his Republican predecessors in office had never sent Negro men to any of the white nations. He said that he meant to depart from this usage; that he had made up his mind to send some Negro men abroad to some of the white nationalities, and he wanted to know of me if such persons would be acceptable to some such nations. I, of course, thought the way clear to this new departure, and encouraged the President in his proposed advanced step. There was in the President's manner the appearance of a well-matured, fixed, and resolute purpose to try the experiment."

While Mr. Douglass did not state it, it is of political record that President Garfield offered the Ministership to Brazil to Senator Blanche K. Bruce, Mississippi's Negro representative, but he turned it down and accepted in its stead the appointment as Register of the U. S. Treasury.

TOM CLARK

Pushed Rights Fight; Seen as Able Justice

By TRUXTON KING
(Courier Staff Correspondent)

WASHINGTON—President Truman has nominated Attorney General Tom Clark for the vacancy on the Supreme Court caused by the death of Justice Frank Murphy. Does Attorney General Clark measure up to the high requirements placed on this position by liberals, Negroes and other underprivileged people of this nation?

It is this writer's opinion that the Attorney General's record is completely satisfactory to these most interested people.

Filling the present vacancy in the Supreme Court is of extraordinary importance because of the present division of the Court between liberals and conservatives. The death of Frank Murphy is said to have left the Court with but three liberal justices and four conservative justices.

Justice Stanley Reed remains a sort of a "swing man" without any definite classification. He sometimes decides with the liberals and other times with the conservatives.

If a conservative is appointed to the Court, it would definitely make this highest tribunal conservative in its opinions, a condition which has not existed since 1938. Nearly every advancement toward their civil rights which Negroes have made during the last twelve years has been made by virtue of decisions by a liberal Supreme Court.

It is feared that if the Court becomes conservative that no further gains can be expected from this tribunal and that there is great danger of losing some gains made through it in the past.

CLARK'S RECORD LIBERAL

The attitude, therefore, of Attorney General Clark becomes of the greatest importance to Negro people. Since Mr. Clark has occupied the important position of Attorney General for more than seven years, his record in that office should offer the best measurement of his qualifications.

Attorney General Clark is the first important Federal official to call upon Congress to pass civil rights legislation.

This he did in a speech early in 1946 in Indianapolis, long before the Committee on Civil Rights had been appointed by President Truman. There is also evidence to support the belief that President Truman's Committee on Civil Rights was appointed partly through his advice.

POWER BEHIND SCENES

After the Committee on Civil Rights had reported, the Attorney General became the liaison between the President and Congress in an attempt to carry out many of the provisions in this report. Those in a position to know, say that Attorney General Clark has been the most active figure in the behind-the-scene maneuvers to enact anti-poll tax, FEPC and anti-lynch legislation.

It is a matter of record that the Attorney General sought to raise civil liberties to the importance of a division in the Department of Justice. It is now a mere section in a division. It should be raised to the status of a division to emphasize the importance of civil liberties in America.

NAMED NEGRO AIDE

Mr. Clark has further shown his sincerity concerning civil liberties by placing a Negro, Maceo Hubbard, as the acting head of civil liberties for the Department of Justice.

If he were not really interested, he would never appointed a forthright Negro like Hubbard. He would have most likely appointed a Southerner, or a person not vitally concerned in the effective enforcement of this phase of the law.

Mr. Clark is the only Attorney General in the long history of that office who has voluntarily intervened as a "friend of the Court" when important race legislation was before the Supreme Court. The Attorney General's office intervened in the case of Shelly v. Kraemer.

PRESENTED BRIEF

This case involved the validity of restrictive covenants and Mr. Clark sent his solicitor general before the Supreme Court, who argued for an hour to outlaw restrictive covenance.

Mr. Clark's brief in this case was said to be a legal classic by the lawyers involved in the case. It is to be noted that Mr. Clark thought this case was so important that the solicitor general was sent to present the oral argument.

Mr. Clark also ordered intervention in the case of Henderson v. Interstate Commerce Commission. The issue in that case was of the utmost importance to Negroes as it dealt with the question of segregation on trains and buses.

The Attorney General's office for the first time in the history of this country argued that segregation in any form amounted to discrimination.

SEGREGATION UPHELD

It had been previously contended, and the courts have so held, that so long as accommodations are equal, the mere separation of passengers along racial lines was not unlawful.

The Attorney General's office intervened in behalf of the Indians in matters affecting their right to vote and their right to obtain social security in the States of New Mexico and Arizona.

Mr. Clark is one of the few Washington officials who is not afraid to oppose race prejudice in the Nation's Capital. There had been several suits against the Air Terminal Service, Inc., and Civil Aeronautics Administration which controls the National Airport in Washington, D. C., because of racial discrimination in the dining room and coffee shop at the terminal.

TWO SUED AIRPORT

Two of these suits had been lodged against the airport by Messrs. Nash and Cunningham. This airport comes under the Department of Commerce, but Henry Wallace, when he was Secretary of Commerce, and his predecessors, all claimed that they did not have the authority to wipe out segregation at the terminal.

When Attorney General Clark heard of this atitude on the part of the Secretary of Commerce, he had his department prepare a formal opinion and sent it to the Secretary, stating that he had the authority to wipe out segregation in the air terminal, although these concessions were under lease.

It is well known that the Attorney General does not give an opinion to any Government Department unless it is first asked for by that department. In this case to force the issue, he gave an unsolicited opinion and Secretary of Commerce Sawyer was afraid to ignore the authority set forth in this opinion and he immediately ordered the ending of segregation at the airport.

PROBES ALL LYNCHINGS

Mr. Clark's attitude on civil liberties is further shown by the new standing orders in the Attorney General's Department. There is a standing order that all lynchings must be investigated by the FBI even though the Federal Government has no jurisdiction as a prosecutor.

The attorney general's office under Mr. Clark readily orders an FBI investigation of any case brought to his attention by letter, personal complaint, or even by newspaper articles, where civil liberties are involved.

Negroes have long since discarded the idea that every Southerner selected for public office is prejudiced and every Northener free from this taint. Justice Black, who hails from Alabama, is far more liberal in his decisions on race issues than Justice Burton, an Ohioan, or Justice Jackson, a New Yorker.

I have set forth the record of Tom Clark as attorney general which shows that no one who has held that office has been so protective of the interests of Negroes and other underprivileged people.

On the basis of the record, therefore, Tom Clark is an acceptable successor to the late illustrious Frank Murphy.

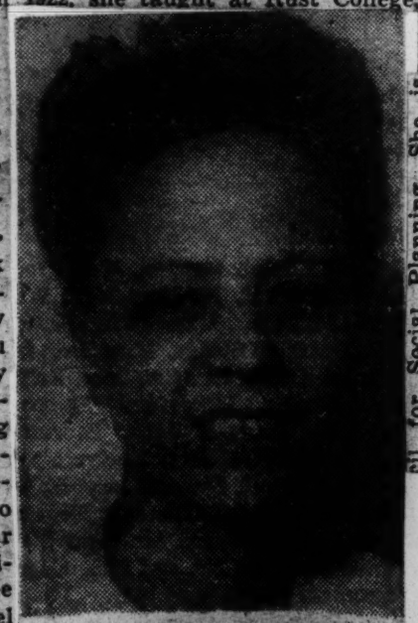
Mrs. Hedgeman New Assistant Federal Security Administrator

Oscar R. Ewing, Federal Security Administrator, today announced the appointment of Anna Arnold Hedgeman to the position of Assistant to the Administrator in the Federal Security Agency.

Born in Marshalltown, Iowa, Mrs. Hedgeman received her B.A. degree from Hamline University, St. Paul, Minn., in 1922, and was honored by Hamline with the degree of Doctor of Humane Letters in 1948. For two years beginning in 1922, she taught at Rust College, Holly Springs, Miss.

From 1924-1934, Mrs. Hedgeman held executive positions in the YWCA, which included responsibility for staff training, adult education, and employment guidance and placement in Springfield, Ohio, Jersey City, N. J., New York City, and Philadelphia. From 1934-1938 she served with the New York Emergency Relief Bureau which became the New York City Department of Welfare. She began as an investigator, becoming later interviewer on initial applications, and later, assistant supervisor and finally assistant to the New York City Commissioner of Welfare with special responsibility for community and race relations and internal personnel administration. During this period she conducted on-the-spot surveys in the domestic employment and relief field and investigated complaints by community groups.

Because of her interest in development of community education programs Mrs. Hedgeman accepted a position in 1938 as Executive Secretary of the Ashland Place YWCA in Brooklyn where she remained until early in World War II when she became regional representative of the national Office of Civilian Defense in the Second Corps Area (New York, New Jersey, Delaware).



ANNA HEDGEMAN

in the field of race re-
When the United Nations
New York City, Mayor
appointed Mrs. Hedge-
a UN Hospitality Com-
ler portrait is now on
part of an exhibition of
of distinguished Amer-
Negro origin.
ate life, Mrs. Hedgeman
fe of Merritt A. Hedge
ncert and radio artist

ng work in the
lations. When
came to New
ncil for Social Planning. She is
now a member of the Board of
the Child Study Association of
From 1944-1946 she was Execu-
tive Director of the National Coun-
cil for a Permanent FEPC with
headquarters in Washington, D.
C. Since that time, she has filled
many lecture engagements.

Mrs. Hedgeman has served on
the National Board of the United
Council of Church Women, the
Committee on Public Affairs
the National YWCA, the Group
Section of the N. Y. C. Wel-
man, and Brooklyn Coun-
man, a concert and radio artist.
Mrs. Hedgeman for her outstand-

Hastie is First Negro Judge Appointee

Cleveland Gazette

....WASHINGTON, Oct. 22—(Special)—William H. Hastie, 44-year-old Governor of the Virgin Islands, last Saturday, was appointed by President Truman, to the bench of the Third District Court of Appeals.

Post, 10-22-49

The appointment makes Hastie the first Negro in the history of the country to be nominated to a federal judgeship, an office ranking but slightly below the United States Supreme Court in jurisdiction.

Cleveland, Ohio

A Phi Beta Kappa man, who led his class in '25 in scholarship at Amherst College, the Virgin Islands' governor would join five other $17,000-a-year judges on the third district bench if confirmed by the Senate. The Third District Court of Appeals, which normally sits at Philadelphia is under the general supervision of Justice Harold H. Burton of Cleveland.

Hastie had another "first" for his race in 1937, when President Franklin D. Roosevelt appointed him federal distrilt judge in the Virgin Islands. He resigned that post, however, after serving two years. Hastie's name led a list of 19 sent to the Senate last Saturday by Pdesident Truman for appointment to the federal district aid circuit judgeships. Another prominent appointee was John F. X. McGohev. United staees district attorney of New York, successful in the prosecution of the 11 top Communists leaders for conspiring to overthrow the American government by violence.

McGohey was nominated as a $15,000-a-year district judge for southern New York, a post recently created by Congress.

The long delay, it was believed, in the president's filling most of the 25 vacancies existing in the circuit judiciary was caused from his desire to await the completion of the Communist trial in New York, which ended Friday. The presndent, at the time, made no appointment for the federal judgeship vacancy now existing in Cleveland.

Other appointments included Wayne G. Borah of Lousiana, a nephew of the late Senator William E. Borah, of Idaho, to the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals; Robert L. Russell, a brother of Senator Richard B. Russell,, the Democrat who ran second to President Truman in the balloting for presidential nominee at the party's national convention last year. was also nominated for the Fifth Circuit Ciurt of Appeals.

The Clevelad Plain Dealer's Washington Correspondent Fletcher Knebel, in a copyrighted article on last Sunday, observes that President Truman's nomination of Hastie "brings a Negro to the forefront in each of the three branches of the government," and goes on to say that Dr. "Ralph J. Bunche, former ace Palestine mediator is one of the country's top diplomats." Continuing, he points out that Representative William L. Dawson of Chicago "heads the House expenditures committee," and is the "first Negro to serve as chairman of a ranking Congressional committee."

Hastie, a native of Knoxville, Tenn., was educated in the Washington, D. C. public schools, Amherst College and Harvard Law School, beginning his government career in 1933, as assistant solicitor of the Interior Department under former Secretary Harold L. Ickes.

After two years on the federal district bench, Hastie became dean of the Howard University Law School, where he remained until his appointment in 1946, as governor of the Virgin Islands. In the war years, he took a leave of absence to serve Secretary of War Henry L. Saimson as civilian aide on Negro problems, but resigned in 1943, charging that his recommendations had been ignored and that "discrimination practices against Negroes continued in the army." Among other organization, with which he is affiliated, he is a director of the National Associaton for the Advancement of Colored People.

Indications were that peace would reign again in the ranks of the Republican Party, Tuesday morning, when the announcement was made that County Chairman George H. Bender, would speak at the "formal opening" meeting of Republican candidate, Franklin A. Folk's mayoralty campaign on Wednesday night. The meeting was held at Bohemian National Home, 4951 Broadway, S. E.

Political observers noted that when the GOP bayoralty candidate "opened" his campaign some weeks ago all did not appear to be well—presumably because Bender was ignored. They whispered that the county chairman sat inconspicuosly in tback of the audience, as did A. L. DeMaioribus, executive committee head, and Albina R. Cermack, leader of the GOP women. And strangely enough, none of them spoke at the meeting.

This unprecedented departure from the commonplace, was interpreted as being an open display of independence by the 38-year-old school board member and a slap at Bender for not going along with fearlessness and frankness on the rapid transit issue. Polk opposed the measure.

However, things were different Wednesday night, Bender, DeMaioribuss, and Miss Cermak, were all right up here on the speaker's platform with their candidate.

Meanwhile, Mayor Burke is getting ready for his second ond "formal opening." For, as neither of the candidates had to stage any primary contest—though both campaigned vigorously on the charter amendment, pro and con, they feel they have to stage a second formal opening in preparation for the run-off November 8. Burke opens his rally next week.

Roy Wilkins Hails Appointment Of Hastie As Judge

Globe

New York, Oct. 27—Appointment of Governor William H. Hastie to the federal bench in the Third Circuit Court of Appeals "will be hailed by all Americans who are concerned with maintaining the high standard of the federal judiciary," Roy Wilkins, acting NAACP secretary, assured President Truman in a letter to the Chief Executive expressing the gratification of the officers and overwhelming majority of the membership of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Governor Hastie, member of the NAACP board of directors, is also a member of the Association's national legal staff. "He is a brilliant and distinguished American whose career has shown him to possess the ability and integrity so desirable in public service," Mr. Wilkins said.

34c(1) 1949

Federal (D.C.)

First Negro Ever Chosen

Truman Nominates Hastie For Federal Circuit Bench

Post June 10-16-49

34c(1)

Charles E. Davis, jr.
Post Reporter

Gov. William H. Hastie of the Virgin Islands was nominated yesterday by President Truman as judge of the Third Circuit Court of Appeals, the first Negro ever to be named to a Federal Circuit bench.

Hastie was reared in Washington and was at one time dean of the Howard University Law School and Federal District judge for the Virgin Islands.

Hastie's nomination was one of 19 Federal judge appointments sent to the Senate by the White House.

Nominated as judge of the Southern District of New York was John F. X. McGohey, the United States District Attorney who successfully prosecuted the 11 Communist Party leaders who were convicted Friday.

Mr. Truman also nominated George T. Washington, Charles Fahy and David L. Bazelon to serve on the United States Court of Appeals here.

Fahy was Solicitor General in the Roosevelt and Truman administrations; Bazelon is Assistant Attorney General in charge of alien property, and Washington is Assistant Solicitor General.

The fact that they were virtually certain choices for the appeals bench here was reported yesterday.

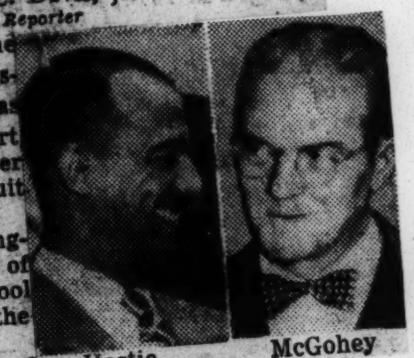
The list of nominations sent up to the Hill yesterday leaves seven of the 27 new judgeships created during this session of Congress still to be filled.

Three of the new judgeships yet to be filled are in District Court here, two are in the Northern District of California, one is in Florida, and one is in New Jersey.

The three District Court posts here have been expected to go to Walter M. Bastian and James R. Kirkland, prominent attorneys in the District, and Charles F. McLaughlin, former Democratic Congressman from Nebraska.

To Push for Confirmation

After the 19 nominations were announced by the White House, a Senate Judiciary Committee aide said every effort will be made to have the nominations confirmed before Congress adjourns. Adjournment is expected sometime this week.



Hastie McGohey

If Hastie is confirmed by the Senate as judge of the Third Circuit Court of Appeals — which covers New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware and the Virgin Islands and has its headquarters in Philadelphia — it will be another "first" for him.

He was the first Negro to be a Federal judge, the first Negro to be named governor of the Virgin Islands. And now he will be the first Negro appeals judge.

Three in Lower Courts

At the present time three Negroes are judges in lower courts by virtue of presidential appointments. They are Armond W. Scott of Municipal Court here, Herman E. Moore, who succeeded Hastie on the Virgin Islands District bench, and Irvin C. Millison, judge of the United States Customs Court in New York.

Hastie is 44 and a native of Knoxville, Tenn. His family brought him to Washington when he was 8 years old. He was graduated from Dunbar High School in 1921.

Four years later he received his A.B. degree with Phi Beta Kappa honors at Amherst College.

Although he had majored in mathematics at Amherst, two lawyer cousins turned him to law. He won his LL. B. and S. J. D. degrees at Harvard where he served on the Law Review.

From 1934-37 he was assistant solicitor of the Interior Department; from 1937-39 Federal District judge of the Virgin Islands, and in 1939 became dean of Howard's Law School.

Over Strong Protest

In May, 1946, the Senate, over the strong protest of Senator Ellender (D., La.), confirmed the nomination of Hastie as governor of the Virgin Islands. Hastie is married and the father of a young daughter.

McGohey's nomination to a Federal judgeship came less than 24 hours after the conviction in New Yo rkof the 11 Communist Party leaders he prosecuted on a charge of plotting to advocate violent overthrow of the United States Government.

United States Attorney for New York State's Southern District since 1945, McGohey also was chief prosecutor in the Alger Hiss case although his assitant, Thomas F. Murphy, conducted the trial.

McGohey is 55, a native of New York City, and a graduate of Fordham University and New York University Law School. He was assistant counsel of the New York City Board of Transportation 1924-32, and Assistant State Attorney General 1933-43.

In 1943 he became Chief Assistant United States Attorney under James B. M. McNally, now a New York State Supreme Court justice, and two years later succeeded McNally.

McGohey, whose red face, square jaw and impeccable attire make him look stern when he really isn't, is married and the father of three sons.

Other Nominees

The other nominees were:

Wayne G. Borah, 58, of Louisiana, to be judge of the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals to fill a vacancy created by the death of Elmo Pearce Lee, sr. Borah has been a district judge since 1928.

H. Nathan Swaim, 58, of Indiana, to be judge of the Seventh United States Circuit Court of Appeals, filling a new position.

Robert L. Russell, 49, of Georgia, to the Fifth United States Circuit Court of Appeals, replacing Samuel H. Sibley, retired.

J. Skelly Wright, 38, of Louisiana, to replace Borah as judge for the Eastern district of that state. Wright is a United States district attorney.

M. Neil Andrews, 54, of Georgia, to be judge of the Northern District, replacing Russell. Andrews is a United States district attorney.

Frank A. Hooper, 54, to be judge for the Northern District of Georgia, filling a new position. He is judge of the Fulton County, Ga., Superior Court.

Gus J. Solomon, 43, to be judge for the District of Oregon, filling a new position. He is a lawyer at Portland.

Delmas C. Hill, 42, to be judge for the District of Kansas, filling a new position. He is a lawyer at Wamego, Kans.

Gregory F. Noonan, 43, to be judge for the Southern District of New York, filling a new position. He is a lawyer in New York.

Irving R. Kaufman, 39, to be judge for the Southern District of New York, filling a new position. He is a lawyer in New York.

Sidney Sugarman, 45, to be judge for the Southern District of New York, filling a new position. He is in charge of the excise tax bureau of the office of the New York comptroller.

Owen McIntosh Burns, 57, to be judge of the Western Pennsylvania District, filling a new position. He is a United States district attorney.

Thomas J. Clary, 50, to be judge of the Eastern Pennsylvania District, filling a new position. He is an assistant United States district attorney.

Allan K. Grim, 45, to be judge of the Eastern Pennsylvania District, filling a new position. He is a lawyer at Reading, Pa.

Truman Names First Negro Circuit Judge

Post June 10-16-49

WASHINGTON—(AP)—President Truman yesterday named Gov. William H. Hastie of the Virgin Islands as the first Negro appointee to a Federal Circuit Court judgeship.

He sent Hastie's nomination to the Senate along with 18 other appointments to Federal Court posts.

The 45-year-old Hastie was named to the Third Circuit Court of Appeals which embraces New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware and the Virgin Islands, where he has served as Governor since 1946. Prior to that time he was Dean of the Howard University Law School for seven years.

Among others named to Federal judgeships yesterday were Charles Fahy, former U. S. Solicitor General, and John F. X. McGohey, the U. S. District Attorney who successfully prosecuted the 11 Communist Party leaders.

Williams Made Assistant D.A.

Post June 10-16-49

WASHINGTON

James Leon Williams, attorney, and a native Texan, was sworn in as Assistant District Attorney early Monday in an impressive ceremony in the offices of U.S. Attorney George Morris Fay.

Confirmation of Mr. Williams's appointment, the second colored man to hold this position (Andrew Howard is the other assistant DA), last week end, was a surprise to several prominent attorneys who had been mentioned for the post. Post 6-16-15-49

Mr. Williams is a graduate of Prairie View College and the Terrell Law School. He also attended Wiley College, Marshall, Texas, and Howard University. He is a member of Phi Beta Sigma Fraternity, Sigma Delta Tau Legal Fraternity and Isreal CM Church.

For Other Areas

Nominations in other areas were as follows:

The President's other nominations were as follows:

David L. Bazelon of Illinois, to be judge of the Court of Appeals of the District of Columbia. He is now Assistant Attorney General in Charge of Alien Property.

Owen McIntosh Burns of Pennsylvania, to be judge of the Western District of Pennsylvania.

Thomas J. Clary and Allan K. Grim, both of Pennsylvania, to be

McGohey Is Named Federal Judge; Hastie First Negro in Appeals Court

Post June 10-16-49

34c(1)

By WALTER H. WAGGONER
Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, Oct. 15—President Truman nominated nineteen Federal judges today to be Federal judges, to a conviction only yesterday, was one of the President's appointments today to serve on four judges named to serve as a possible successor to the late Justice Frank Murphy on the United States Supreme Court. This was Charles T. Fahy, named to the Circuit Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia.

Mr. Fahy, 57, has been United States Solicitor General in the Administrations of both President Franklin D. Roosevelt and President Truman. At the present time, his only government connection is his chairmanship of the President's Committee on Equality of Treatment and opportunity in the Armed

including the successful prosecutor of the eleven Communist leaders convicted yesterday in New York and the first Negro ever to be named to the Federal Circuit Court of Appeals. Gov. William H. Hastie of the Virgin Islands, who was also the first of his race ever to hold that position, was sworn by the President to be judge of the Third Circuit Court of Appeals covering New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware and the Virgin Islands.

Gregory F. Noonan, 43 years old, was named to the following:

From 1934 to 1939, Mr. Noonan was Assistant United States Attorney for the Southern District, and then resigned to enter private law practice.

Messrs. Noonan and Kaufman, like Mr. McGohey, are native New Yorkers. Mr. Sugarman was born in Boston.

At least one of the President's appointments was mentioned during the late Justice Frank Murphy on the United States Supreme Court. This was Charles T. Fahy, named to the Circuit Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia.

Mr. Fahy, 57, has been United States Solicitor General in the Administrations of both President Roosevelt and President Truman. At the present time, his only government connection is his chairmanship of the President's Committee on Equality of Treatment and opportunity in the Armed

Assistant United States Attorney, and also, at two different times, a special assistant to the Attorney General.

Sidney Sugarman, 45, special deputy in the excise tax bureau of the New York Controller's office since January, 1946.

Messrs. Noonan and Kaufman, like Mr. McGohey, are native New Yorkers. Mr. Sugarman was born in Boston.

At least one of the President's appointments was mentioned during the late Justice Frank Murphy on the United States Supreme Court. This was Charles T. Fahy, named to the Circuit Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia.

Mr. Fahy, 57, has been United States Solicitor General in the Administrations of both President Roosevelt and President Truman. At the present time, his only government connection is his chairmanship of the President's Committee on Equality of Treatment and opportunity in the Armed

Northern California, three for the District of Columbia, one for Florida and one for New Jersey.

Governor Hastie, although the first Negro to be named to the United States Court of Appeals, is not the first to be elevated to a Federal judgeship. Others are Herman E. Moore, who succeeded Governor Hastie on the Virgin Islands District Court; Irvin C. Mollison of the Customs Court in New York, and Armond W. Scott of the Municipal Court of the District of Columbia.

Governor Hastie, a native of Knoxville, Tenn., first entered Federal service as United States judge for the Virgin Islands. He was appointed by President Roosevelt on Feb. 5, 1937. On Nov. 1, 1940, he joined the staff of the Secretary of War, Henry L. Stimson, as civilian aide.

He was a faculty member of the Howard University Law School here from 1930 to 1937, and dean for several years before becoming Governor of the Virgin Islands in May, 1946. Mr. Hastie had graduated from Amherst in 1925 and received his law degree from Harvard Law School in 1930.

judges in the Eastern District of Pennsylvania.

Wayne G. Borah of Louisiana, to be judge of the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals, succeeding the late Judge Elmo Pearce Lee Sr.

J. Skelly Wright of Louisiana, to succeed Judge Borah as judge of the Eastern District of Louisiana.

H. Nathan Swaim of Indiana, to be judge of the Seventh Circuit Court of Appeals, a new position.

Robert L. Russell of Georgia, brother of Senator Richard B. Russell, to be judge of the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals, succeeding Judge Samuel H. Sibley, retired.

M. Neil Andrews of Georgia, to be judge of the Northern District of Georgia, succeeding Judge Russell.

Frank A. Hooper of Georgia, to be judge of the Northern District of Georgia.

Gus J. Solomon of Oregon, to be judge of the District of Oregon.

Delmas C. Hill of Kansas, to be judge of the District of Kansas.

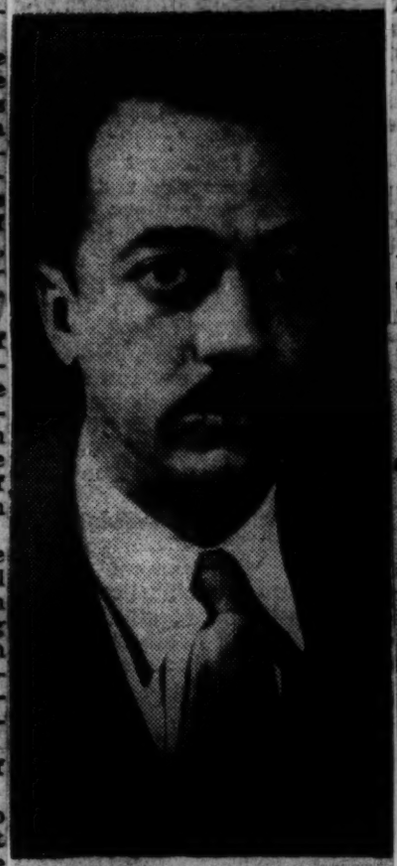
George T. Washington of the District of Columbia, to be judge of the Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia. He is now Assistant Solicitor General of the United States.

Seven More Posts To Be Filled

Of the nineteen nominations sent to the Senate today, fifteen are for new positions and four to fill vacancies. Out of twenty-seven new judgeships recently created by Congress, Mr. Truman had already made appointments for five. The White House declined to predict when the list might be filled.

There are two openings for

NAMED FOR BENCH



William Henry Hastie

The New York Times

Get Hastie's Post

NEW YORK (NNPA) — Although Harlem Democratic leaders have agreed on three men as possible successors to Governor William H. Hastie of the Virgin Islands, informed sources here indicate that they may face another defeat from the Truman administration and that Governor Hastie will be succeeded by Raymond Pace Alexander of Philadelphia.

It was learned that the Harlem leaders have agreed on recommending Liberian Ambassador Edward Dudley, former Liberian minister Lester Walton, or Dr. Geoffrey Nurse, all of Harlem, to succeed Governor Hastie when his recommendation is confirmed as a judge of the Circuit Court.

But informed sources said Wednesday that the selection of Hastie's successor will be left to Senator Meyers of Philadelphia and that Senator Meyers favors Mr. Alexander.

It was reported that Senator Meyers was called on by the President to pass on Governor Hastie since Hastie would be appointed to serve in his district, and that as a condition of approval, he demanded that he be allowed to name Hastie's successor. He is said not to have been agreeable to Hastie's appointment unless such a condition was granted.

The condition was said to have been granted, however, and President Truman is expected to give the job to Alexander if Congressmen William Dawson approves.

If this is done it will mark the second humiliating defeat the Harlem Democrats have suffered in recent weeks. All of their recommendations for a Federal judgeship were turned down by the Bar Association here and they were later snubbed by the Democratic State Committee and President Truman.

Federal Judges

Hastie Solomon

Two prominent ADA members were named to the Federal bench by President Truman Oct. 15: William H. Hastie, Governor of the Virgin Islands and an ADA vice-chairman, to be judge of the Third Circuit Court of Appeals, the first Negro ever named to a Federal Circuit bench; and Gus J. Solomon, to be judge for the District of Oregon, filling a new post.

Gov. Hastie Is Fourth Negro U. S. Judge

WASHINGTON, D. C., Oct. 17—Gov. William H. Hastie of the Virgin Islands, Saturday was appointed to the highest judicial post ever held by a member of his race. President Harry Truman submitted the name of the former Howard U. law dean for judge of the Third Circuit Court of Appeals of the United States. Confirmation of the appointment by the Senate is expected.

Gov. Hastie, who has achieved a notable administration as governor of the island possession, was opposed by appointment by the Democratic group in the East who sought appointment of a repreentative of that section as a party reward. The President, who had expressed explicit faith in Hastie, however, selected him for the major plum.

The court over which Gov. Hastie will preside covers New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware and the Virgin Islands.

Gov. Hastie, a native of Knoxville, Tenn., first entered Federal service as U. S. Judge for the Virgin Islands. He was appointed by President Roosevelt Feb. 5, 1937. On Nov. 1, 1940, he joined the staff of the Secretary of War, Henry Stimson, as civilian aide.

He was a faculty member of the Howard U. Law School from 1930-37, and dean for several years before becoming Governor of the Virgin Islands, May, 1946. Mr. Hastie had graduated from Amherst in 1925 and received his law degree from Harvard Law School in 1930.

Three other Negroes hold federal judgeships. They are Hon. Herman E. Moore, who succeeded Gov. Hastie on the Virgin Islands District Court; Hon. Irvin Mollison of the Custom Court in New York and Hon. Armond W. Scott of the Municipal Court of the District of Columbia.

await sentencing this week. Each faces a possible jail term of 10 years and fines of $10,000.

Lawyer Penalized

A colored lawyer, George W. Crockett, who had defended two of the white Communist leaders in the historic nine months' trial,

HIGHEST POST FOR NEGRO

Hastie's Court Appointment Praised

BY WALTER WHITE

Secretary, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

NEW YORK — Few nominations to high judicial posts within recent years have been greeted with such enthusiasm as has been President Truman's of Gov. William H. Hastie as judge of the Federal Circuit Court of Appeals.

It is natural that some of the elation over the submission of his name to the Senate for a place on the bench next to the United States Supreme Court should be due to the fact that this is the first time in American history that a Negro has been named to so high a post.

Detroit, Mich.

Americans who are concerned about racial proscription are happy that another barrier is about to be leveled.

Free Press, Dem. 11-27-49

BUT ENTIRELY ASIDE from considerations of race, Gov. Hastie's nomination is one which will materially enhance the prestige and effectiveness of Federal judicial procedure. His scholastic training and legal experience are unsurpassed. He was graduated summa cum laude from Amherst College in 1925 and was elected to Phi Beta Kappa. Later he earned degrees from the Harvard Law School, where he was chosen as editor of the Harvard Law Review because of his brilliant scholarship.

White

34c(1)

Afterwards he served with great ability and distinction as assistant solicitor of the Department of the Interior, as Federal district judge in the Virgin Islands, as civilian aide to the Secretary of War, as dean of the Howard University Law School and as Governor of the Virgin Islands. In each of these difficult assignments he devoted his great intellectual gifts and a phenomenal capacity for hard work to make a notable record.

●

THERE ARE many Americans who combine intellectual ability, excellent educational training and great industriousness. Gov. Hastie stands out above the merely competent by reason of his unselfishness and courage in standing by his principles.

Time and time again during his public career he could have materially promoted his own personal security and advancement by keeping silent on principles in which he believed. On every occasion when faced with such a choice he has resolutely stuck to principle even when he did not know where he would earn money to support himself and his family.

In addition he has given more generously than any other lawyer of my acquaintance of his time and legal ability to struggles to eliminate violations of the constitution based on race.

●

HE HAS APPEARED before the Supreme Court—always without fee or other compensation—more than any other lawyer in the United States in defense of the oppressed.

His cases involved the right to trial in courts undominated by mob violence or racial bigotry, the right to vote, the right to equal pay for equal work, the right to equal and unsegregated education in tax-supported schools for all citizens irrespective of race.

In doing so he has argued not for minorities as minorities but because of his unshakable conviction that there will be freedom for none unless there is freedom for all.

It was that same principle which caused him to resign in protest as civilian aide to the Secretary of War when he became convinced that only such action could make the Army change its discriminatory practices.

●

THROUGHOUT HIS entire career, however, Gov. Hastie has steered clear of blind partisanship in the struggles for justice he has waged. His every act and word have been motivated by the clear thinking which enabled him to see the faults of his own people as clearly as he saw those of others.

There is one prediction which can be made with supreme confidence about Gov. Hastie as a member of the judiciary—that the record he makes there will make all Americans proud.

His appointment and confirmation by the Senate will not make headlines like a Peekskill riot or a Ku Klux Klan bombing of Negro homes in Alabama or a Senate filibuster against civil rights legislation. But both here at home and abroad it will help to give the lie to those critics of the United States who incessantly play up racial bigotry in America.

34c(1)

Associated Press Wirephoto

CONGRATULATIONS are in order for William E. Hastie, left, sworn in yesterday in Philadelphia as the first Negro judge of a U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals. He's being felicitated by Chief Judge John Biggs, Jr., of the Third Circuit Court. Hastie, former U. S. district judge and former Virgin Islands Governor, has an interim appointment.

FIRST NEGRO SWORN IN AS CIRCUIT COURT OF APPEALS JUDGE

William H. Hastie (left) receiving the congratulations of Chief Judge John Biggs Jr. of the Third United States Circuit after taking the oath yesterday. Associated Press Wirephoto

PHILADELPHIA, Dec. 1. (AP) —William H. Hastie, former Governor of the Virgin Islands, today was sworn in as judge of the United States Circuit Court of Appeals—the first Negro to hold such a position.

Judge Hastie, given an interim appointment to the Third Circuit by President Truman, was sworn in by Chief Judge John Biggs Jr. in a crowded, flower-filled courtroom.

The appointment is subject to confirmation at the next session of the Senate.

Judge Hastie, former Howard University Law School dean and former Federal District Judge in the Virgin Islands, became the seventh judge of the Third Circuit. He immediately sat with the full bench on his first case.

The Third Circuit comprises eastern Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Delaware and the Virgin Islands.

The new jurist is 45 years old and is a native of Knoxville, Tenn. He also served as assistant solicitor in the Department of Interior and was a civil aide to the Secretary of War during the last war. He was Governor of the Virgin Islands for three and one-half years.

As for his successor as Governor, Judge Hastie said he had made no recommendation but hoped an islander would be selected.

The Hastie Nomination

While the nomination of Governor William H. Hastie as ge of the third district court of appeals, which embraces e states of New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Deleware, meets with the approval of the Black Dispatch so far as the qualifications of Governor Hastie is concerned, we are still of the inion expressed sometime ago in this column that Negroes uld well object to the selection of any Negro federal judge at this time.

Black Dispatch

Judge Hastie's qualifications, his integrity and devotion the race group to which he belongs makes him an ideal ction for this high post and it is one we predict he will wn with great honor to himself, his race and nation. As member of the legal staff of the NAACP he has been one the driving spirits behind the successful efforts of this tant organization to secure many of the fine decisions ming from the Supreme Court in the last decade. No one will question the nomination from the standpoint of the worness and high honor of the new selection of President Truman.

Sept. 10-22-1949

Our opposition to personal appointments of Negroes to igh office just at this time stems from our unwillingness to llow the President to hide behind a patronage program, which we fear will partially shield him and his party from the direct view we think Negroes should have of their delinquency respecting civil rights. We definitely feel this appointment is in the last analysis sop spread copiously over the Negro unit of the party in an effort to cause Negroes to ook in another direction other than civil rights.

Personally, the selection of Hastie for this high post is ot going to affect the attitude of the Black Dispatch, but it ill go a long way among the rank and file. Negro and white ampaign orators in the next campaign will talk themselves urple in the face telling about this high honor that has ome to the Negro, causing thousands to forget that the emocratic party completely abandoned all efforts to pass ti-lynching, fair employment and other types of legislation fervently talked about by men like Senator Humphries in Philadelphia convention. The late lamented George aughn has been double-crossed and forgotten.

Of course, life is nothing but a checker game. Truman made a very radical patronage move and it may be that mething good and beneficial will come in vision to Negroes the Senate moves to confirmation or non-confirmation of Hastie selection. It can be that reaction is so strong on sides of the fence (Republican and Democratic) that ide might not get the Senate nod. The Black Dispatch ves much wisdom can come from watching what the te does with the Hastie selection. We are quite sure designation will not get by the eagle eyes of the Dixiewho will attempt to cast mud and slime upon this very

Oklahoma City, Okla.

In fact Negro job-seekers around Philadelphia and southsections are themselves leading in this smear campaign. will be made to show that Hastie's identification will ights battles classifies him as a radical. It is unforthat Negroes themselves started this fight and we ite sure the Dixiecrats have been checking what the Negroes have been saying about Hastie. There are lawyers around over the country who will bear watching just now, and who will collaborate with the Dixiecrats in this effort, when they should know that if Hastie is not confirmed, no Negro will be confirmed. The boys who will do the knife work in the Senate will not be against Hastie alone they will be against the selection of any Negro.

As members of a minority group, Negroes cannot afford to join in witch hunts for when reaction gets through chasing one minority it then sets in upon another. Eliminating the viewpoint expressed by the Black Dispatch, the Hastie designation by President Truman should have the support of every black man who thinks a Negro judge should be named now. There can be nothing gained by assuming the attitude crab or in an effort to pose as the safe black man who does not have an independent thought, but will do solely what his boss tells him to do.

The whole issue rounds itself into this question: Are you willing to trade the civil and constitutional rights of thirteen million Negroes for one federal judgeship? Of course between now and the next election there will be some additional nominations of Negroes to high office. Shall we think in terms of the many or the few. The Black Dispatch did not want even a fig leaf to hang between the delinquency of the Truman organization and the vision of black folk come next election. We think the Hastie nomination clouds the view.

The Hastie Appointment

Chalk up another first for Dr. William H. Hastie who last week was named by President Truman to serve as our first Federal judge in the Continental United States.

Presently Governor of the Virgin Islands — first of his race to hold the post — he will, following confirmation, preside over the Third U.S. Court of Appeals at Philadelphia, which embraces Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Delaware and the Virgin Islands.

Sept. 10-22-49

Other Hastie "firsts" include a post as assistant solicitor for the Interior Department, civilian aide to the Secretary of War, a post from which he resigned because of differences over racial policies, and a term as a Federal judge in the Virgin Islands.

A graduate of Amherst College and the Harvard Law School, the new judge, by training, experience and temperament is particularly well-qualified for his new duties.

We believe that he will bring dignity, wisdom and lustre to the Federal bench.

Harold Ickes, when Secretary of the Interior, gave Dr. Hastie his first real boost and his progress has been steadily upward.

On the same day that his nomination was announced came different news of another Amherst and Harvard Law graduate — Councilman Benjamin J. Davis of New York City — who was among 11 Communists found guilty of conspiracy to teach and advocate the overthrow of the U.S. Government by force.

Both brilliant lawyers, one chose to play the game according to American rules, the other chose the rules of a foreign power. What a difference in results!

Significant Appointments

From New York Times

OF THE nineteen judicial nominations made by President Truman on Saturday two are especially notable. Joon. F. X. McGohey, United States District Attorney for the Southern District of New York, never [illegible] moment dramatized his own personality during the just-concluded nine-month trial of the eleven Communist leaders. But he organized the case magnificently, kept his temper and earned the warm approval of Judge Medina and many others for his fair-minded-ness. We may expect good service from him on the Southern District Bench.

Gov. William H. Hastie of the Virgin Islands, a native of Knoxville, goes to the Third Circuit Court of Appeals—the first Negro to be so honored.

We hope this means another long step toward the day when a Negro of learning, character and achievement, such as Governor Hastie is, can be raised to high office without the fact of race being an important consideration one way or the

Circuit Court Seat Offered Negro

Sept. 10-22-49

Highest Judicial Post for One of His Race

CAMPAIGN REWARD

Truman Names No Others From Group

WASHINGTON — (NNPA) — President Truman, last Saturday, nominated William H. Hastie, Governor of the Virgin Islands, for judge of the Third United States Circuit Court of Appeals at Philadelphia.

The judgeship to which Hastie was appointed is one of 27 newly created Federal Circuit and District judgeships.

The President's civil rights program is believed to be a factor in Hastie's decision to take up the cudgels for Mr. Truman.

Harvard Law School Grad

William Henry Hastie was born on Nov. 17, 1904 in Knoxville, Tenn., the son of William H. and Roberta H. Hastie. The family moved to Washington when he was a child and he was graduated from Dunbar High School here.

He received his A.B. degree from Amherst in 1925 and LL. B. from Harvard University School of Law in 1930. He earned a S.J.D. from the latter university in 1933.

He was admitted to the District of Columbia bar in 1931, and began practicing with the law firm of Houston and Houston. He also joined the faculty of the Howard University Law School in 1930, and was associated with it as a professor from that time until 1937.

Hastie was appointed Governor of the Virgin Islands in 1946 by Mr. Truman.

Appointment Appointments

Appointment of Governor Hastie to the highest judicial post, to which a colored man was even named, is intended to give recognition to colored Democrats.

Effective in Campaign

In addition to having done excellent administrative jobs as civilian aide to the Secretary of War during World War II and as Governor of the Virgin Islands, Hastie did a fine job campaigning for President Truman a year ago.

He perhaps drew bigger audiences, and his speeches were perhaps more effective with colored voters in pivotal States, than any colored person who campaigned for Mr. Truman.

Hastie was appointed Governor of the Virgin Islands in 1946 by Mr. Truman.

Served as Judge in V.I.

His Federal connections began in 1933, when he became an assistant solicitor for the Department of the Interior. He served as judge of the District Court of the Virgin Islands from 1937 to 1939, after which he returned to Howard Law School as dean from 1939 until 1946.

Taking leave of absence, he became civilian aide to Secretary of War Stimson from 1940 to 1942, resigning because of the racist policy then pursued by the Air Forces. He has been Governor of the Virgin Islands since 1946.

Vice-president of the National Lawyers Guild, he is a director of the NAACP and a member of the AME Church. He is also a member of the Phi Beta Kappas, national honorary society; and of the Omega Phi psi Fraternity. He was honored by being awarded the Spingarn Medal in 1942.

Mr. Hastie married Miss Beryl Lockhard of the Virgin Islands in 1943. They have one child.

Confirmation Foreseen

No great difficulty is anticipated over Senate confirmation of his nomination to be a judge of the Third Circuit Court.

Questions of his Americanism was thoroughly gone into by a Senate committee at the time his nomination as Governor of the Virgin Islands was under consideration, and he came out of the inquiry with flying colors.

No colored lawyer will be a White House nominee for the three additional judgeships of the United States Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia and also for the three additional judgeships on the District Court here.

Others Ruled Out

The possibility of the appointment of a colored lawyer to one of the four additional judgeships for the Southern District of Ohio and the two additional judgeships for the Eastern District of Pennsylvania have also been ruled out.

The patronage dispensers in those two States—Democratic National Committeeman Ed. J. Flynn of New York, Democratic State Chairman Paul E. Fitzpatrick and Sen. Francis J. Myers (Dem., Pa.) already have submitted their recommendations to the Justice Department, which included no names of colored lawyers.

Other colored jurists who hold Federal court judgeships are Herman E. Moore, who succeeded Hastie on the Virgin Islands District Court bench; Irvin C. Mollison, judge of the U.S. Customs Court in New York; and Armond W. Scott, judge of the Municipal Court of the District of Columbia.

Hastie Off to Take Judgeship

ST. THOMAS, V.I., Oct. 29 (UP) —Gov. William H. Hastie left today for the mainland to take a Third Circuit Court judgeship offered him by President Truman

Special Tax Attorney Named in Louisville

LOUISVILLE, Ky.—An important appointment was made here last week when for the first time a Negro was named special city tax attorney on a part-time basis at $100 a month. He is Atty. James Crumpton who serves under Gilbert Burnett, city law director.

The 34-year-old attorney graduated from Howard University and Robert H. Terrell Law School, Washington. He began his practice in Louisville in 1944. Crumpton is in partnership with Atty. Alfred M. Carroll. A native of Spartanburg, S. C., he is married and has a son, Wiley, 15.

Elected To School Board In Kansas

WICHITA, Kan.—Running sixth of a field of 12 candidates, Dr. Hugh Kirby, a local dentist, was recently elected to the Wichita school board, the first Negro ever [illegible] this city.

Mrs. Hedgeman Becomes Aide to FSA Head in D.C.

Mrs. Anne Arnold Hedgeman, former director of the Non-Partisan Council for a Permanent FEPC, was sworn in Friday as a special assistant to Oscar Ewing, Federal Security Administrator. Mr. Ewing is shown looking on as O. Glenn Stahl, director of personnel for FSA, swears her in.

Mrs. Hedgeman Gets $8,500 Post in FSA

Afro-American, Baltimore, Md. 2-19-49

Sworn In as Special Aide to Ewing; Duty Not Confined to Racial Lines

WASHINGTON

Mrs. Anna Arnold Hedgeman, former executive director of the National Council for a Permanent FEPC and ardent campaigner for President Truman during the recent election, was sworn in Friday as a special assistant to Federal Security Administrator Oscar Ewing.

Mrs. Hedgeman's post, which has a starting salary of $8,500, will not confine her work to racial matters, it has been learned. She will be given the same general assignments as those given Mr. Ewing's three other special assistants.

Born in Marshalltown, Iowa, Mrs. Hedgeman received her BA degree from Hamline University, St. Paul, Minn., in 1922. She was honored by her alma mater during 1948 when an honorary degree of Doctor of Humane Letters was conferred upon her.

From 1922 until 1924, Mrs. Hedgeman taught at Rust College, Holly Springs, Mass. Following her two years of teaching, she spent 10 years, 1924 until 1934 in YWCA work.

Truman Expected to Name More U.S. Judges in 1949

Afro-American Oct. 11-12-48 p 2

Minority Group Jurist May Be Named to One of Three Municipal Bench Vacancies in D.C.

WASHINGTON (ANP)—Judges to fill the remainder of the vacancies created by the first session of Congress are likely to be appointed by the President before the lawmakers return next January.

This fact was brought out in the Presidential press conference last week, when a reporter asked Mr. Truman if he was expecting to fill the three vacancies recently created on the Washington Municipal Court bench by a bill which just passed the Congress.

The President refused to answer this question, because the bill had not then been brought to his attention for his signature. He did state, however, that he expected to make some recess appointments, but did not know whether they would be Municipal Court judges.

10 Vacancies to be Filled

There are still about 10 judgeship vacancies to be filled, according to a White House spokesman. Of the 27 original Federal judgeship vacancies created by the Congress, 23 have been filled leaving four still open. Of this four, two are in Northern California, one in Florida, and one in New Jersey.

In addition to these, there are three other vacancies now existing because of either the death or retirement of presiding judges. One is located in the Northern District of Ohio, one in Southern California, and one in Colorado.

Added to these seven vacancies are the three Washington Municipal judgeship vacancies recently created by the new Congressional bill.

Another Federal judgeship will be open in the Southern District of Indiana after Jan. 19, when the judge in that district expects to retire.

Colored Candidates Listed

There are still opportunities for the appointment of other colored persons to Federal judgeships. The most likely candidates in the Washington area are Charles Houston, George Hayes or Emory Smith.

Houston has perhaps argued more cases before the U. S. Supreme Court than any other colored attorney. He has done very outstanding work in Washington and throughout the nation.

Smith, who is in good favor with the Administration because of his splendid work in the last campaign as well as other Democratic campaigns, is said to be a very able lawyer and would make a very capable judge.

Frank Reeves, a young progressive attorney and a spark plug in the "Fair Deal" circle, is said to have his hat in the ring also. George Hayes, a very prominent attorney in Washington, has been associated very closely with the former Judge James Cobb.

Marshall, Brown Mentioned

Thurgood Marshall, one of the most widely known and efficient young attorneys today, who has made an outstanding reputation because of his constant and militant fight for the civil rights of colored people, is also high on the list of candidates for one of the Federal posts.

As chief counsel for the NAACP, he has also argued many cases before the U. S. Supreme Court.

It is thought that Homer Brown, a member of the Pennsylvania Legislature, also has an eye toward one of the judgeship vacancies.

It is also rumored in political circles that it is likely that the now Judge Herman E. Moore of the Virgin Islands will be elevated to Governorship of the Islands, if and when Governor Hastie's appointment to Federal judge of the Third Circuit Court of Appeals is confirmed by the Senate.

It is expected then that Homer Brown will be appointed to serve as judge of the Virgin Islands succeeding Moore.

National Election Round-Up

Negro voters and candidates scored a victory in last Tuesday's voting, a survey of election results disclosed this week.

The trend was thoroughly Democratic, even strongly Republican Louisville feeling the effect of Truman's Fair Deal program.

ATTY. JEAN CAPERS

In Pennsylvania a smashing victory was recorded in the successful race of Homer A. Brown, who became the first Negro elected to the Allegheny County bench.

Cleveland experienced an upset when Mrs. Jean Murrell Capers beat incumbent Augustus Parker for a councilmanic seat.

The decisive victory of dark horse Earl Brown, journalist, over colorful Communist incumbent Benjamin Davis signified a thorough rejection by Harlem of state heavy Negro voting helped American Communism.

In New Jersey and New York swing the tide in favor of ex-Gov. Herbert Lehman who defeated John Foster Dulles for United States senator and was an important factor in the re-election of New Jersey's Gov. Alfred E. Driscoll.

A complete round-up follows:

New York

NEW YORK — A Democratic landslide in New York State and City re-elected Mayor William O'Dwyer, and elected as councilman, Earl Brown, and as U. S. senator, former Gov. Herbert Lehman.

The general Democratic victories had been expected but the utter rout of Communist Councilman Benjamin Davis by Brown was a bitter surprise to the American Labor Party, and served notice to the nation that Negroes wanted no part of Communism. The final figures on the Davis-Brown contest were 21,962 to 63,030.

Brown, in his campaign headquarters after his election stated simply, "The people of Harlem were not misled by the intense propaganda of the Communists for the past three months. This result is not due to any great effort by me. This is not my victory, but the people's victory."

ALP candidates Ewart Guinier and Ada Jackson running respectively for the Manhattan and Brooklyn borough presidencies, also ran far behind their Democratic and Republican opponent.

Atty. Pauli Murray, a Liberal Party candidate for council in Brooklyn's 10th District, ran far behind the winning Democratic candidate, but polled a larger vote than her Republican and ALP opponents.

34c(1) 1949 General

Massachusetts Journal & Guide
Gets First Negro Norfolk, Va.
Judge Since '83
Sat. 1-1-49
By Associated Negro Press

Boston, Mass.-O Bruce Robinson, chief secretary to the executive council of Gov. Robert F. Bradford, was nominated last week by the governor as a special justice of the Boston Juvenile Court to succeed the late Judge Robert Lovett.

Mr. Robinson, according to information received here, is the first Negro to be named for a judgeship in the state since Gov. Benjamin F. Butler appointed George Lewis Ruffin in 1883 as judge of the Charlestown court.

An August, 1942, the attorney received public recognition when he was appointed as a full-time assistant attonrey-general of the state. The then Attorney-General Bushness explained his appointment of Robinson as "pertinent evidence of the attitude of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts toward the entire question of racial discrimination and intolerance in these critical times. This was the first time a Negro had been appointed to the position.

Born in Washington, D. C., Atty. Robinson was graduated from Williams College in 1928, where he made an outstanding English record. He taught for five years at Livingstone College in Salisbury, N. C., and in 1936 received his LL.B. from Boston University. During the war he was active as an associate member of a selective service advisory board and gave many speeches concerning the role of Negroes in the war and indus-

GOVERNORS ARE ASKED TO APPOINT NEGROES

34c(1)

Southern Regional Council Urges Step

ATLANTA, June 8.—(UP)—A group of church, labor and business leaders from southern states Wednesday asked Southern governors to appoint negroes in policy-making jobs in those states.

The governors were told that qualified negroes serving in key jobs would lessen needless racial friction and prove to the nation the South's intent to administer services fairly.

The request was made by the Southern Regional Council, Inc., which said the need for broader state governmental services goes to the root of the political issue of states' rights.

The council said that if Southern states want more self-rule they should build a tradition of administration free from politics and patronage, and adjust their public services more closely to the needs of all the people.

The message to the governors was signed by the following council members:

Dr. Charles Johnson, Nashville, president of Fick University; Paul D. Williams, Richmond, publisher and president of the Southern Regional Council; Dr. Gordon B. Hancock, Richmond, professor of economics, Virginia Union University; the Rt. Rev. Msgr. T. James McNamara, Savannah, Ga.; Dr. Rufus E. Clement, president of the Atlanta University; Dr. Guy B. Johnson, professor of sociology, University of North Carolina; Leonard Haas, Atlanta, attorney; Charles Gillman, Atlanta, Georgia director of C. I. O.; Miss Josephine Wilkins, Atlanta; Carter Wesley, editor, Houston Informer; John H. Wheeler, Durham, N. C., vice president, Mechanics and Farmers Bank.

34c (1) 1949 Dr. Frank P. Graham (Ohio)

Carolina Notebook

Political

Carolina Politicos Upset Over Graham

346 Journal Pueblo

Sat 4-9-49

BY A. A. MORISEY

RALEIGH, N. C.—Unpredictable Governor W. Kerr Scott of North Carolina threw a terrific punch at Southern Democrats last week and by the looks of the politicians and everybody else—still didn't know what had hit them.

The stunning surprise move was when he "broke up" a dinner at the University of North Carolina by announcing that Dr. Frank P. Graham would be the next North Carolina Senator. The dinner had been staged to honor Miss Louise Alexander, a history teacher at the Woman's College, Greensboro, N. C.

MORISEY

Every liberal and adherent to the governor's "Go Forward" program has expressed jubilation over the appointment of the man who was never thought of among the 50 or more persons who had been mentioned for the post left vacant by the death of the late Senator J. Melville Broughton. As might be expected there has been some adverse reaction to the appointment from conservatives of the party and Dixiecrats.

MAD POLITICIANS

One who is in position to hear much comment from the legislators assembled here told the writer that there was "many a mad politician in the leigslature on Wednesday morning following the breath-taking announcement the evening before in Chapel Hill. The extent of the ire against Senator Graham and Governor Scott will never be known but numerous politicians around the state have publicly admitted their displeasure with the appointment.

SENATOR HOEY STUNNED

Among those stunned by the appointment was Senator Clyde R. Hoey who was quoted in the papers Wednesday morning as saying "no comment." Apparently the announcement hit the senior senator such a shocking blow that he could not gather his wits for even a prefunctory comment.

When the afternoon papers hit the streets Senator Hoey had released a statement in which he praised Dr. Graham as an "educational statesman" and expressing the feeling that "he will make a great contribution to the state and the nation in this critical period." One comment on the statement was to the effect that any secretary in the senator's office could have put the statement together. [redacted] pointment of his new colleague in the Senate.

THE NEGRO VIEWPOINT

Negro citizens of North Carolina had already made up their minds about what they would do for Senator Hoey if he runs in 1950 and this only served to make them more determined.

As colored persons about the state tried to understand the significance of the appointment of Dr. Graham they felt some regret that he was leaving the University of North Carolina but realized that his influence in the U. S. Senate would have an even greater effect on the nation and the world. The regret was prompted partially by their interest in Negroes gaining admission to the University of North Carolina. It is felt that this hurdle could be cleared more hastily under the Graham administration.

There was general agreement among those who went along with the Durham Sun's assertion that the appointment of Dr. Graham has taken one vote away from the conservative southern bloc in the Senate.

EDITORIAL COMMENT

The Durham Sun also provided early editorial comment which offered what might have been the thinking of Governor Scott as he made this momentous decision. The newspaper said, "It could have happened that Governor Scott was reminded that:

1. He is a great liberal governor.
2. Mr. Truman is a great liberal President.
3. The lines are tightly drawn in the United States Senate.
4. Why not name a liberal senator?

Sat 4-9-49

Or even greater significance is the possibility that the move may be designed to project Dr. Graham into a place from which he could easily get the Presidential or Vice Presidential nomination in 1952. The Democratic Party needs just now the abilities of a man like Dr. Graham who can be expected to wield powerful influence in the reunion of the party.

It is already considered certain that Senator Graham's name will go on the ticket in 1952. If President Truman is renominated he will pick Senator Graham as his running mate. If the President does not choose to run then Dr. Graham will probably be the best known man whom the Democrats could nominate.

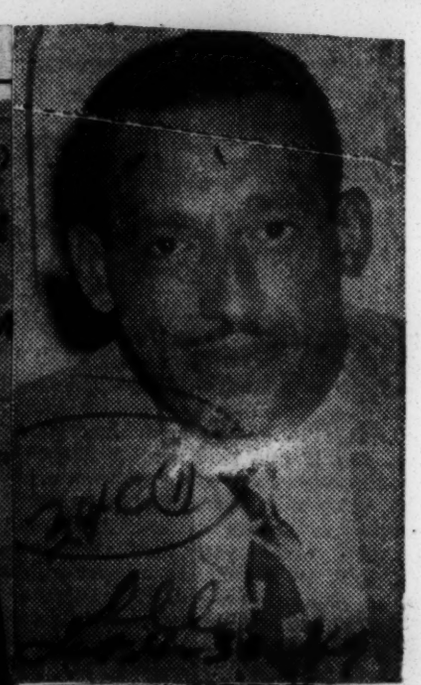
RALEIGH NEWSPAPER

In its masterful editorial on the appointment the Raleigh News and Observer wrote this final paragraph:

"By his choice Governor Scott lifts the spirit and the faith of North Carolina people in their destiny to go forward toward the fulfillment of the best that is within them. By his choice he gives the nation a senator who will be recognized for his weight, his wisdom, and his worth from the moment of his appointment. Senator Graham will be able to do much out of his great understanding for the people of North Carolina and the South. He will do most for them and for men everywhere, however, as a devout and devoted advocate of freedom and peace. Governor Scott has not merely well served North Carolina. He has given in the decisive council of the free world today a vote which will never be cast except for the decency, the productivity, the happiness, and the peace of mankind."

The long-range implications of the appointment are further substantiated by Governor Scott's disapproval of the idea that Dr. Graham take a leave of absence from the University. The governor said, "I told him (Dr. Graham) I thought he should cut all ties."

Girl Friday to the Senator From Illinois



Sen. Paul H. Douglas (Dem., Ill.), serving his first term as Senator from Illinois, has on his office staff, Mrs. Marguarite Ingram, a secretary. Mrs. Ingram is the first of her race to be employed as a secretary to a U.S. Senator, although there have been many employed as secretaries to members of the House of Representatives.—(AFRO photo—Covington)

MING GETS TOP POST

SPRINGFIELD, Ill. — William R. Ming, [redacted] of Chicago, law [redacted], was appointed last week assistant attorney general to advise and represent the Illinois Commerce Commission.

FOR THE FIRST TIME in history of the United States, according to reports, a U. S. senator has hired a Negro on his staff.

Newly-elected Sen. Paul Douglas, Illinois, has as a member of his Washington staff, Marguerite Ingram, a graduate of Roosevelt College in Chicago.

High State Job For Chicagoan

Kenneth E. Campbell, Chicago political figure and veteran officer became the third Negro to serve on the Illinois Commerce Commission when he was appointed to a two-year term by Gov. Adlai Stevenson, Saturday.

Campbell, who served in the European theatre and left the army with the rank of Lt. Col., is Democratic committeeman of the 20th ward. He will resign the post to take over the new job. It pays $7,500 annually.

Mr. Campbell

Campbell, who is married, at one time was an officer of the Roberts Campbell Motors Co., which sold automobiles in Chicago. He worked his way up through the ranks in the Democratic party, at one time serving as a precinct captain in the fifth ward.

At present he holds the rank of Lt. Colonel and commands a battalion in the 178th Regimental Combat Team of the Illinois National Guard. There is a possibility that the term of office on the commerce commission will be extended to six years and the salary raised to $10,000 per year.

Other Negroes who have served on the utility rate fixing and regulating body are Valores J. Washington, whose term just expired and the late Edward H. Wright. Both were Republicans.

High Post—Another honor added to the already brilliant career of youthful Atty. William R. Ming of Chicago was his appointment as an assistant attorney general of Illinois last week. He fought the Texas and South Carolina white primary cases.

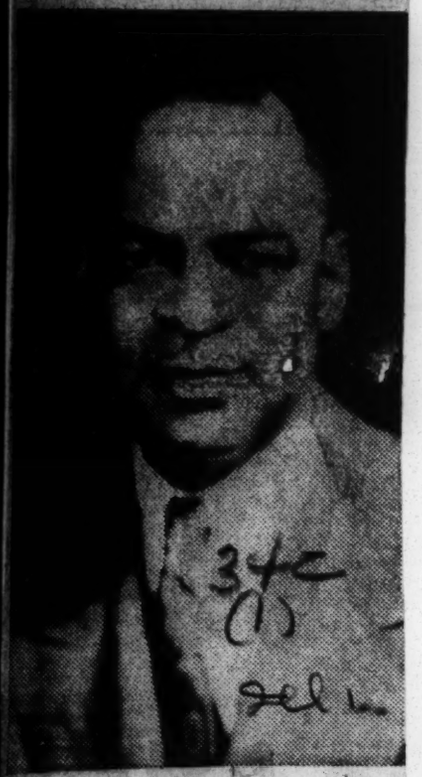
34c(1) 1949

Illinois

Dawson Gets Top Post With Demos

Chicago Ill. 12-9-49

The move which came quietly and without fanfare, is viewed by many as further evidence to strengthen the Democratic party behind President Truman's democratic principles.



34c (1)

WASHINGTON — Congressman William L. Dawson (D., Ill.) has been appointed as vice chairman of the Democratic National Committee.

St. Louis

The appointment, which was confirmed here last Monday, marks the second first for the long-time Congressman from Illinois. It also places the Legislator from Chicago, in the highest post occupied by a Negro in organized politics. He will succeed Frank Hague, political boss of New Jersey in the spot.

Congressman Dawson is now chairman of the highly important House Expeditures' Committee, being the first Negro in that post.

The appointment has been credited to the work of William Doyle, present National Committee chairman of the party.

Richardson Seen Successor To Gov. Hastie

WASHINGTON, D. C. — (NNPA) The name of one other person was being put forward last Friday as a possible successor to Governor William H. Hastie of the Virgin Islands, who has been given a recess appointment to the third Federal circuit bench at Philadelphia.

He is Henry J. Richardson, Jr., an attorney of Indianapolis, Indiana, who recently appeared before the Senate Judiciary Committee to urge confirmation of Associate Justice Sherman Minton of the United States Supreme Court.

Mr. Richardson is a former member of the Indiana Legislature. He was chairman of the Attorney General's Committee which drafted the India anti-hate law, and also served as chairman of the Indiana statewide citizens committee which secured passage of the anti-segregation school law in that State.

A supporter of President Truman, Mr. Richardson secured an injunction barring the States Rights Dixiecrat party from securing a place on the 1948 ballot in Indiana.

Mr. Richardson is being pushed for the governorship of the Virgin Islands by sources which believe his appointment will aid in the defeat of Senator Home Capehart, Republican, of Indiana, who comes up for reelection in 1950.

34c(1) 1949

Maryland

2 Win Council Seats in Annapolis

Afro-American

34c Maryland

ANNAPOLIS — Dr. Oliver W. H. McNeill, local dentist, and Charles A. Oliver, veteran alderman, won seats in the city council during an election on Monday. Both men are Republicans and will represent the Fourth Ward.

They practically won their posts on June 20 by emerging victorious in a six-man party primary election.

Pat. 7-23-49

Dr. McNeill will be serving on the council for the first time, while Mr. Oliver will be going into his 21st year as a member of that body.

A former college teacher, Dr. McNeill is a graduate of Morgan State College and the Howard University Dental College.

Delegate to State GOP's

He is also a past president of the Maryland Dental Society and was a delegate to the Republican State Convention in Baltimore last year, where he served on the credentials committee.

Alderman Oliver will need no introduction to Marylanders.

Born in Annapolis in 1883, he was educated at Stanton School and Howard University. He served with the Navy during the first World War and later was employed in the executive department of the Naval Academy, retiring from there in 1936.

Project Manager

He was employed in the executive offices of the State from 1936 to 1940, and was manager at College Creek Terrace housing project.

Mr. Oliver is a member of the Annapolis Water Company as well as the police, taxicab, electric light and stadium committees of the City Council.

34c(1) 1949

Massachusetts

Mass. Town Elects 1st 2 Negro Councilmen

Defender Jan. 21-26-49

MALDEN, Mass.—For the first time in Massachusetts political history two Negroes will serve together in a city council. Here in Malden last week voters in mixed wards elected Councilman Herbert L. Jackson and Everson W. Crawford to serve them on the City Council.

Re-elected for a third term, the second time in Ward 5, Councilman Jackson led the field with 2,311. Particular significance may be attached to his triumph since few Negroes reside in the ward.

Crawford was among the first three in Ward 7, with 1,141 votes, and was therefore automatically chosen Councilor. Although the bulk of Malden's Negroes live in Ward 7, they are still in minority, on the basis of voting strength.

Woman First in Motor City Post

Afro America

DETROIT, Mich. — Another "first" in the history of the Motor City was chalked up Monday, when Mrs. Rosa L. Gragg, of 245 Arden Park, was appointed a member of the Detroit Welfare Commission by Mayor Van Antwerp. In making the appointment, the shuffle made with a former member of the commission elevated Mrs. Gragg to the presidency of the commission the same day that she became a member.

Mrs. Gragg was appointed to fill the term of Dr. William D. Ryan, commission president, who was barred from becoming a member of the Wayne County Board of Supervisors because he is a County medical examiner. A County employee is not allowed to serve on the board.

One Year Term

Mrs. Gragg's term will expire March 1, 1950.

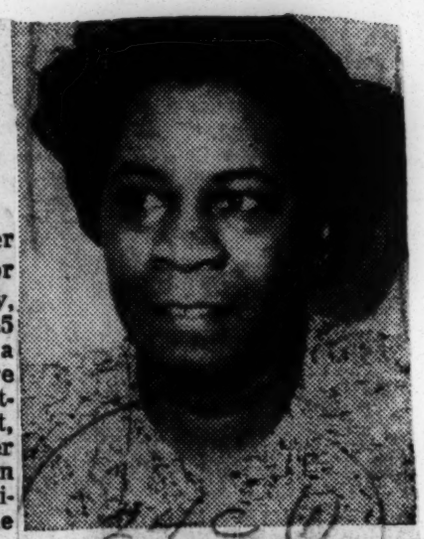
The appointee was born at Atlanta, Ga. She is an alumna of Tuskegee Institute. Mrs. Gragg attended Wayne University, Detroit, and the University of Michigan. Int. 4-23-49

An outstanding leader in both the professional and business world, Mrs. Gragg is president and founder of the Slade Gragg Academy of Practical Arts at 455 East Ferry.

She is president emeritus of the Detroit Association of Women's Clubs, founder of the association's center at 5461 Brush.

A member of Bethal AME Church, she is director of its religious education.

Mrs. Gragg has lived in Detroit for 22 years. She is often referred to as the "First Lady of the City" among Colored women.



MRS. ROSA GRAGG

Two Detroiters Appointed State Highway Engineers

Mich 34c(1) The World

Atlanta Ga.

DETROIT — (ANP) — State Highway Commissioner Charles M. Ziegler announced last week the appointment of two Negro engineers, Albert A. Sommerville, Jr., and Clarence Mays, both of this city.

Sommerville, a University of Detroit sophomore in Civil Engineering is currently enrolled in the University's cooperative training program which enables him to alternate three months of field training with the Michigan State Highway department and three months of academic training at the university until he earns his degree. 3-9-49, Wed

Mays has been placed on a full-time basis with the bridge design division of the Michigan State Highway department in Lansing. He is a graduate of Wayne university. Both are World War II veterans.

Bailey Wed

According to reports these appointments were gained largely through the work of the public relations committee of the Detroit Chapter of the National Technical association.

Detroit Newsman Gets State Job

Chicago Defender

34c(1) Mich

DETROIT — A precedent was established here this week with the appointment of Charles L. Wartman, city editor of the Michigan Chronicle, to the board of managers of state fairs.

Named by Gov. G. Mennen Williams, Wartman is the first Negro ever to hold this post in Michigan. Wartman earned his bachelor and master degrees from Virginia State college and Atlanta university and has done work on a doctorate at the University of Michigan.

34c(1) 1949

Michigan

Wins Office In Michigan

GRAND RAPIDS, Mich. — A young attorney, recently appointed public administrator here, has the distinction of being the first Negro to hold public office in Kent county.

It was disclosed several days ago that Atty. General Stephen J. Roth named Alphonse Lewis, Jr., to the position on the recommendation of the Kent County Democratic Committee.

The young attorney was graduated from the University of Michigan Law School in June, 1947, and was admitted to the Grand Rapids bar in November, 1947.

Lewis previously attended Howard University in Washington, D. C., where he completed two of his first four years of college work in 1943. He is a native of Mobile, Ala. but while still a boy moved with his mother and two sisters to Kalamazoo, Mich.

34c(1) 1949

Missouri

Doctor Gets Coroner's Job

KANSAS CITY, Mo.—Dr. Thomas A. Jones assumed his duties as deputy coroner for Jackson county Tuesday of this week.

The appointment of Dr. Jones, made Oct. 26 by Coroner Hugh Owens, marks the return of the practice of naming physicians deputy coroners instead of laymen.

34c(1) 1949

Missouri

Name Negro Head of Missouri State Legislative Group

JEFFERSON CITY, Mo. — State Representative [redacted] Kinney Neal of Kansas City was appointed last week as chairman of the House Visiting committee. He is reportedly the first Negro to head a permanent legislative committee in the state. Neal, a Kansas City drug store owner, will head the committee that visits state institutions and other public agencies for which the legislature must vote appropriations.

ATTY BURNS IN CITY POST

Prosecuting Attorney William C. Lochmoeller Wednesday, announced the appointment of Atty. Richard E. Burns, 34-year-old Lincoln U. Law School graduate as assistant prosecuting attorney. He succeeds Atty. Harry R. Breckey, who resigned Dec. 31, after more than six years.

Atty. Burns is a native of St. Louis and a product of Vashon high school, Illinois Wesslyan college and Lincoln Law school. He is prominent in legal and civic affairs, being a member of the Lawyers Guild (interracial) and vice president of the Mound City Bar Association, the Omega Psi Phi Fraternity, NAACP and St. Louis.

On St. Louis Bench 10 Days

ST. LOUIS—(NNPA)—Frank B. Bledso, first colored person to sit on a police court bench here, assumed his duties as provisional judge of City court No. 1 Monday, June 20.

Opening court promptly at 9 a. m., Judge Bledsoe found about twenty-five traffic cases awaiting his attention. Virtually all were disposed of with pleas of guilty but the judge's deliberateness in assessing fines gave evidence of careful consideration of each case appearing before him.

In one instance he asked Assistant City Counselor Roy A. Fish for a recommendation and accepted it.

One case to which he gave marked interest was that of a woman who was arrested for being drunk on the street. He questioned her closely in tones so soft as to be inaudible to spectators in the court room and then fined her $50 and costs. However, he suspended the fine and placed her on parole, warning her the fine would be reinstated if she appeared before him again on the same charge.

Judge Bledsoe occupied the bench through June 30. He was one of three provisional judges appointed by Mayor James M. Darst to serve during the vacation of the regular judges.

34c(1) 1949

Judge Bolin Gets Reappointment for 10-Year Term

NEW YORK, N.Y.—(NNPA)—Judge Jane M. Bolin of the Domestic Relations Court, whose term expired on July 21, was reappointed by Mayor William O'Dwyer last Thursday to serve a full ten-year term. The post pays $14,000 a year.

The mayor administered the the oath to Judge Bolin at City Hall in ceremonies witnessed by her young son. She is one of two colored judges holding positions in Domestic Court, the other being Judge Hubert T. Delany whose term expires in 1955.

Davis Ouster Attempt Fails

Sat. 10-29-49

Councilman Keeps Seat, Still in Race

NEW YORK (NNPA)—A move to bar Communist City Councilman Ben Davis from his City Council seat was blocked here last Tuesday and the Board of Elections of the City of New York simultaneously ruled that it has no power to remove Davis's name from the election ballots.

The result of the two actions left Davis, who is now in jail after his conviction in Federal court with 10 other Communist leaders, free to conduct his campaign and run for re-election to City Council as a member of the Communist Party.

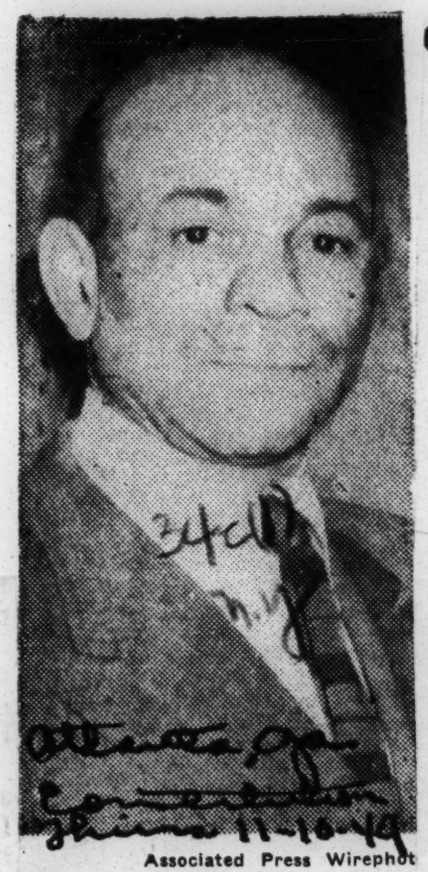
Councilman Hugh Quinn, a Democrat, offered the resolution to declare Davis's seat vacant.

American Labor Party Councilman Eugene P. Connolly, objected. Under Council rules, one objection can send a resolution to a committee for further consideration.

Would Have Barred Him for Life

Quinn's resolution was based on a City Charter provision which bars from office for life a councilman who wilfully violates the oath to defend the Constitution. Davis was convicted last week of seeking to teach and advocate the forcible overthrow of the U.S. Government by force and violence.

The Board of Elections declared that it was powerless to take Davis's name off the ballot unless a suit was brought by a taxpayer asking that it be done. So far no such suit has been entered.



Associated Press Wirephoto

BEATS DAVIS — Earl Brown, Negro writer, was elected to a post on the New York City Council in Tuesday's elections to succeed convicted Communist Ben Davis. The Council position represents Harlem voters.

Rename Jane Bolin Judge

NEW YORK—Judge Bolin the only Negro woman judge in the nation, was reappointed here by Mayor William O'Dwyer last July as a justice of the New York City Domestic Relations Court.

The Mayor performed the honors at the swearing-in of Judge Bolin in his office last Thursday. Originally appointed by the late Mayor Fiorello La Guardia, Judge Bolin's ten-year term was to have expired the day she was sworn in again for another decade. The post carries a $14,000 salary.

New York

ON COUNCILMAN EARL L. BROWN

Earl Louis Brown, a modest, unassuming, 44-year-old newspaperman, is the new City Councilman from the 21st A.D., supplanting Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., American Labor Party-Communist, who went down to defeat Election Day by a 3-1 margin.

Few thought Brown would win. We didn't. Our support from the start had been for Davis whom we felt on his record deserved another term in the Council. We shaved off the red trappings of Communism in which Davis was clothed and accepted the Negro Davis. We do not regret that decision to support him. We saw it as an unfortunate race between two Negroes in a Jim Crow setting.

The whole thing was a sop tossed our way by the big political parties who insulted the intelligence of this city's nearly one million Negroes by giving them the makings of a cat and dog fight over a bone. The meat in the form of high places on the Democratic, Republican, Liberal and Fusion tickets was passed out in other districts. Only the ALP with its Ewart Guinier-for-Borough President of Manhattan considered the Negro beyond the fact that he had a vote to cast. That Guinier was able to poll upwards of 75,000 votes on the unpopular ALP line shows how much more support a Negro Democratic or Republican candidate for such a high office might have attracted.

Sat. 11-19-49

We believe Earl Brown is going to make good as a freshman councilman. He has the intellectual background, he knows his way around in politics, he has, as a reporter for Life Magazine, been close to the people all over the country and knows what they want.

Brown is no turncoat. He is honest in his convictions, whether or not those convictions agree with what others believe in. We don't think he will be anybody's catspaw.

As to Davis, we hope he clears himself of the ugly charges for which he was convicted by Judge Medina in Federal Court. We hope he will be able to return to his people to serve in the greater fight for complete freedom, for the end of bigotry, the elimination of the color line in employment, education, politics and in the military branches of our government.

Resigns

Mrs. Ruth Whitehead Whaley this week resigned her $8,000 post as executive assistant to the New York Welfare Commissioner. Her resignation, accepted with regret, followed a Civil Service ruling on the position.

RUTH WHALEY GIVEN NEW APPOINTMENT

New York-Mrs. Ruth Whitehead Whaley who resigned her $8,000 a year position as executive assistant to Welfare Commissioner Raymond Hilliard Oct. 31, was appointed by Commissioner Hilliard as his Secretary last week.

The position was expected to pay $6,000 per year but on Nov. 17, the Board of Estimate met and voted an increase of $2000 to Mrs. Whaley giving her the same salary as she had previously received as executive assistant.

The first Negro female attorney to practice law in the state since 1925, Mrs. Whaley is a staunch member of the Democratic party, and resides in Harlem with her son and daughter.

Defender
Chicago, Ill.
Sat. 11-26-49

First On Chamber Of Commerce Committee

Mrs. Maude Routte of South Jamaica, Queens, N. Y., is the first of her race to hold a committee appointment of the Queens Jamaica Chamber of Commerce.

The community leader is serving on both the Housing and Public Relations committee. Breaking barriers is not unique with Mrs. Routte for she was the first woman ever to serve as assistant foreman of the Queens Grand Jury. More recently she served as honorary member on the Golden Jubilee and Freedom Train committees. Mrs. Routte is a graduate of Fordham University and is studying law at New York University. (ANP)

The Rev. Isaiah Pogue, 34, pastor, Bethel Presbyterian Church, Southampton, L.I., has been appointed consultant to the Treasury Department's savings bond division for New York.

Powell Renamed To Athletic Board

Dr. Cilian B. Powell, editor and publisher of the N. Y. Amsterdam News, was appointed to his third term Friday as a member of the New York State Athletic Commission by Gov. Thomas E. Dewey.

First appointed in 1943, Dr. Powell, 54, is the only Negro member of the three-man group that controls all boxing and wrestling matches in the state. He must now be confirmed by the State Senate which convenes in January.

The other two members of the commission are chairman Eddie Eagan and Leon F. Swears.

Civil Service Fight Ends With $8000 Post to N. Y. Attorney

NEW YORK—The Civil Service Reform Association's fight to stop salary payment to Mrs. Ruth Whitehead Whaley, executive Assistant to Welfare Commissioner Raymone Hilliard, lost balast, this week, with the appointment of the attorney as secretary to the commissioner.

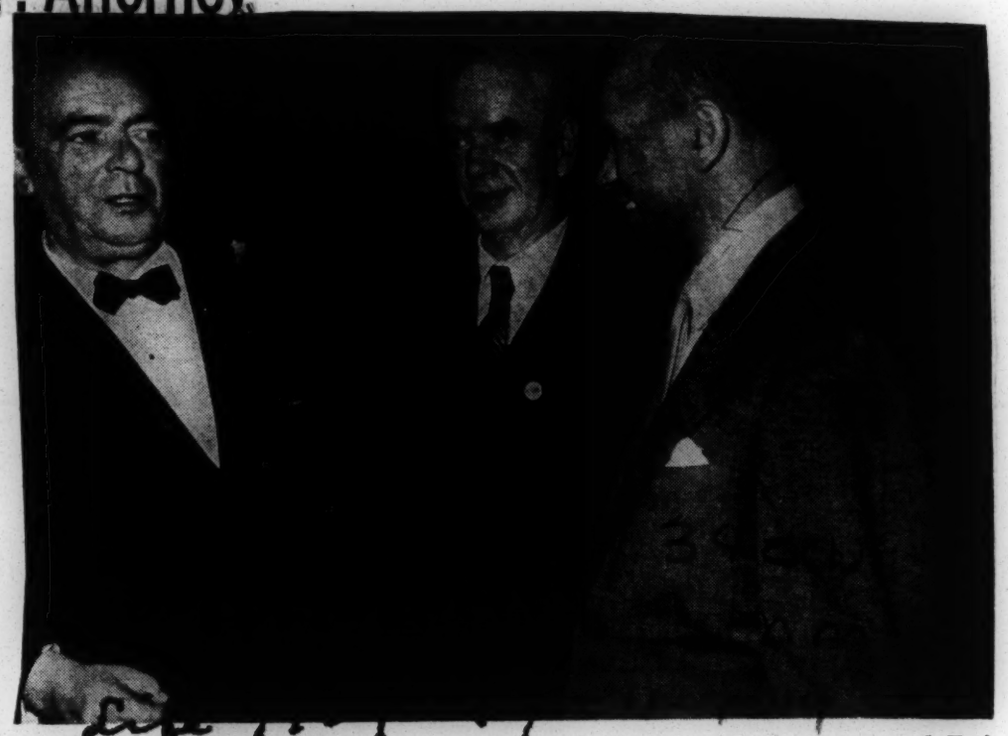
Mrs. Whaley resigned the $8,000 post as executive assistant on October 31. The secretarial position was expected to pay $6,000 per year, but on Nov. 17, the Board of Estimate met and voted increase of $2,000 to Mrs. Whaley, giving her the same salary as she had previously received as executive assistant.

O'Dwyer Appointed

Mrs. Whatley was originally appointed by Mayor O'Dwyer to the position of Deputy Commissioner of Housing in the summer, 1948, replacing Raymond Jones. Mr. Jones was reappointed to the job later and Mrs. Whaley received another appointment as an executive assistant to the Commissioner in the Welfare Department. This appointment was a provincial one, and was always under fire by the Civil Service Reform Association.

The State Civil Service contended that Mrs. Whaley's job was not an exempt one, as requested by Hillfard and that the office should be filled from the Civil Service's competitive list.

Last month the Civil Service Reform Association filed a suit against the Mayor and the Treasurer of the city to stop her salary payments and the case was to be settled by the State Supreme Court when Mrs. Whaley resigned on Oct. 17, effective on Oct. 31.



CONFIDENT DEMOCRATS—O'Dwyer, C.I.O. President Phil Murray and Earl Brown, candidate for City Council in 21st District—confer at rally in Madison Square Garden. Brown, Harvard-educated Negro journalist, is the candidate of Democratic, Republican and Liberal parties to oppose incumbent Benjamin Davis, jailed Red leader.

Capitol At Raleigh Symbol of Progress

Journal & Guide Norfolk, Va. Sat. 6-4-49

Since 1840 the State Capitol Building in Raleigh, N. C., has excited the admiration while sta[illegible] the focal point of N[illegible] Carolina's Government. Th[illegible] is proud of the structure which is considered as the finest example of Doric architecture in America. It is of granite from a nearby quarry and is almost entirely free from iron and was erected at a cost of $530,000.

North Carolina is also proud of the distinguished men who have had their offices in the building as the state's Chief Executive. The present Chief Executive, Governor W. Kerr Scott, has broken all precedents before and after his election to office. His appointment of Dr. H. L. Trigg to the State Board of Education marked the beginning of a new era in participation in state government by colored citizens.

Local Group Had Part In Appointment

Journal & Guide Norfolk Va. Sat. 6-5-49

Colored People Own 4 Drug Stores And Other Businesses

By A. A. MORISEY
North Carolina Correspondent

RALEIGH, N. C.—Although this city—the capital of the state—has not yet elected a colored citizen to public office, it has advanced far along the road to full participation in municipal life. The most significant example of this accomplishment is found in the appointment a few months ago of Attorney F. J. Carnage to the Raleigh School Board.

While Winston-Salem first received recognition by naming a colored person to public office when it elected the Rev. Kenneth R. Williams to its Board of Aldermen and then appointed him to the school board, Raleigh has the distinction of the first direct appointment to a school board of a colored citizen who held no political office.

Rev. Mr. Williams received his appointment from the Mayor of Winston-Salem after he had been elected to the Board of Aldermen.

APPOINTED TO BOARD

Attorney Carnage was appointed directly to the local board. However, he had made a creditable race two years for a position on the city's council.

Much of the credit for the appointment is due to the efforts expended by the Raleigh Citizens Association, formerly the Citizens Committee. The committee was headed by Leonidas Frazier. Other members are E. L. Raiford, Dr. Nelson Harris, W. L. Green, and P. R. Jervay.

The Citizens Association is at presented led by E. L. Raiford, executive secretary of the Bloodworth Street YMCA. Other officers are Leonidas Frazier, vice president; C. G. Irving, secretary; and Zack Ellis, treasurer.

53 AFFILIATES

Fifty-three separate organizations make up the Citizens Association which serves as the central coordinating group for all civic movements of the city. The organization supported the recent candidacy of C. A. Haywood for City Council. Mr. Haywood received a substantial vote but the number of Negro voters in the city was not large enough to assure him a place on the seven-man council.

One of the association's recent campaigns was in behalf of improvements at the Oberlin School. A threat was made to boycott the school and enroll Negro children in the nearest white school. Immediate action was taken by school officials to improve conditions at the school.

The Interdenominational Ministers Alliance o' the city is another, effective organization which promotes worthy civic projects. While it does not assume active leadership, the group wields its strength in resolutions and endorsement of school improvements and other campaigns for community betterment.

Sat. 6-4-49

ALLIANCE OFFICERS

Its officers are: the Rev. T. P. Duhart, president; the Rev. W. T. Brown, vice president; E. L. Raiford, secretary; and the Rev. J. F. Jones, treasurer.

The progress in business made by colored citizens during the past two or three years is probably the most outstanding accomplishment of a similar nature in the state. For many years there has been a branch of the Mechanics and Farmers Bank here, a thriving real estate firm, insurance offices, a hotel and several other colored-owned enterprises. For several years the city has had four drug stores operated by colored persons.

More recently a florist, automatic laundry, electric appliance store, and a cooperative grocery were established by colored business men.

Before the war, there was a colored automobile salesman. He has returned to the field and another man has entered. One sells Hudsons and the other Kaiser-Frazier cars.

About five colored-owned taxi companies are established in the city.

Late News In Brief

(From International News Service)

Atlanta Daily World Atlanta, Ga.

N. C. Governor Names 3 More Negroes To Posts

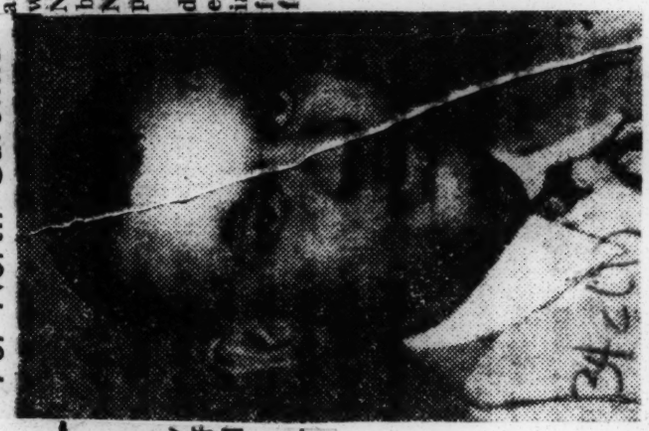
RALEIGH, N. C. — Three Negroes were appointed by Gov. Kerr Scott today to six-year terms on the Board of Governors of the North Carolina Agricultural and Technical College at Greensboro. Each of the three — L. W. James, E. R. Merritt, and J. W. Jefferies — will succeed a white person in the post.

Sun. 6-7-49

Makes Another "First" For North Carolina

Aaron W. Solomon of Clark-ton, N. C., was named last week as the first of his race as a field worker of the Farm Bureau in North Carolina. As far as can be determined he is the first Negro to receive such an appointment in the nation.

Mr. Solomon will begin his duties Sept. 1 with headquarters at the Bureau's state office in Greensboro, N. C. He was formerly county agent in Beaufort County, N. C.



To Post On State Farm Bureau

Journal and Guide

By A. A. MORISEY
Staff Correspondent

Pat. 9-10-49

GREENSBORO, N. C.— Still pointing the way toward progressiveness in the South, North Carolina made history last week when announcement was made of the appointment of the first Negro field worker of the North Carolina Farm Bureau.

Named to the precedent-breaking post is Aaron W. Solomon, of Clarkton, N. C. Mr Solomon becomes the first Negro field worker with the Farm Bureau in the nation.

Norfolk, Va.

10,000 COLORED MEMBERS

Flake B. Shaw, director of the North Carolina Farm Bureau, told the Journal and Guide that the appointment of Mr. Solomon is an indication of the willingness of the organization to develop a program embracing its colored members. He estimated that the organization has approximately 10,000 colored members in the state.

Mr. Shaw expressed the satisfaction of the body's board of directors who approved the appointment and suggested that it may have far-reaching influence in other areas.

North Carolina's New Senator

New York Herald Tribune

Dr. Frank Graham, Liberal-Minded Educator, Is Upholder of Civil and Human Rights

34c(1)

By Henry Lesesne

COLUMBIA, S. C.—It is time it was sinking into the national consciousness that the South is a geographical region of rather heterogeneous states. A striking piece of evidence of this fact is that for at least the next two years a Southern state, North Carolina, will have in the United States Senate a man who is a champion of civil and human rights, a man who even helped write the controversial civil-rights report, a man known the length of the land as an outstanding liberal and a man whom the witch hunters on the national and state levels have accused so often of having Communist leanings that the accusations have long since lost their sting.

Pittsburgh Post-Gazette 3-24-49

It is true that Dr. Frank Porter Graham was not elected to political office. In fact, he has never been inclined to take a conspicuous part in partisan politics. Yet the appointment—a surprising one, to put it mildly—came from the Governor of the state. And the appointee has been president of the state university system in North Carolina for the last fifteen years. Perhaps only in North Carolina, among the states of the South, could these things be. For a long time there has been a great deal of liberal and social thinking and planning in the Old North State that is hardly in keeping with what is thought of as the traditional Southern attitude.

SINCE assuming the presidency of the University of North Carolina, Dr. Frank—Senator Graham now, but it'll be hard for North Carolinians to get into the habit of calling him that—has been a figure of controversy. Certainly few people had ever thought of him in the role of a Senator until Governor W. Kerr Scott, the new Governor with a distinctly rural background, had his happy inspiration and spent the better part of two weeks, unknown to any of the politicians, trying to persuade the friendly, quiet-spoken, balding little educator that he might serve his country in a new field of endeavor.

North Carolina has its element of Rightists, states-righters and even some few die-hard white supremacists, but generally Governor Scott's appointment has met with popular approval in his home state. Even the bitterest critics at home have to concede Dr. Graham's ability, sincerity and loyalty and about the worst they can possibly say for him is that in his zeal for human and civil rights and for the freedom of speech and assembly he has been inclined to permit his name to be used by some organizations which subsequently have been suspect.

Even recently the university president's views have been discussed on the floors of Congress. Dr. Graham has been a confidant of Presidents and he's served on many important national and international assignments. Perhaps there are few men on the public scene as inured to criticism as the little former history teacher, but whenever he's taken cognizance of the insinuations leveled at him, his answer has been something like: "I have always been opposed to communism and all totalitarian dictatorships. . . . I shall continue to oppose Ku-Kluxism, imperialism, fascism and communism, whether in America, Indonesia or behind the iron curtain."

SENATOR GRAHAM is, of course, in favor of removal of the poll tax. It might be remarked here parenthetically that North Carolina is one of the Southern states which long ago removed the poll tax as a voting prerequisite. The new Senator is in favor of Negro suffrage. "Give the people the right to vote and the people will be in a better position to achieve justice for themselves," he says. In the greater part of North Carolina Negroes have long voted in the primaries and general elections. Senator Graham favors a "local-state-Federal co-operative program" to stop "lynching both by mobs in the South and by gangs in the North."

Again, it might be remarked parenthetically that North Carolina has an enviable record among Southern states of harmonious racial relations and of having effectively put an end to lynchings and mob violence many years ago. Voluntarily and without a Federal court suit, North Carolina several years ago equalized the pay of white and Negro school teachers and for the last two years Negro school teachers in the state have actually averaged more in pay than the white teachers. In a word, North Carolina did voluntarily and on a statewide basis what the other Southern states have been forced to do, ungracefully, by court order.

Almost without exception in recent decades North Carolina's political leaders have been men who are not given to demagogy by word or action that so frequently makes the Southern politician page one copy. They have been inclined to pursue a middle or moderate course. The man Senator Graham succeeds, the late Melville E. Broughton, would fall roughly into this classification, as would the senior North Carolina Senator, Clyde R. Hoey, who while not agreeing with some of Senator Graham's views nevertheless regards him as a "great American."

THEREFORE it is not altogether surprising that the Tarheel State should be represented in the Senate by an outstanding liberal. Yet there are parts of North Carolina which in attitudes and folkways are politically or ideologically no different from counties in the very heart of the late Senator Bilbo's bailiwick. North Carolina is a little different from other Southern states in that it has a sizable and progressive Republican party, though the state is nominally Democratic. And like Gaul, it is divided into three distinct parts.

In the mountainous third of the state there is no racial problem because Negroes are so in the minority. In the piedmont, or foothills, the most industrial region of the South, the Negro population is larger, but still presents no political problem to the extent it does in the South as a whole. Near the coast, in the purely agricultural counties, the Negro population often approximates, or very nearly approximates, the white, and it is in these regions that pronounced and typical Southern attitudes are found.

Dues-3-24-49

Generally, Senator Graham will be a supporter of the Truman program. He doesn't, however, go quite all the way with the Administration on the civil rights program. The sixty-two-year-old educator was a member of the President's civil rights committee, but was a signer of the minority report which said in part: "The best way ultimately to end segregation is to raise the educational level of the people in the states affected, and to inculcate both the teachings of religion regarding human brotherhood and the ideals of our democracy as a more solid basis for genuine and lasting acceptance by the people of the states."

An educator himself, Senator Graham is the son of a man who was one of North Carolina's greatest educators, Dr. Alexander Graham, the superintendent of city schools in Charlotte for many years. After his graduation from the University of North Carolina, Frank Graham taught in Raleigh for a while and then returned to the university to get a law degree. He has studied at several universities here and in England and holds honorary degrees from many. He became a member of the faculty at the University of North Carolina in 1915, and fifteen years later he became president of the university. He was a favorite of the late Franklin D. Roosevelt and served on the War Labor Board. He has performed many public assignments and only recently was American representative on the Good Offices Committee of the United Nations which arranged a truce in Indonesia.

REACTION in the South to the appointment of Senator Graham has been mixed. He is viewed by some as that rare thing, a genuine Southern liberal, yet not a radical firebrand, and as a man who knows the South and the Southern mind more intimately than any man in Congress. On the other extreme, some editorial comment in the South has viewed the Graham appointment as a disservice not only to North Carolina but to the South as a whole. His thinking is perhaps a little too far to the left to suit the average Southerner, though most Southerners, while continuing to disagree with him, do not and can not question his zeal or integrity.

In the Senate, educator Frank Graham will offer a marked contrast to the elder North Carolina Senator, Clyde R. Hoey, who is probably the most popular living North Carolinian ever to have chosen politics as a career, and who has been a familiar figure to more than one generation of Tarheels—flowing hair, frock coat, high shoes, wing collar and red boutonniere, twinkling eyes, warm handshake and gracious smile. There isn't a cranny in the Old North State where he hasn't made at least one speech for himself or for the Democratic party. A printer's devil who owned a country paper after a few years, he studied law and was elected to the State Legislature at the age of twenty. A lifelong party man, he represents a middle course which lies somewhere between Dr. Graham's liberalism and the out-and-out Southern reactionary.

Dr. Graham Fits

The Baltimore Sun

Into No Pattern

Running a college is generally regarded as a full-time job. Nevertheless, President Frank P. Graham, of the University of North Carolina, has somehow managed to engage in a lot of extracurricular activity without apparent detriment to his institution. He now has been designated to fill the unexpired term of the late Senator J. Melville Broughton in the United States Senate.

Montgomery Ala

There is no question that, under Dr. Graham's leadership, the University of North Carolina has earned a reputation for being the most progressive and enlightened educational institution in the South. Its influence extends not only over North Carolina but to its neighboring states. In fact, a force of such importance in one section has very definite repercussions throughout the nation.

Dues 3-24-49

If President Graham may be charged with a fault, it is that he has sometimes lent his name to organizations without sufficient investigation of their nature. If a cause appears to be good, his Scotch-Presbyterian blood has sometimes led him to support it without bothering to look closely at its promoters. And even this criticism emphasizes the originality of his mind—his stubborn, if sometimes irritating, refusal to fall into any settled pattern of thinking.

No better illustration of this trait could be found than his reply to certain questions put to him on Wednesday in connection with his senatorial appointment. The discussion naturally turned on his view of President Truman's civil-rights program. On this, Dr. Graham stated that he favors a local-State-Federal co-operative program against lynching both by mobs in the South and by gangs in the North."

Thus in one sentence he said something which was equally unpleasant to both sides in the controversy. The Southern States'-righters object automatically to any such talk of a co-operative program involving the Federal Government. The Northern "liberals," on the other hand, have shown much concern about the kind of lynching which we associate with the South but very little about the analogous type of violence which occurs in the North—to wit, violence employed by certain unions in labor disputes. They will not take kindly to Dr. Graham's lumping together of these two forms of violence.

If Dr. Graham goes on in this vein while in the Senate, we predict for him a short political life but an exciting one.

The Graham Appointment

Birmingham Ala

The appointment of Dr. Frank Graham to the United States Senate from North Carolina will no doubt bring on a good deal of a certain kind of debate. This country could do with less of it. Dr. Graham is both forthright and outspoken. He will say what is on his mind without fear of the consequences. That in itself is a characteristic to be welcomed in a man in public life, but it often gets a politician into hot water. But the fact

Birmingham Ala

In this case is that Dr. Graham is not a politician. He is a great servant of the people, and he does not have to stoop to political expediency to serve his ends. His reputation and his nation is already secure. No attacks on his personal beliefs can ever really belittle him. But there will be those—(Sen. Bricker has already started the attack)—who will charge that Frank Graham has lent his abilities to extreme left wing organizations and that he is guilty, by association, of bad judgment if not of bad motive. Such attacks will hurt Dr. Graham's friends far more than they will hurt Dr. Graham. For he is a man who long has been widely

admired. The ideas he has steadfastly upheld are generally constructive in American life, even though his course of action in seeking to serve them may sometimes have been questionable. It is to Dr. Graham's credit that he has not been swayed from his purposes because some extreme radicals have attached themselves to the causes for which he has stood. His statement of his belief is typical of the man: it is simply and unmistakably clear: "I have always been opposed to communism and all totalitarianian dictatorships."

Dr. Graham has given his time and energies freely to government enterprises whenever he has been asked. He is honest and sincere, and he has shown his administrative abilities by making the University of North Carolina an outstanding institution.

Some of Dr. Graham's friends regret that he is leaving the field of public education. This paper feels that he has done a magnificent job at Chapel Hill. But it also feels now that his job there is largely done. He is entering another field of work, one in which his talents should prove of great service to the country.

Doctor Frank Graham

The appointment of Dr. Frank Graham, President of the Greater University System of North Carolina, to fill the unexpected Senate term of the late Melville Broughton, is a great boost for the forces of progress and liberalism in America. His contributions to the thought-life of America as well as to its material growth are too well to require elaboration in this discussion of him. Thus, we can pay our tribute of respect and appreciation to the good wisdom, and we believe, growing liberalism, of the Governor of North Carolina, W. Kerr Scott, in naming a man of so high a calibre as Dr. Graham.

Upon the eve of his inauguration as Governor of the state, Governor Scott said, "it is time that North Carolina stopped dodging the Negro question. And while I am governor I am going to see that the minority race has a fair opportunity." That is the new North Carolina, and we would like to think, the budding New South.

In the Senate, therefore, liberalism and progress, with which the Negro cause is inseparably tied in, has a great friend in Dr. Graham. He was a member of the President's Commission on Civil Rights. He is well known in Washington and has built upon a long line of friends among the white liberals of the Nation and a host of friends among Negroes. We predict great success for him.

SOUTH in STRUGGLE

What Frank Graham's Appointment Means to People of Carolinas

NOTE: This week Junius Scales, chairman of the Carolinas District of the Communist Party and veteran of World War II, has written a guest column about North Carolina, where he and generations of his family were born and reared.—SAM HALL

By Junius Scales
Chairman, Carolinas District, Communist Party

THE PEOPLE of North Carolina were generally surprised to hear March 22 that Governor W. Kerr Scott had appointed university president Frank Graham, to fill a vacancy in the U. S. Senate. "Liberal" machine Democrats, right-wing trade union leaders, and many Negro people gave the new Senator blankcheck support, convinced that he can do no wrong. The Dixiecrats and the more reactionary Democrats were enraged.

Most North Carolinians consider Dr. Graham something of a "radical." He has been president of the University of North Carolina since 1930, and has contributed toward making it the oustanding Southern university, and a center of liberalism.

However, Graham's desire is to make progress without hurting any one's feelings. He holds the belief that the struggle against fascism and white supremacy in the U. S. must be waged as a moral and religious educational campaign. This dulls his ability to come to grips with the material and economic basis for the centuries-old subjugation of the Negro people.

★

GRAHAM'S progressivism had serious weaknesses before the war (witness his red-baiting in the Southern Conference for Human Welfare). These weaknesses have intensified since the war. Recently, especially since Roosevelt's death, he has engaged in more frequent red-baiting. He is tied completely to Truman's foreign policy and war program.

FRANK GRAHAM

The State Department used him to give liberal coloration to its machinations in Indonesia (much as it used Mark Ethridge, another Southern liberal for similar purposes in Greece and Bulgaria). Lately, he has become a national committee member of ADA. He is not so brave in defense of free speech as he was in the Roosevelt days. He upheld the action of lesser University officials in barring John Gates, editor of The Worker from speaking on the campus because he was under indictment. Many of the Democratic hacks who fought him bitterly in the '30s lately have had kind words for him.

However, Graham is not the customary type of Southern Senator, and many people are asking why he was appointed. Much of the answer lies in the peculiar position that North Carolina occupies in the South. The Democratic Party in North Carolina has ruled, when possible, with a velvet glove. A policy of force and violence was used against the Negro people only in Reconstruction days, and to destroy the unity achieved with small white farmers in the Populist period. Subsequently, under the guidance of men like C. B. Aycock, Josephus Daniels, O. Max Gardner, and the present Governor Scott, corporation rule has proceeded under the guise of liberalism, paternalism, and "go forward" programs in marked contrast to most other Southern states.

★

DESPITE all the talk of "progress" and "solving the Negro problem," actual conditions of the Negro people are not a great deal better than in the rest of the South. Although the Negro population is about the same, much fewer Negroes vote in North Carolina than in Georgia. When the plantation system operates in the East, police brutality is a daily occurrence and there is always the threat of lynching.

Negroes are being driven from industry, unemployment is daily increasing. The proportion of funds spent on Negro education, as compared to white, is one of the lowest in the South. As might be expected conditions of white workers are bad. The average weekly unemployment compensation payment is the lowest in the country. As a part of Scott's "go forward" program, the minimum compensation has just been raised from four dollars to six dollars per week! Only a small percentage of the state's industrial workers are organized, and there is an anti-closed shop law on the books.

Under these conditions the people are becoming more demanding. The Graham appointment must be considered as recognition by the state and national administrations of the fact that we are entering a period of growing mass struggles. It is an attempt to use Graham's liberal reputation to encourage illusions about the Democratic Party and it is a concession to the common people.

Graham's record and recent statements indicate that mass movements in North Carolina can ensure a progressive vote from him on such issues as Taft-Hartley, Mundt-Nixon, minimum wage, and health insurance. The common people cannot lean back complacently because they see in him a person far superior to corporation lawyers like McLendon and party bosses like Umstead and Wynick. There will be pressure on Graham from two directions. Reactionary pressure will come from his support of the Truman Administration and its foreign policy. The other pressure that must be created is the mass movement of the working class and the Negro people to influence Senator Graham for progress.

Name Ohio Woman Prosecutor's Aide

CLEVELAND — Miss Mary Spivey, graduate of the University of Michigan Law school, last week was appointed assistant police prosecutor here, a $3,400-plus job usually held by a Negro.

Appointment of Miss Spivey, announced by Cleveland Law Director Lee C. Bartley, brought to an end a long delay in filling the job following resignation of Mrs. Jean Murrell Capters.

Miss Spivey is thought to be the youngest, if not the only Negro, woman to hold such a post in the country at the present time.

Ohioan Appointed To Council Seat

GLENDALE, Ohio — Announcement has been made of the appointment of Charles L. Kelly as member of the Village Council here. Kelly's appointment was made by Mayor James R. Carruthers and he will fill the unexpired term of Dr. Robert Harris, who resigned.

Kelly holds a B. S. degree from Tuskegee Institute, and an M.A. degree from Ohio State University. For the past 10 years he has been principal of the Ackstein School here. He is also secretary of the Schoolmasters Club of Greater Cincinnati.

HIGH APPOINTMENT MADE BY GOVERNOR OF OHIO

COLUMBUS, Ohio— (NNPA) — Ohio's Governor Frank J. Lausche toook his second giant stride toward making the administration more truly representative with the appointment Tuesday morning, Aug. 2, of Percy I. Lowery to the chairmanship of the Ohio Pardon and Parole Board.

Governor Lausche named Youngstown's Attorney J. Maynard Dickerson to the Industrial Commission two weeks ago.

A veteran of four years on the board and senior member, Lowery's appointment became effective immediately and will run until March, 1951. He resides at 497 Lexington Ave., Columbus, Ohio.

Commisssioner Lowery is the first Negro in the history of the state to have risen to this high post, and the first Negro chairman of any important state board.

Coming to the commission in 1945, during Governor Lausche's first term, the official is the second Negro to serve as a member. Bishop Reverdy C. Ransom, of the A. M. E. Church, served under the late Governor Martin L. Davey.

Only two other Negroes in the United States have served in similar capacities. They are Matt Bullock of Massachusetts and Walter Gordon of California. Previous to 1945 Lowery was an Ohio parole officer for eight years.

The new appointee is a product of Wilberforce and Ohio State universities. He has done extensive work in the field of criminology and social administration.

Living with Mr. Lowery at the Lexington Avenue address are his wife, Mrs. Helen Lowery; a son, Irvin G. Lowery, an employee of the Ohio State NEWS; and a daughter, Wanda Lowery, employed at Franklin University in Columbus.

Lowery is a veteran of World War I and active in civic, religious and fraternal circles. He is a member of the board of directors of the Y. M. C. A. and the Urban League in Columbus. He is a member of Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity.

Cleveland Gets Council Woman

CLEVELAND — (ANP)— Cleveland got its first Negro woman councilor last week in the person of Jean Capers, local lawyer. Attorney Capers, a former assistant city presecutor is the second Negro woman in the United States to be elected to a city council.

Well known in civic and political circles here, Miss Capers has been practicing law for three years.

Named to Post During Shakeup in Philadelphia

The Afro American

Assistant Director of Public Safety Assumes Office; Graft Charges Probed

Baltimore, Md.

Sat. 1-22-49

PHILADELPHIA — Robert J. Nelson, assistant director of public safety, took over the Fire Marshal's office, Tuesday afternoon, shortly after the Special Grand Jury charges of wholesale graft in the office rocked City Hall.

His new assignment, by James Malone, director of public safety, followed suspension of Fire Marshal George J. Gallagher and seven members of his staff, all white, by Mayor Bernard Samuel, pending outcome of court trials.

The action came on the heels of the grand jury's presentment to Judge Raymond MacNeille, in Quarter Sessions Court, recommending immediate criminal prosecution.

380 Shake-Down Cases

The jury reported evidence of 380 cases of "shakedown" by members of the Fire Marshal's office since Gallagher assumed the position 22 months ago.

Nelson, who will supervise the Fire Marshal's office, a branch of the Safety Department, until after the men are tried, was accompanied to Gallagher's office, Room 230, City Hall Annex, Tuesday, by Malone and John C. Cost, chief of the Fire Bureau.

He said he had no immediate plans for the operation of the office other than assignment of new men to take over duties of those suspended.

Nelson Presbyterian Elder

Appointed assistant director in June, 1946, after Herbert E. Millen, now a Municipal Court Judge resigned, Nelson, one-time newspaperman, served as a member of the State Boxing Commission from 1932 to 1935.

A widower, he lives at N. 57th St. Last Sunday he was made a ruling elder at Reeve Memorial Presbyterian Church.

Oil Dealers Tied In

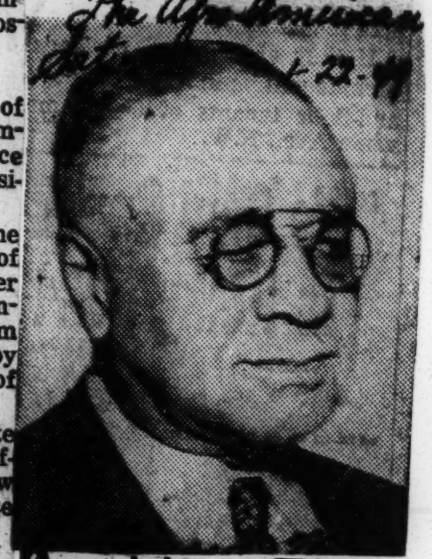
In its report, the Special Grand Jury said that Gallagher and his aides extorted thousands of dollars from installers of oil and gas tanks by charging an illegal "fee" for the permit ranging from $10 to $250. The dealers allegedly tacked the charges on the regular bill for installation services.

Victims of the shakedown, the presentment stated, included churches, old folks homes, the Sal-

Gets Political Plum

The Afro American

Sat. 1-22-49



Pa. Man Gets State Post

Defender

Sat. 1-23-49

PHILADELPHIA — Herbert G. Hardin, law associate of E. Washington Rhodes, was named by Gov. James Duff last week to the position of deputy attorney general and assigned to the inheritance tax division.

Hardin, a graduate of Morgan state college and Howard Law school, served during the last war as lieutenant with the 663rd ordnance company. He is the first Negro to hold such a position in the state.

First Negro Judge Chosen at Pittsburgh

Pittsburgh, Nov. 9 (AP). — Allegheny County (Pittsburgh) elected its first Negro judge—by a 70,000 vote majority—in Tuesday's elections.

He is Homer S. Brown, veteran Democratic State legislator, who won election to Common Pleas Court. He defeated the incumbent Judge Harry N. Jones, Republican.

Brown, a native of Huntington, W. Va., is a graduate of Virginia Union University and the University of Pittsburgh. He was admitted to the bar in 1922.

GETS PROBATION POST IN PHIL.

Philadelphia-George Barbour, has been appointed to the Pennsylvania State Board of parole to fill the vacancy created by the release of a probation agent.

Barbour will be taking the place of former Parole Agent Ernest Dawson, who was dismissed through the request of Walter Anderson, supervisor for the Phil. Office.

The former parole agent's dismissal was claimed by his supporters to be the result of outright prejudice.

Defender
Chicago, Ill.
Sat. 10-29-49

Negro Takes U.S. Judgeship

Chicago Defender

PHILADELPHIA — (AP) — William F. Hastie was sworn in here yesterday as the first Negro judge of a Federal Circuit Court of Appeals. Hastie, former U. S. District Judge and former Governor in the Virgin Islands, was congratulated by Chief Judge John Priggs, Jr., of the Third Circuit Court. He was given an interim appointment to the Third Circuit by President Truman. The appointment is subject to confirmation by the next Senate.

Hastie to Become Judge on Dec. 1

Afro American

Sat. 11-12-49

Gov. William H. Hastie of the Virgin Islands will be sworn in as a judge of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Third Circuit on Dec. 1, it was learned last week.

The newly appointed Federal judge paid a brief visit to Philadelphia, Friday, where he talked with some of his future colleagues on the appellate court bench, looked over his chambers and held an impromptu press conference.

The Governor said he was in Washington attending a meeting of the Caribbean Commission and winding up his Virgin Island affairs.

Knows Nothing of Successor

Asked whether his advice on a successor for the governorship had been sought, Mr. Hastie said no. He added that he had not talked with President Truman since his elevation to the bench, but that he might visit the White House this week.

Mr. Hastie, who served 3½ years as governor of the Islands, made the trip to Philadelphia alone. Newsmen, alerted to his visit, had been waiting over an hour before he arrived, but were in another corridor when he appeared.

Hugh Nichols, a court attache, met the Governor as he came down the back corridor and escorted him to the chambers of Judge Albert T. Maris. Newspapermen hurried over to Judge Maris's chambers and Judge Harry Kalodner, another member of the Circuit Court bench, came in and greeted Mr. Hastie.

Will Hunt House Next Week

Governor Hastie told newsmen his immediate concern was finding a home in the Philadelphia area for his wife, mother and two children. He didn't do any house-hunting last week, but will probably return to the city with his wife within a week or so to pick out suitable quarters.

Pittsburgh Elects Judge

Atlanta, Ga.

Daily World

PITTSBURGH — Pittsburgh's first Negro judge was elected here Tuesday by a 70,000 vote majority.

Homer S. Brown, veteran state legislator, is the new judge. He was elected to the Common Pleas court in a thrilling race with Judge Harry N. Jones, Republican incumbent.

Thurs. 11-10-49

Brown, a graduate of Virginia Union university and the University of Pittsburgh, said he would resign from the state legislature immediately.

Gov. Hastie Sworn In As U.S. Justice

Chicago

Assumes Highest Judicial Post Held By Race

12-9-49

PHILADELPHIA, Pa. (ANP) —When William H. Hastie, 45 former governor of the Virgin Islands, took his oath as judge of the United States Circuit Court of Appeals here last week he became the first member of the Negro race to hold such a position. His post is next to that of the U. S. Supreme Court the highest judicial body of the nation.

Hastie was given an interim appointment to the Third Circuit by President Truman and must be confirmed by the next session of Congress.

Former dean of the Howard University Law school, Mr. Hastie becomes the seventh judge of the Third Circuit. He is a native of Knoxville, Tenn. He served as governor of the Virgin Islands for three and a half years.

Prior to his elevation to that post, Mr. Hastie served as a U. S. District court judge in the Virgin Islands, an assistant solicitor in the Department of the Interior and as civil aide to the Secretary of War during World War II.

A graduate of Amherst college and the Harvard Law school, Hastie is one of the most widely known members of his race in the practice of law and in the fight for manhood rights for the Negro. He is married and is the father of two children.

By California Chief Executive

Gov. Hastie 'Slighted'

The Courier Pittsburgh, Pa.
Sat. 7-16-49

34 = (1) 1A

(From Courier Los Angeles Bureau)

LOS ANGELES—A mounting flood of protests accusing Gov. Earl Warren and Los Angeles' Mayor Fletcher Bowron of "slighting" Gov. William Hastie of the Virgin Islands, poured into The Courier Los Angeles bureau this week. One of the strongest protests came from J. A. Sommerville, prominent local dentist.

Dr. Sommerville's letter, which speaks eloquently for itself, follows: 7-30-49

"The City of Los Angeles conferred a signal honor on its most distinguished son when it designated Sunday, July 17, as 'Dr. Ralph Bunche Day.'

"The citizens of Los Angeles responded with appreciative honor when they went to the Hollywood Bowl in large numbers to hear this distinguished statesman deliver the most profound treatise on democracy this city has ever heard.

"The Honorable William H. Hastie, Governor of the Virgin Islands, presided and the presentation was made by her Excellency V. J. Pandit, India's Ambassador to the United States, a lady of culture, charm and personality who is not excelled anywhere in this nation.

"The occasion was the fortieth anniversary of the NAACP and the presentation of the Spingarn medal to Dr. Bunche for outstanding contributions in the field of human endeavor.

"His Excellency, Earl Warren, Governor of California, who is vacationing just behind the hills of Hollywood, was not present to welcome a visiting Governor, a foreign Ambassador and the United Nations Assembly's representative.

"His Honor, Fletcher, Bowron, Mayor of Los Angeles, read the proclamation of the City Council and immediately thereafter took his departure from the Bowl.

"These discourtesies of Governor Warren and Mayor Bowron were noticed and commented upon by nearly every person in the Bowl. 7-30-49

"It is high time that our public officials realize that Negroes have their aspirations besides casting a vote on Election Day. I have seen both of these gentlemen sit for hours through a political meeting on Central Avenue during campaign times and remain another hour for handshaking.

"More so than anyone else, the Governor and the Mayor should have heard the speech of Dr. Bunche. They would have learned the true meaning of an ideal and integrated democracy, which is so woefully lacking in the State of California.

"Lord God of Hosts be with us yet. Lest we forget. Lest we forget."

34c(1) 1949

Rupert Alstyne Lloyd
Second Secretary to the American Embassy, Paris, France

Appointed To Paris Embassy

WASHINGTON — Rupert Alstyne Lloyd has recently been transferred from his diplomatic post at Monrovia, Liberia, to second secretary to the American Embassy in Paris, France, according to an announcement made by the Department of State.

Lloyd has been in the diplomatic service since 1941 when he was appointed clerk in the American Legation at Managua, Nicaragua in Central America. The following year he was sent to Monrovia, Liberia, as vice counselor where he has served in various diplomatic capacities until the recent appointment to Paris.

He is the first Negro to be appointed to the diplomatic service in Paris.

34c(1) 1949

South Carolina

GOV. THURMOND APPOINTS DOCTOR TO STATE AGENCY

The Daily World, Atlanta Ga.

Wed. 6-15-49

COLUMBIA, S. C. — (ANP) — Gov. J. Strom Thurmond last week appointed a Negro to a state post for the first time during his term as governor. The new appointee is Dr. T. Carr McFall of Charleston to the Advisory Hospital council.

34-(1)

Dr. McFall will take office in September. This committee has charge of funds alloted to South Carolina under the Hill-Burton act. This act provides federal aid to states for the building of hospitals and health facilities. South Carolina is to receive two billion dollars a year for five years under this act.

Dr. McFall is a graduate of Meharry Medical College. At the outbreak of World War II he volunteered for service in the army and worked most of his career under Col. Midian O. Bousfield at Fort Huachuca.

Wed. 6-15-49

Since returning to Charleston after the war he has worked for the development of the Hospital and Training School for Nurses.

Besides his professional activities he is a member of the Alpha Phi Alpha fraternity and the Owls and Athenian clubs in Charleston.

His father is John A. McFall, Sr., one time president of the Mutual Savings bank of Charleston and long time operator of the McFall's pharmacy. The business is now being run by Dr. John A. McFall, Jr

34c(1) 1949 U. S. Minister to Liberia (E. R. Dudley)

As Usual, There's A Woman Behind Man Who May Be An Ambassador

Chicago Illinois

By LILLIAN SCOTT

NEW YORK—When the name of Edward R. Dudley, the present U. S. minister to Liberia, was sent to the Senate last week for confirmation as U. S. ambassador he became the third unique appointee of President Harry S. Truman. The first Negro ambassador, if confirmed, Dudley follows in the footsteps of Gov. William H. Hastie, first Negro territorial governor; and Judge Irvin S. Mollison, first Negro federal judge in the continental United States.

E. R. Dudley

Like them, Dudley is well prepared for his post. A lawyer, he has been assistant special counsel for the NAACP, and in 1945 he was granted leave of absence to serve as counsel to the Governor of the Virgin Islands.

A big, slightly balding, good-looking man, the new ambassador-to-be has two great assets for whatever job he holds—a quick, alert intelligence and an easy-going likable manner which endears him to his associates while he drives through to get a task done.

His wife, the former Rae Olley, a native New Yorker, also has excelled in her position in the New York school system. Receiving special assignments from the Board of Education, she, like her husband, has the rare gift of getting along with people.

This is evident not only in the number of social and civic organizations which she heads and is active in but also when one talks to her.

Ambassadors and their ladies, hemmed in by protocol and quaint diplomatic custom, can often be stuffed shirts. In recent years the United States has appointed outstanding business men and lawyers who have not been in the standard mold. Edward Dudley is one of these; an open, hearty typically American type (despite a sensitive awareness he shares with all his race) to whom the fripperies of frock coat and full dress have been tedious. His adjustment to that, noted by Mrs. Dudley, is somewhat symbolic of his personal adaptability.

Rae Dudley is a very attractive young woman who talks freely and with warmth and humor. Dressed in a red Chinese print dress, set off by a striking silver bracelet and pin, she was at ease in her modern Riverton apartment where we talked to her.

About Liberia, she said thoughtfully, "It's a young country with wonderful possibilities. There're so many industries as yet undeveloped and they're anxious for aid."

She rose and showed us several handsome mementos she had brought home with her in January.

She returned to the subject: "I've always found that a place is the people you come in contact with. We've lived away before—in the Virgin Islands. And in Liberia, we've met some very nice people."

She's thrilled because the legation has just been refurnished. She'll feel at home as her Riverton apartment is done in pale greens and touches of red, and the legation—embassy-to-be—is also completely furnished now in modern furniture of chartreuse and forest green, with red touches. A modern dining room seating 24 has been added.

To help her keep this in order there is a household staff of two cooks, two steward boys, two laundry boys, and a chauffeur under her supervision.

Attached to the legation are the two well known mission on economics and health, the former showing Liberians how to plant fields, fertilize and irrigate with modern methods. The latter operates a clinic which has made brilliant achievements in the control of malaria. In all, including the diplomatic staff which is all Negro, there are 25 people on the legation staff.

The missions are separate entities but come under the minister's direction in cases of political issues and ones which would affect the U. S. government.

Heading the economic mission with a mixed staff is Oscar Meyer, while Dr. Walter Poindexter is the health chief.

Asked how she thought her husband liked Liberia now, she said with pride, "He seems to be doing a good job. I think he must like it."

While she was in Liberia from September, 1948, after he was appointed until January, and on leave from teaching,, their young son, Eddie, Jr., was in New York with her mother, Mrs. Rosa Olley. He is attending the Ethical Culture School here, a private institution.

Mrs. Dudley said, "If the appointment is confirmed, we're moving for good. The family unit is tremendously important for any child."

His mother said that she will tutor him at first in Liberia to ease his adjustment. As an inducement during the interview she held out the promise to him of swimming in the French minister's pool in Monrovia.

Eddie's father was born at South Boston, Virginia, in 1911 and was educated in Roanoke, where his father, Dr. Edward R. Dudley, Sr., a dentist, still lives.

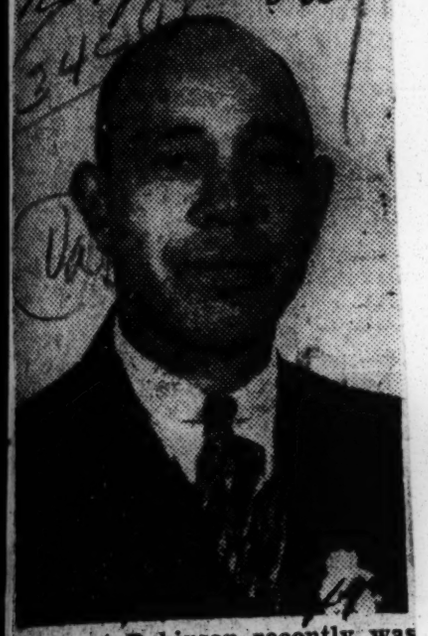
He was graduated from Johnson C. Smith University where two half-brothers of his father's second marriage, are now in school. A third brother is a doctor interning in St. Louis.

Mr. Dudley received his law degree from St. John's University Law School and in February, 1942, he was appointed assistant attorney general for New York State. The next year he joined the NAACP legal staff.

His wife, an only child, went all through school in New York including New York University where she obtained a degree in elementary school education. She taught dancing here for awhile and for three years had a school of her own in Brooklyn. Never a professional, she had been taking lessons since childhood.

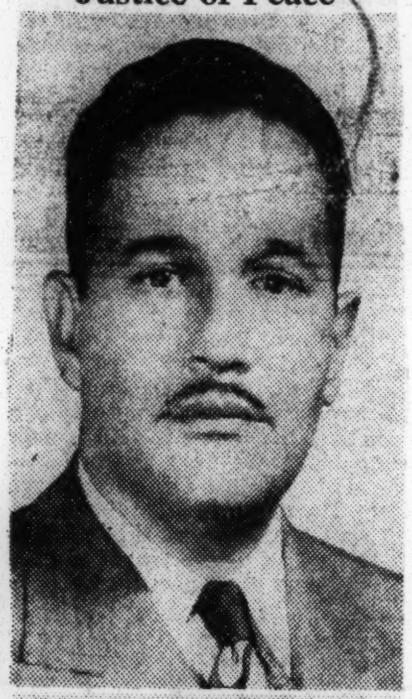
In the 1930's, she started teaching in the public schools. While she'd known Ed Dudley for years before, they only became interested in one another in 1940 as a result of a lark when she says laughingly, "I won him at a football game."

Named Member Of County Commission



Ernest Robinson recently was appointed to the Warwick County (Va.) Planning Commission by the county board of supervisors to be the first of his race so honored. He replaces G. A. Mahler, white, who resigned.

Justice of Peace



Candidates of the Democratic Party and running without opposition, James A. Jackson, top, and Harold Stewart, bottom, were elected justices of the peace this week in the Petersburg, Va. general election. Mr. Jackson was elected from the third ward and Mr. Stewart from the sixth.

34c(1) 1949

Washington

Negro Woman Aide Pleases State Senators

Northwest Enterprise
Seattle Washington
Wed. 12/14-49

'TAKE A LETTER': Mrs. Octava Norris took dictation from Senator Alfred J. Westberg, liquor-control committee head.

By ED GUTHMAN
Times Staff Correspondent

OLYMPIA, Jan. 14.—The State Senate broke a precedent today with the appointment of Mrs. Octava Norris of Seattle to be secretary of three committees.

Mrs. Norris, a Negro, is the first of her race to be a legislative committee secretary.

A friendly, graying woman, Mrs. Norris went to work for the Senate in 1941 as an attendant in the women's lounge. At that time there were four woman senators.

Three Women in Senate

There were three women senators at the 1943 session and Mrs. Norris again was lounge attendant. In 1945 Lady Willie Forbus of Seattle was the only woman senator. Mrs. Forbus decided the lounge need not be kept open for her alone.

Mrs. Forbus encouraged Mrs. Norris to become a Senate stenographer. Mrs. Norris did, with some misgivings, for it had been many years since she had done such work.

"Well, somehow I did the job satisfactorily and that gave me incentive to brush up on secretarial work," Mrs. Morris recalled today. "I went to business school and got a position with the Army."

Mrs. Norris was named secretary of the following committees:

Liquor control, Senator Alfred J. Westberg, Seattle, chairman; engrossed and enrolled bills, Senator Charles J. McDonald, Republican, Seattle, chairman; medicine and dentistry, Senator Ross Early-wine, Republican, Everett, chairman.

Mrs. Norris is the widow of Ira Norris, former King County sheriff's deputy, who died in 1940. She is a sister-in-law of Capt. Wendell Norris of the King County sheriff's office, and Patrolman Claude and Carl Norris of the Seattle Police Department. Her Seattle residence is at 816 23rd Av.

Senators are Mrs. Norris' biggest boosters. They are glad she's working for them.

34c(2) 1949

Arizona

Editor Quits Council Race

PHOENIX, Ariz. -(ANP)- The entry of a second Negro candidate this week resulted in the withdrawal of Dr. F. Benson, editor of the Arizona Sun from the forthcoming city councilman election. The newsman termed it "political suicide" for any two Negroes to compete for the same office with the small number of registered Negro voters in the city.

Benson had obtained a place on the ballot on the basis of a petition signed by some 500 local citizens.

In his "I do not choose to run" announcement, Benson stated: "After taking into consideration all that goes with running for political office, the sacrifice it entails in an all-out campaign would result negatively, especially, after the second Negro candidate entered the race.

"It goes without saying to campaign against another race man would be malapropose from any angle that many of us know and understand." The editor pledged his support to candidates "who have a chance of winning and also have the interest of our race at heart."

34c (2) 1949

Arkansas

APPEAL OF POLL TAX, FIRM ANTI-LYNCH LAW PROPOSED BY M'MATH

Special
Memphis Tenn.
Wed. 1-12-49

Governor Tells Inauguration Crowd States Must Avoid U. S. Encroachment

Wed. 1-12-49

ELECTION CODE SOUGHT

Highway Modernization Plan Demands Prompt Action, He Tells Legislators — School Help Asked

34c (2)

(Pictures on Section Page)

By DICK ALLEN

From The Commercial Appeal Little Rock Bureau

—LITTLE ROCK, Jan. 11.—Gov. Sidney P. McMath Tuesday asked the Arkansas Legislature to enact a "strong, specific anti-lynching law" and also recommended that the Legislature submit a constitutional amendment calling for elimination of the poll tax as a prerequisite for voting.

Almost 1000 visitors and friends saw the young Hot Springs lawyer inaugurated in one of the most colorful ceremonies in recent history. The new Governor was escorted into the House chamber where he received the oath, by an honor guard of Marines and an American Legion drum and bugle corps. His wife, their two sons, and his mother were in the audience.

Notables Present

His inaugural address was made on the capitol steps bedecked with flowers, while a huge 30 by 50 foot American flag draped the front of the building. Among those attending the ceremony were Secretary of Treasury John Snyder, as a personal representative of President Truman, Senator William J. Fulbright, and Representatives E. C. Gathings, W. F. Norrell, Boyd Tackett and Oren Harris.

Arkansas' new governor, inaugurated before a joint session of the General Assembly as the youngest governor in the state's modern history, said the state must enact these measures unless it wanted the Federal Government to invade the state's area of jurisdiction in those matters.

"Government is becoming more centralized," the Governor said. "The states have relied too much on the Federal Government for the solutions to problems that are primarily states' problems and municipalities and counties have relied too much on the states."

Centralization Feared

He declared the failure of states to shoulder their own responsibilities had resulted in "Federal action that tends to become excessive and dangerous."

"The final result, if continued, will be complete centralization of power in Washington and destruction of the effective political entity of the states," Governor McMath asserted. "To the degree that the states fail or refuse to solve their own major social, economic and political problems—to that extent there is justification for Federal concern."

The 36-year-old former prosecuting attorney of Hot Springs told the legislators if Arkansas did not assume its responsibilities "It is inevitable there will be Federal assumption of her responsibilities."

"Much has been written and said in recent years about civil rights in the South," he declared. "It has been contended the Central Government in Washington must enact laws and send United States marshals into our states to protect rights guaranteed by the Federal Constitution.

Memphis Tenn

Asks Poll Tax Referendum

"I say that is not so. It has been 21 years since we have had a lynching in Arkansas, but I recommend that this General Assembly enact a strong specific anti-lynching law providing for severe punishment for those who participate in the crime. Arkansas does not need the assistance of Federal law

pressing problem "is inadequate teachers' salaries."

Governor McMath added, however, he believed local communities were spending too little on education and called on these communities to "carry their fair share of the load."

Governor McMath told the Legislature he planned to increase old-age pensions from $20 to $30 per month through a revision of the Revenue Stabilization Act. Under his proposal, he said, the state's total appropriation for welfare purposes will be increased from $5,000,000 to $10,000,000.

He also told the General Assembly that a number of special taxes which yield little or no revenue to the state should be eliminated; that the cigaret tax should be reduced from six to four cents per package; elimination of exemptions of the sales tax law should be accomplished; certain features of the state income tax should be made uniform with Federal practice, and that four and a half cents of the state's six-cent tax on gasoline should be refunded on fuel used in farm implements.

Assemblyman W. Byron Rumford, his family and colleague are shown seated at the opening session of the State Legislature in Sacramento. L. R.: Randolph Rumford, son; Mrs. Elsie Rumford, Assemblyman Rumford, and Assemblyman Abe Lincoln.

Assemblyman Presents Five Bills in First Week

Sun-Reporter San Francisco, Calif. 1-14-49

SACRAMENTO—The Honorable W. Byron Rumford, newly elected Assemblyman from Oakland and Berkeley, introduced one bill his first week in the State Assembly and co-sponsored four others.

Mr. Rumford presented Assembly Bill 151 which is designed to prohibit segregation and discrimination in the State Guard of California, and safeguard the status of the Negro officers and non-commissioned officers by preventing reduction in status in integrating the organization. The bill would bring the State Guard under the California Civil Code.

The 17th District Assemblyman teamed with the other Negro representative, Assemblyman Augustus Hawkins, Los Angeles, and introduced Bill Number 32, which, if passed, will discontinue the practice of insurance companies refusing to write policies covering automobiles owned by Negroes on the basis of racial identity. Assemblyman Rumford collaborated on a measure which will cause the wife of a veteran to be eligible to sign for tax exemption on real property purchased by the couple thus facilitating the services to veterans.

The other two bills co-sponsored by the young Assemblyman were a bill extending unemployment insurance to farm workers and, one for an appropriation to extend the child care center program throughout the State.

Elsie Carrington, was a schoolmate at the University of California. The Rumfords have three children. 1-7-49

Augustus Hawkins, Los Angeles, veteran with eight years in the Assembly, is the other Negro member of the California Legislature.

Two Coaches Attend Conference Here

Head football coaches of two Negro colleges are in attendance to the National Collegiate Athletic Association Conference currently in session at Hotel St. Francis.

Harry Jefferson of Virginia State College, Petersburg, Virginia, and Edward Jackson of Howard University, Washington, D. C., are the two gridiron specialists helping to make new rules.

Rumford Inducted

Sun-Reporter San Francisco, Calif. 1-7-49

Berkeley Negro Becomes Assemblyman; Family, Supporters Witness Event

By H. T. S. JOHNSON, JR.

SACRAMENTO, Jan. 3—The dreams of a drugstore delivery boy to become a political figure began what promises to be a brilliant future today, when W. Byron Rumford was sworn into the office of State Assemblyman from the 17th District, in the State capitol a the initial session of the 1949 Legislature. Likewise, Rumford's formal induction directly materialized the aspirations of thousands of Negroes in northern California, and fills the hearts of millions of others with justifiable pride. The contest for Assemblyman marked Rumford's first candidacy for public office. Mr. Rumford, Democrat, defeated Edgar S. Hurley, Republican candidate, in the general election November 3, by a 3 to 1 margin.

The Honorable Assemblyman is a pharmacist and owner of the Rumford Pharmacy, Sacramento and Ashby Streets, Berkeley, and principal stockholder in the Center Pharmacy, Seventh Street, Oakland. His wife, the former

34c(2) 1949 Congressman (William L.Dawson)

N.Y. Solon Assigned To Chicagoan

Defender

(34c)

Chicago, Ill.

WASHINGTON — Freshman Congressman Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr., last week was assigned to serve on the House Committee on Executive Expenditures, under the tutelage of Chairman William L. Dawson, Congressman from Chicago.

Sat. 7-2-49

Young Roosevelt, who won his political spurs by his overwhelming victory as an independent Democrat in the race for the New York congressional seat of the late Sol Bloom, expressed himself as highly pleased by the appointment, and the opportunity to serve with the veteran Dawson.

(34c)

The committee is one of the most powerful House committees, with full power to investigate and to recommend congressional action on any matter arising under the various executive departments of the government.

Congressman Roosevelt, who was sworn in two weeks ago, and welcomed into the Democratic fold by House leaders as well as by President Truman in a special White House inetrview, made his maiden speech last week as an advocate for the federal housing bill.

As an official and organizer of the AVC, a member of the NAACP, and various other liberal groups, Roosevelt is expected to vote with the liberal and progressive Democrats in the House. He received solid support of Negro and Puerto Rican voters in his district during the recent election.

Appointment Unprecedented in U. S. History

Rep. Dawson to Have Broad Powers as Committee Head

Pittsburg Courier Pittsburg Pa.

Sat-1-8-49

34c(1)

By LEM GRAVES Jr.

(Courier Washington Correspondent)

WASHINGTON—The appointment this week of Congressman William L. Dawson to the chairmanship of the House Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Department not only marked achievement of the most powerful and influential position ever held by a Negro in U. S. politics, but placed Representative Dawson in a position to safeguard many of the rights of Negro citizens who are discriminated against in Federal employment.

The responsibility of this committee to investigate complaints in the Federal Government arising from "action, rule, regulation, procedure, order or directive (which) invades the constitutional rights, privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States," is clearly and unmistakably set forth in House Resolution 118, Eightieth Congress, which is part of the rules governing the duties of this committee.

Easily one of the most powerful committees of the House of Representatives, this body has a wide variety of legislative as well as investigatory powers which can reach into virtually every corner of the Federal Government establishment. Sat-1-8-49

The final technical hurdle which had to be cleared before Representative Dawson would be officially designated chairman of the committee was cleared last weekend when the Democratic caucus nominated Rep. John McCormack, (D.-Mass.) as the majority floor leader. He was the only Democratic congressman having seniority over Representative Dawson and he publicly renounced any claim to the chairmanship in a statement issued last Saturday. Floor leaders rarely accept committee chairmanships. In fact, said Congressman Dawson, Representative McCormack has agreed to serve on the committee under Dawson's leadership.

WASHINGTON—A testimonial dinner on Jan. 21 will honor Rep. William L. Dawson for his services as a national leader. It will be sponsored by the Democratic party, with D. C. Recorder of Deeds, the Rev. Marshall Shepard, as dinner committee chairman. National committee chairman, Sen. Howard McGrath, and Sen. Scott Lucas of Illinois will be honorary co-chairmen.

LAUDED BY McCORMACK

In a statement Representative McCormack said: "It is a source of pleasure to me that Mr. Dawson will become chairman of this important committee. In addition, it will be a happening of great and pleasant significance. In my opinion, Mr. Dawson will make a great chairman. He will perform his duties with ability, with dignity and with courage." He indicated that he had always intended to step aside in Dawson's favor.

This chairmanship will provide Congressman Dawson with the opportunity to write and introduce considerable legislation which is not racial in character.

IMPORTANT FUNCTIONS

The committee will conduct studies and investigations into complaints that agency orders exceed constituted authority and that citizens are unfairly penalized by agency rules without fair trials. It is authorized to sit and hold hearings anywhere in the United States and to issue, on the signature of the chairman, subpoenas for any person or evidence it needs. It will control budget and accounting measures, other than appropriations, it will examine reports of the comptroller general, study all aspects of government to determine if agencies are operating with economy and efficiency, and supervise the expenditures of all agencies of the executive branch of the Government.

It has numerous other functions all highly important in the operation of the Federal Government.

civil rights a major political issue in the recent presidential campaign.

Would Give FSA Place In Cabinet

Chicago Defender

34c(2)

Chicago Illinois

WASHINGTON — Illinois' Congressman William L. Dawson, who heads the House Committee on Executive Expenditures, in a history making action last week presented to the House the Administration bill for a federal Department of Welfare with cabinet status. Sat-1-15-49

Rep. Dawson, serving his fourth term from the First Illinois district, urged this action immediately following President Truman's State of the Union Address in which the President asked cabinet position for the Federal Security Agency which now administers health education and social security. Dawson's department of welfare would mean simply a change of name an elevation of FSA as requested by the President.

Plan Senate Action, Also

Chairman John J. McClellan, (Dem., Ark.), who will head the Senate committee on executive expenditures indicated that he will offer a similar bill in the upper house. Sat-1-15-49

Action is expected to follow recommendations of the Hoover Commission of which McClellan is a member. This Commission has been studying government reorganization and is expected to recommend making FSA a cabinet post and to work out organizational difficulties which have prevented this previously.

Dawson, Arvey Get Civil Rights Award

Chicago Defender

34c(2)

Congressman William L. Dawson and Cook County Democratic committee chairman Jacob L. Arvey were presented with awards for meritorious service in behalf of civil liberties and democracy this week by the Chicago Civil Liberties committee at its annual meeting at the Congress hotel in Chicago. Sat-2-19-49

The two men were honored for their successful effort to make

Use Colored Poll Judges

Norfolk Virginia

34c(2)

3 Other Virginia Cities Listed As Employing Negroes

Sat-4-23-49

By International News Service

RICHMOND, Va.—For the first time since the Reconstruction era, colored Richmonders will be numbered among the officials of a Richmond election.

The city electoral board announced the departure from the long-standing practice of having white officials only on the occasion of a meeting April 14 attended by a delegation of six Negro leaders.

The colored officials will supervise balloting in Richmond precincts having a predominantly colored population.

Wilmer L. O'Flaherty, elections board secretary, said the total number of Negro officials for the coming August primary and the November general elections would probably be about twenty.

HAS NEGRO COUNCILMAN

He said that "due to the increased number of Negro voters in Richmond, the Electoral Board has been considering for several years appointing some colored officials in certain precincts in Richmond" which he listed. Sat-4-23-49

(Richmond has a Negro member of the City Council, Oliver W. Hill, prominent lawyer, who was elected last August.)

Richmond To

MERRY-GO-ROUND

Southerners Respect Negro Congressman

Birmingham News

BY DREW PEARSON

WASHINGTON. Without benefit of flashbulbs or fanfare, an important Southern congressman has put civil rights to work on a voluntary basis. Fri 1-21-49

Congr. Henderson Lanham of Rome, Ga., who believes in cooperation with Negroes but doesn't like laws forcing cooperation, walked into the office of the leading Negro member of Congress, William Dawson, of Chicago, the other day and offered to serve under him.

Lanham is No. 3 man on the important House committee on executive expenditures, and he agreed to take a back seat to the Negro. He also had a pleasant talk with the Chicago Democrat about their boyhood back in Georgia. It developed that they had been reared only a few miles apart.

Birmingham Ala.

Lanham asked about Dawson's family and learned his grandparents had been slaves, once owned by the founders of Dawson, Ga. Discussing politics, the two agreed there was no reason to let Jim Crowism keep them from working together in Congress.

"We used to play with white children," recalled Dawson. "There was no hatred between children. We used to get in fights, but they were children's fights. There was no racial bitterness."

Another Southern congressman, Porter Hardy, of Virginia, has also announced he will stay on Dawson's committee.

* * *

Dinner For Dawson

MEANWHILE A DINNER is being held tonight at the Interior Department in honor of the first Negro ever to become chairman of a congressional committee. Actually, Congr. Dawson tried to discourage the dinner. He felt it would put too many of his Southern colleagues on the spot. However, his Northern friends had proceeded with the plans without consulting him.

So far, Southern congressmen have all declined, though many have paid tribute to Dawson personally. Congr. Albert Thomas of Texas sent a $25 check for the dinner's testimonial fund, which will be used to grant loans to Negro college students. Thomas also wrote: "Permit me to say I have served with Bill for many years. He is a fine man, a great public servant and a close friends. . . ."

Other Southerners also wrote kind words of tribute, such as Kentucky's Congr. Frank Chelf who scribbled underneath his formal letter turning down the invitation: "Congr. Dawson has the respect of all the members of Congress. He is a good man."

The reason for these tributes is modest Congr. Dawson himself. He has plugged along quietly and efficiently, keeping in the background, avoiding clashes with such demagogues as Mississippi's John Rankin, until he has now been accepted into the leadership of the House.

BY DREW PEARSON

Colored Congressman Wins Respect

ILLINOIS' CONGR. WILLIAM DAWSON, first Negro committee chairman in congressional history, is proving that he can make democracy work in the House expenditures committee.

Birmingham News 2-7-49

One man who is keenly aware of this is Harry Truman. The day before Dawson's committee reported the reorganization measure for House action, the president told the Chicago Negro:

"I couldn't have asked for better cooperation from your committee on this important legislation. You're doing a great job. Keep it up."

34c(2)

Turning to the committee colleagues who

accompanied him, Dawson said: "Thank you, Mr. President, but these gentlemen and others on the committee deserve the credit, not me."

Three outstanding legislators from the South made it a special point to go to the White House with Dawson and support him — Henderson Lanham of Georgia, Porter Hardy, Jr., of Virginia and Herbert Bonner of North Carolina. Others who accompanied Dawson were Chet Holafield of California, Frank Karsten of Missouri and House Majority Leader John McCormick of Massachusetts.

Men like Lanham, Hardy and Bonner have worked with Dawson because they like him personally, respect his ability, and because they have a high regard for the democratic process of government.—©.

Tribute To Congressman Dawson

It is no accident that Congressman William L. Dawson, of Chicago, was so signally honored last week in Washington by his white and colored friends. From the standpoint of latter day Negro congressmen in Washington, Congressman Dawson has no equal. We remember former Congressman Oscar De Priest for his genial good manners. But for all of these, he lacked the thorough understanding and training which make of a Congressman a valuable instrument for good. Dawson has none of the brash and boast of his predecessor, Congress Mitchell. Wherever and whenever the opportunity presented itself, Mr. Mitchell gloried in his personal achievement which at times became a bore to his audiences. But in Congressman Dawson, Negroes and whites of Chicago whom he represents, have a leader of splendid vision, sober judgment and rare good taste. He has the respect of all members of Congress and by that token, is in position to wield tremendous influence for good not only for his immediate Chicago constituents, but for all American Negroes.

Thus, it is no surprise that so many white and Negro leaders gathered to honor him and thus set a new precedent in Washington's history.

Mr. Dawson played a major role in helping to swing the Negro vote to President Truman to the tune of almost three to one. And it is no surprise that so loyal a man would be honored with the post as chairman of the important House executive expenditures committee.

Little by little the Negro is taking his place in Washington and in other forward-looking communities. In a unique manner, Democracy was in great evidence at the Truman's inauguration. Negroes who stood loyal to the party traditions participated in everything from the Inaugural Ball to the smallest activity of the ceremonies.

The time for this simple, but fundamental justice to Negroes is long past due. And ordinary citizens of decent instincts cannot quite believe the story of what took place at the Mallard's trial in Toombs County. That and many other tragic stories kin to it, account for the reported snub and boos given to Talmadge when he passed in the receiving line. Georgia nor any other southern state, cannot afford to go on ignoring and violating the rights of Negroes and hope to escape the penalty and criticism which inevitably follow such human injustice.

A. N. Fields Chicago Defender

Dawson Is An Example Of Leadership Needed

IN this general political confusion now confronting the American people it behooves us as a race to stop and study our political aim, and to fortify our judgment to the effect, that in seeking the greater benefit that we don't lose sight of the essential elements of progress we've made in placing responsible members of our own race in important positions.

The First Congressional District of Illinois was the first to achieve a distinct victory of electing a member of the race to a place in Congress as a Democrat. William L. Dawson is now serving his fourth term as a member of Congress. His re-election in November last opened the gateway to greater political usefulness in the ranks of the Democratic party by reason of his priority which comes through the selection of the members of the various congressional committees.

He had already achieved the unique distinction of having been appointed as one of the 12 members of the Advisory Committee of the Democratic party in Cook County. In Congress Dawson has not been a prolific speech-maker. He has sought to transplant deeds where others have made speeches. Probably his most outstanding accomplishment was his ability to convince the Democratic high-command that the time had come for the appointment of a Negro as federal judge. He selected to fill that position an outstanding lawyer, residing in his Congressional District, in the person of Atty. Irvin C. Mollison, son of a distinguished lawyer, the late Atty. W. E. Mollison.

Congressman Dawson cast his lot with the Democratic party during the administration of ex-Mayor Edward J. Kelley. He took over the Second Ward as acting Ward Committeeman (later electing himself in his own right) at a time when the ward was heavily Republican. In fact, it had been known to register on election day as high as 25,000 votes for the Republican County and city ticket. Under the direction of the new Democratic committeeman, Dawson, a new pattern, was fashioned and formed.

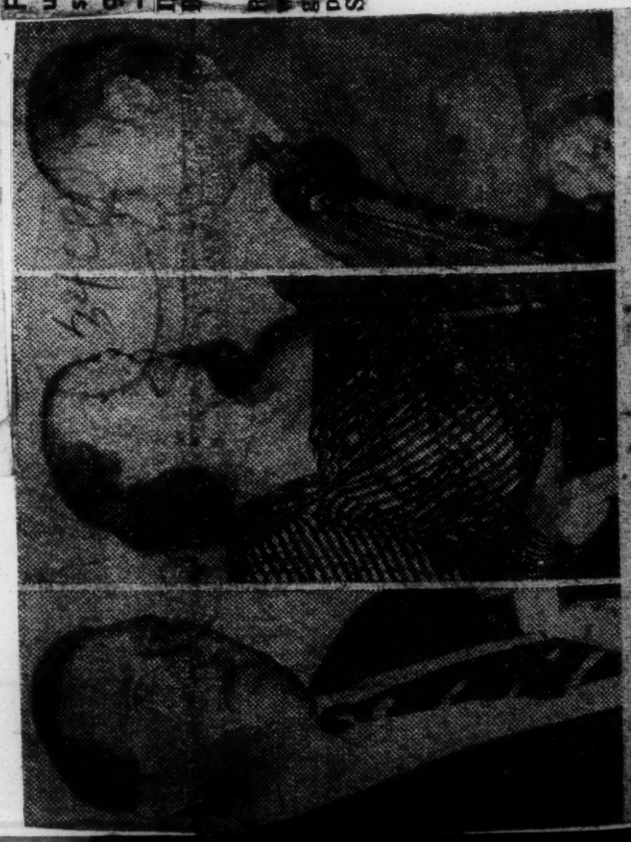
He was told by the white leaders of the Democratic party that he would never be able to build a colored Democratic organization in the Second Ward. Dawson told them to give him the same ammunition they used to build the Democratic organization in their wards and he would build one in the Second Ward, and he did.

On a question of a candidate for Congress in the First Congressional District, all intelligent voters—whether they be Democrats or Republicans—must agree on the fact that Congressman Dawson has not reached the period where the length of time in Congress has made him a powerful and influential force. It has given him personal contact and acquaintance with men in all phases of our government and national life. This has been highly beneficial to all members of our race.

Friday night was one of the highlights of the colorful inaugural ceremonies. Those having tickets to Mr. Dawson were, left to right: Senator Myers, Pennsylvania; Congresswoman Douglas, California and Senator Lucas, Illinois. —Blagburn Photos.

DAWSON ABLE TO ARGUE BEFORE SUPREME COURT.

WASHINGTON, D. C. (NNPA) — Rep. William L. Dawson of Chicago, was admitted last Monday to practice before the United States Supreme Court.



THEY PRAISED CONGRESSMAN DAWSON—The dinner given in honor of Congressman William L. Dawson (D., Ill.) in Washington

Hoover's Thoughts Must Have Raced Backward As He Faced Dawson

Cleveland Herald
Cleveland, Ohio 34c(2)

By AL WHITE

WASHINGTON—(ANP)—"The next witness is the Honorable Herbert Hoover" rang out a voice in the capitol.

Herbert Hoover, ex-President of the U. S., elder statesman of the Republican Party, administrator of relief for millions of famished Europeans, the epitome of administrative ability and wealth, was appearing before a committee whose chairman was a Negro—a Negro whose claim to high office Hoover had once passed over.

What thoughts must have run through Mr. Hoover's massive brain last Monday as he faced Congressman William L Dawson, chairman of the Congressional committee on expenditures. The former president reported the findings of the commission on governmental reorganization of which he was head, dispassionately. He may not even have remembered that this same Congressman's name had been passed by.

It was back in 1929 when Mr Hoover had just been elected President. Known as one of the ablest men of his generation, he was expected to chart a program which would thrust the U. S. into the forefront of the world.

Many people assumed that Hoover was indifferent so far as Negroes were concerned. There are many factual happenings to prove that motion false. One of his first moves was to call in his friend, Dr. Robert R. Moton, late president of Tuskegee Institute. Dr. Moton had just served as one of his principal aides in the terrible 1927 flood disaster.

Mr. Hoover told Dr. Moton that he wanted to do something truly important governmentally for Negroes. The department of justice had just been reorganized. Under the new arrangement assistant attorney-generals were made the heads of extensive departments. The two or three Negroes appointees in the past had been "special assistants to the attorney-general." An office and secretary was the extent of their establishments. None had ever headed a department with scores of lawyers working under them, not even the late William H. Lewis of Boston, the first assistant to an attorney-general ever to be named.

Dr. Moton was told by the then president of the U. S., that he wanted the very best men obtainable.

"What I want", Mr. Hoover told Dr. Moton, "Is a man who will represent the best in character and attainment in the Negro race. I don't care whether he is a Republican or a Democrat. I want a man whom neither you or I will ever need be ashamed of.

Politics started "stop action" at once. In a day or two Dr. Moton received a phone call from the President saying he had discovered that political expendiency dictated that the new appointee would have to come from Illinois or Indiana. Moton followed the instructions but since he was not intimately acquainted, with the men in those areas best prepared to succeed in such a post, called on friends to help. Claude A. Barnett was asked to make a survey of the lawyers in Illinois and Indiana.

The result was that Dr. Moton proposed eight names to President Hoover. These included William L. Dawson, James B. Cashin, Irvin C. Nollison, Wendell E. Green, Earl B. Dickerson, and the late William H. Haynes, all of Chicago. Cornelius Richardson of Richmond and R. L. Bailey of Indianapolis were the two from Indiana. All were Republicans then including Dawson with the exception of Dickerson, who had become a Democrat.

The names were sent to the President. Presumably they were passed upon by political powers that were in Illinois and Indiana. Dr. Moton was advised that James B. Cashin appeared to meet the requirements and he was asked to bring him in to meet the President. Unable to go to Washington at that time Dr. Moton sent Barnett to make the introduction. When Cashin left the White House it seemed definite the race was about to have its first attorney general. 34c(2)

But political wheels moved slowly. It is said heavy pressure was brought upon President Hoover to prevent appointment of a Negro to a post where he would be chief over a lot of white attorneys. In any event, the appointment was not made.

Mr. Hoover would be interested perhaps to know what happened to the men whose names Dr. Moton presented; Dawson, now in Congress, and political boss of much of Chicago; Cashin has had many honors in the city of Chicago, having been a member of both the board of education and civil service commission; Dickerson, former alderman, president National Bar association; Mollison, judge of the U. S. Customs court; Bailey served as assistant attorney general of the State of Indiana. Richardson is the grand-master of the Masons of Indiana and well-known politically in that state.

None of this history came to the front as the aging Mr. Hoover stood before the brown-skinned Congressman with his report. It may have been, however, a projection of what the political horizon may hold for the future.

PLAQUE FOR DAWSON — Congressman Dawson of Illinois receives Fisk University Alumni plaque from John Davis, New York publisher, at Dawson dinner in Washington Friday night. —Rowe Photo.

PEOPLE In The NEWS

First Negro Chairman of Committee Of Congress Recalls Long Road Upward

Washington Post
Washington, D.C.

A man of slave ancestry talked yesterday about the chain of events that have assured him the distinction of being the first Negro ever to become chairman of a committee of Congress.

He is Representative William Levi Dawson, Democrat of Illinois, who is beginning his fourth term in Congress and will head the House Committee on Expenditures in the executive department in the Eighty-first Congress.

He spoke with taciturn modesty and only in response to prodding questions, but he spoke, too, with quiet and understandable pride.

He talked of "a great man—my father." He discussed the days when he worked as a bellhop to earn money to go to college. He related how he left Georgia for Chicago, where he became a lawyer. He mentioned briefly his World War I service, during which he became a first lieutenant and was wounded and gassed. He described how he switched from the Republican Party to the Democratic Party in 1939 "under the influence and liberalism of Franklin D. Roosevelt." And he said of the immediate future:

"All I want to do is to do a good job as chairman of the committee. I am honored, and I will try to do right."

What the 62-year-old Representative said will be given here in his own words.

They were words that took him along a long path from Albany, Ga., where he was born on April 16, 1886, through the Albany Normal School, Fisk University at Nashville, Tenn., Chicago-Kent College of Law and Northwestern University School of Law, and on through war and a legal practice into politics and Congress.

Some of the questions were put to Dawson to clarify points that were left obscure in a reference book's biographical sketch of him.

The sketch related that he is the son of Levi and Rebecca Kendrick Dawson, that he is married to the former Nellie M. Brown, and that they have two children, William L., jr., and Barbara Ann. It referred to another Negro who was elected to Congress, and said that he was "also the son of former slaves." This implied that Dawson was the son of slaves, and so the questioning began with:

Q. Were your parents slaves, Mr. Dawson?

A. No. My grandmother was, but my mother and father were not. They came along after the Civil War, and so they were not. My grandmother lived with my parents and the family until she died. It was when I was quite a small boy.

Q. Was your grandfather a slave, too?

A. I don't know about my grandfather.

Q. The sketch says that you were "more fortunate than most Negroes and were able to attend the Albany Normal School." How were you able to go? Did you work your way through, or what?

A. Not through that school; not courses later?

Q. How did you get through Fisk University, and through the law entirely. It was a pay school run by the American Missionary Society. My parents were able to help me. I worked, too. I was able to go to that school instead of the country school.

Q. How were they able to help you?

A. My father was a barber in Albany.

Q. How did you get through Fisk University, and through the law

Controller General Lindsay C. Warren (right) conferring with Representative William L. Dawson, chairman of the House Committee on Expenditures, before testifying on reorganization of Government agencies.

Capital Spotlight

Dawson Admitted To Supreme Court Bar

BY LOUIS LAUTIER
For the NNPA News Service

WASHINGTON, D. C.—(NNPA)—Representative Bill Dawson, of Chicago, was one of four Illinois congressmen who were admitted the other Monday to practice before the United States Supreme Court. Incidentally, a Dawson appointee, Charley Nelson, the son of Lt. Dennis Nelson, is entering the Naval Academy in the next class, and another one, Charles Edward Hughes, is entering West Point.

Barrington Jackson, a New Yorker, an appointee of Rep. Adam Clayton Powell, is also entering the next class at West Point, while Dennis, 3rd, another son of the Nelsons, is going to Annapolis as a Powell appointee.

The full House Education and Labor Committee is scheduled to vote on the Powell FEPC bill on Wednesday, June 29.

* * * *

DR. ROBERT E. MARTIN, of the department of government at Howard University, has been appointed to one of three internships in general education at Columbia College, Columbia University.

These internships were instituted by Columbia College, the pioneer in general education, with the help of the Carnegie Foundation to aid in the training of teachers in American colleges in courses in the humanities, and natural and social sciences, which are comprehensive general orientation courses in these three broad areas of human culture.

This internship means that Dr. Martin will teach at Columbia College in the contemporary civilization course and thereby learn at first hand methods and techniques.

Duties in Congress Keep Rep. Dawson Busy

Rep. William L. Dawson (Dem., Ill.), extreme left, listens carefully as Rep. M. G. Burnside of Virginia puts over a point. Center are Reps. Anthony F. Taurello and William L. Pfeiffer, both of New York. All are members of the Expenditures in Executive Departments Committee of which Representative Dawson is chairman. For more about Representative Dawson and his job in Congress, see AFRO MAGAZINE in this issue.

34c(2) 1949

Congressmen (Powell)

NAACP's Clarence Mitchell says that Adam Powell's acceptance of a labor subcommittee chairmanship to consider FEPC in lieu of insisting on anti-Taft-crew amendments to the administration labor bill is working to the disadvantage of labor union reforms on the race issue . . . Every Congressman asked to fight for amendments on the House floor passes the buck to the FEPC Committee . . . Mitchell contends that an FEPC bill would not correct union discrimination and that such reforms must be written into the labor union law.

The closed, restricted Fahy committee hearings are about as "secret" as the Washington Monument. Witnesses are mailing their testimony to newspapermen and freely talk about what they say.

The NAACP and The Courier are looking for evidence of discrimination against Negro veterans by the housing loan section of the Veterans Administration . . . Victims are urged to contact this writer or NAACP legal staff.

Col. Hyman Y. Chase, commander of the Twenty-fourth Trucking Battalion in Germany, is being charged with harsh treatment of his soldiers and is likely to be investigated for improper conduct while leading Negro troops in support of the Berlin Airlift.

Powell To Head House Committee To Write New U. S. Labor Law

The Defender, Chicago Ill.

The Defender Chicago Ill Sat. 5-28-49

CONGRESSMAN ADAM C. POWELL, Jr., speaks at an Open Air Fire Prevention Rally on May 15, Seventh ave., 135th. Glester Hinds, chairman, is seated next to him.

(Defender Washington Bureau)

WASHINGTON — Representative Adam Clayton Powell (D., N. Y.) has been designated by Chairman Lesinski (D., Mich.) acting chairman of a House labor subcommittee to write the new labor law.

Powell will take over the duties of Representative Augustine B. Kelley (D., Pa.), key administration figure on the closely divided House Labor Committee who has been selected by President Truman as a member of the United States delegation to the International Labor Organization conference at Geneva. 5-28-49 Sat.

Powell said there is little likelihood that a vote will be taken on any labor legislation—including Taft-Hartley repeal, minimum wage of FEPC bills until after Kelley returns on July 6. Kelley headed the subcommittee that drew the original version of the Taft-Hartley repealer and, after that was knocked down, was assigned to write a new and more acceptable act. This responsibility now has been saddled on Powell.

Representative Richard M. Nixon (R., Calif.) charged that President Truman assigned Kelley the international responsibility to avoid making needed changes in the Taft-Hartley Act during the 81st Congress in order to save it for a political issue in 1950.

Nixon said that with Kelly being sent out of the States, "this means there will be no labor legislation passed at this session in the House. Without Kelley, there is no chance to vote out an Administration labor bill," Nixon asserted.

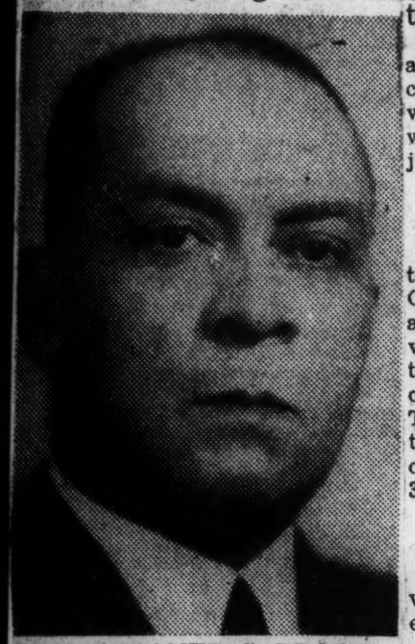
Fla. Negro Runs For City Post

LAKELAND, Fla. — T. J. Walker, trainman on the Atlantic Coast Line Railroad since 1934 has filed as a candidate for the city commission. Three commissioners will be elected when the city goes to the polls in November. He is the only Negro candidate.

Negroes Win Key Posts In Scattered Elections

(By Pittsburgh Courier Press Service)

With many sections of the country going to the polls last week in a 1950 preview, Negro office-seekers in several cities, large and small, won their race for public posts, and the heavy Negro vote showed that it is a force to be reckoned with in the 1950 elections.



ATTY. HOMER S. BROWN
. . . Pittsburgh's first race judge

ATTY. JEAN M. CAPERS
. . . Cleveland Councilwoman

Two Negro justices of the peace, a state representative, several city councilmen and other lesser posts were won by Negro candidates, with Virginia electing two Negro justices of the peace in Petersburg.

• • •

MASSACHUSETTS

Boston voters, by virtue of voting to henceforth elect members of the City Council by voting at-large, assured themselves that no Negro would be able to gain a seat on the Council because of the numerical weakness of the Negro vote. The total Negro population is between 28,000 and 29,000, in a total city-wide voting strength of nearly 300,000.

• • •

CONNECTICUT

Dr. Roy J. Gilmer, World War II veteran, and a Democrat, was elected Alderman in the Nineteenth Ward in New Haven, defeating his GOP opponent, Edward L. Harris, **also a Negro.**

• • •

NEW YORK CITY

Newspaperman Earl Louis Brown received about three times as many votes for City Council as did incumbent Communist Benjamin J. Davis Jr., seeking re-election. Brown, supported by Democratic, Republican and Liberal parties, got 63,030 votes to 21,962 for Davis. Brown is a Harvard graduate.

Losers in New York City included Ewart Guinier, who ran third in the race for president of Manhattan Borough; Louis Twigg, who ran fourth in the contest for a municipal court bench seat; Mrs. Ada Jackson, who was snowed under for the Borough presidency post; Miss Pauli Murray, who was third in the race for a City Council seat from Brooklyn's Tenth District, and Mrs. Mary A. Dickerson, ALP candidate, who ran second in the balloting for the State Senate from the Bronx's Twenty-sixth District.

• • •

NEW JERSEY

With Negro voters helping to sweep incumbent Republican Gov. Alfred E. Driscoll back into office, a Negro woman, Mrs. Cordella Green Dunton, was elected a member of the Board of Freeholders of Hudson County. It was another "first."

• • •

PENNSYLVANIA

Philadelphia voters elected Judge Herbert Millen to a ten-year term as judge of the Municipal Court, with Judge Millen running ahead of seven white GOP and Democratic candidates. He is a Republican, but had the endorsement of both Democrats and the GOP. He was appointed to his post two years ago by Gov. James H. Duff.

They also elected Democrats Ralph Knox and William Upshur as magistrates, both as first-timers, and Republican Hobson R. Reynolds was re-elected magistrate, overcoming Democratic opposition, to run second on the GOP slate and gaining many votes from whites.

Voters in Pittsburgh elected the first Negro judge in lush Allegheny County, State Representative Homer S. Brown, veteran of fourteen years in the State Legislature. Judge-elect Brown had a 40,000 majority over his white Republican foe, for the County Court. He is a Democrat.

In other Western Pennsylvania towns, Mrs. Ethel Posey, widow of the late and famed "Cum" Posey, was re-elected to a six-year term on the Board of Education of Homestead. Oliver Moody was elected borough auditor in Rankin, and William Price was elected to a four-year term on the Rankin Borough Council.

• • •

OHIO

At least nine Negroes were elected to City Council seats in Ohio cities, with another seat virtually assured, with a possibility of perhaps two, with the Cincinnati vote still undetermined on Monday morning. The "proportional representation" system is used there and vote counting was still under way.

Cleveland paced the parade with three going to the Council, including Atty. Jean Murrell Capers, who defeated incumbent Augustus Parker, to become the second woman in Ohio to gain a council seat. Veteran incumbents Charles V. Carr and Harold Gassaway were returned in their wards.

In Toledo, incumbent Councilman James B. Simmons Jr. was re-elected, and in Cincinnati incumbent Jesse Locker—seeking his fifth term—and challenger Theodore (Ted) Berry were key figures in the heated fight for the nine seats in the PR election for the City Council. At last count, Locker was running seventh and Berry was ninth.

Both had an opportunity to be elected, which would be considered a political miracle, in that it would give the Negro population 23 per cent representation, while it constitutes only 12 per cent of the over-all population.

In smaller Ohio towns, Mrs. Esther Archer in Canton, first Negro woman to hold a councilmanic seat, was returned to office, after trailing in early voting. Dr. L. L. Hunter became the first Negro to hold an elective office in Hamilton, when he won a seat on the City Council. Two members of the new five-man Council in New Miami are Negroes—John Ellis and Jesse Fox. Ben Gibson won a seat on the Council in Oxford, and in Cleveland, Atty. Charles White, assistant city law director, was elected to the fifteen-man Cuyahoga County Charter Commission.

Mayor Harold Smith, Democrat, won a hot fight for re-election in Warren, Ohio, taking most of his slate into office with him. The Pittsburgh Courier took an active part in the campaign to re-elect Mayor Smith, a champion of the rights of minority groups, because of his vigorous fight against jim-crow municipal swimming pools in his city.

• • •

KENTUCKY

Once more a Negro will sit in the Kentucky Legislature. Louisville Democrats elected Jesse Lawrence to the Legislature, with two Republican candidates for office going down in defeat. They were former State Representative Charles W. Anderson Jr., running for Magistrate, and Edward Clayton, running for Alderman.

• • •

VIRGINIA

Two Negro justices of the peace—James A. Jackson and Harold Stewart, both Democrats — were elected in Petersburg, and will assume office in January. Both were unopposed, and, with Atty. Oliver W. Hill, Richmond City Council member, are the first Negroes elected to public office in Virginia since Reconstruction Days. The voters killed an amendment to abolish the poll tax, a move offered in a "package" deal, which would have paved the way for the establishment of a literacy test for would-be voters.

Several other Negroes sought offices, but lost their bids. They included Mrs. Senora Lawson, a Progressive, for the lower branch of the General Assembly, from Richmond, and Sydney Moore, candidate for Attroney General.

• • •

MICHIGAN

The Rev. Charles A. Hill, Baptist minister, failed in his third attempt to get on the Detroit City Council, as did Dr. Von V. Estill, a former Virginian, who sought a seat on the seven-man council in Kalamazoo. It was Estill's first race.

• • •

TEXAS

While this state was keeping its poll tax voting requirement on the books, Negroes were turning out to vote on at least two Negro candidates for public office. One of them, the veteran educator, Dr. P. E. Womack, got more than two hundred votes in an almost lily-white district in Austin, where he was running for the State Board of Education. W. W. Jackson, a former trustee of Samuel Huston College, and a resident of San Antonio, won a seat in that city.

• • •

CALIFORNIA

Although there were no Negro office-seekers in the elections here, much interest was evinced in the Old Age Pension program of this state, which, with the passage of "Proposition Two" by a heavy vote, now faces a heavy cutting down of the number of persons on state rolls now receiving old age pensions.

— "FORTIETH IN '50" —

Making Our Votes Count

Last week's election results from across the nation definitely are encouraging.

With the election of an alderman in New Haven, a City Councilman in New York, a City Councilwoman in Cleveland, judges in Pennsylvania, two magistrates in Philadelphia and a State legislator in New Jersey, it appears we didn't do badly.

As we become politically of age, we find it increasingly important that our victors do not all wear the same party label. Blind party allegiance has been our downfall all too often.

We are also learning that in many instances, we can be best represented by ourselves. As registration increases and as more and more registered voters go to the polls, political lessons are being learned—and rapidly.

Already the balance of power in many instances, we stand to gain more and more of the fruits of victory as time goes by. Playing "hard to get" frequently pays off. When it is apparent that we are not "in the bag," we can demand and get the things we want.

Hats off to last week's political victors. Their tribe is bound to increase!

34c(2) 1949

Georgia

Two Negroes Seek Seat On Augusta City Council

AUGUSTA, Ga., Dec. 7 —(AP)— Two Negro candidates asked election to a City Council seat today, the first time in history that Negroes have sought representation on the board.

The Negro candidates contested with three white candidates for votes in the Third Ward. There are 1,499 Negro voters registered in the ward and only 763 white voters.

Some observers believed the registration figures indicated victory for one of the Negro candidates.

NEGRO CANDIDATES, LOSE GEORGIA RACE

(By The Associated Press)

Augusta, Ga., Dec. 9—Negroes lost their first bid for a seat on Augusta's city council in a ward where registered Negroes outnumbered white voters by two to one.

Two Negro candidates in the Third Ward received a combined total of 622 votes out of a Negro registration of 1499 in Wednesday's city election.

Jerry Scully, the successful white candidate, received 740 votes. John Chavous, also white, was given five votes. The Third Ward has only 763 registered white voters.

Frank N. Sumerfield, Negro, polled 574 votes. George Ross, Negro, received 48.

The Cracker party, old line political group in control of the city government for many years until it was overturned in 1946, regained control of city council.

34c(2) 1949

Georgia

Two Negroes Seeking Council Seat In Georgia

Augusta, Ga., Dec. 7 (AP)—Two Negro candidates asked election to a City Council seat today, the first time in history that Negroes have sought representation on the body.

The Negro candidates contested with three white candidates for votes in the Third Ward. There are 1,499 Negro voters registered in the ward and only 783 white voters.

Elected Head of City Council in Springfield

James H. Higgins, recently elected president of the Common Council in the city government of Springfield, Mass., is shown here receiving the gavel from the outgoing president at a re-organization meeting held in Springfield's city hall.

Congressman Honored At Banquet

Dinner For Dawson Attended By 1000

WASHINGTON, D. C.—(NNPA)—A testimonial dinner last Friday night for Representative William L. Dawson of Illinois, chairman of the House Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments, was one of the closing events of the inaugural week celebration.

More than 1,000 persons—Democrats and Republicans, colored and white, jammed the dining room of the South Interior Building to pay tribute to the Illinois congressman.

The difference between the amount received from subscriptions from patrons and guests and the cost of the dinner was presented to Dr. Charles S. Johnson, president of Fisk University, where Mr. Dawson received his academic education. It will be used as a loan fund for students at Fisk and will be known as the William L. Dawson Loan Fund.

The presentation was made by John P. Davis, editor of Our World Magazine, who presented to Mr. Dawson a plaque from the dinner committee. The inscription on the plaque hailed the Congressman as "herald of a new day for the little people."

A scroll praising Mr. Dawson for his leadership was presented to him by the Rev. Clayton Russell, pastor of a Los Angeles church, on behalf of the western regional division of the National Citizens Committee for the Election of President Truman, which the Illinoisan headed during the Presidential campaign.

The scroll bore the signatures of persons who had worked under Mr. Dawson's leadership in the campaign in California, on whose behalf Rev. Mr. Russell also presented the Congresman with a radio.

William O. Woodson, president of the Pennsylvania State Club of the District of Columbia, on behalf of that group, presented a black marble pen and desk set to Mr. Dawson.

The Rev. Ernest Estelle, of Dallas, Texas, on behalf of the colored Texas delegation to the Inauguration, presented to Mr. Dawson a radio in the form of a beautiful bronze horse.

Tributes were paid to Mr. Dawson by Attorney General Tom C. Clark, Senators Scott W. Lucas and Paul H. Douglas, Democrats of Illinois; Senator Francis J. Myers, Democrat of Pennsylvania; Representatives John W. McCormack, Democrat of Massachusetts, and Mrs. Helen Gahagan Douglas, Democrat of California, and Oscar R. Ewing, Federal Security Administrator.

Also Maurice J. Tobin, secretary of labor; Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune, president of the National Council of Negro Women, John H. Sengstacke, publisher and editor of the Chicago Defender; and the Rev. J. C. Austin, pastor of the Pilgrim Baptist Church, Chicago.

Mr. McCormack, the ranking Democrat on the committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments, told the guests that it was a pleasure for him to step aside so that Mr. Dawson could become chairman of the committee. Mr. McCormack, who was made the House majority leader, also said it was a pleasure and his own personal act "to continue to serve on the committee under the chairmanship of this splendid gentleman."

At an organization meeting of the committee, Mr. McCormack, revealed, Mr. Dawson presided "with dignity, with strength and with ability." He added that the Illinois Congressman "demanded the respect and friendship of every member of the committee," several of whom are Southerners.

"His election as chairman is an historic event," said the House Majority Leader. "The results that will flow from the important position he occupies will be far reaching."

CALLED "GREAT AMERICAN"

Senator Myers told the guests that "Bill Dawson is for all of those things that make for a greater America."

Referring to the 1948 Democratic platform, Senator Myers, who was chairman of the resolutions committee at the Democratic national convention in Philadelphia last summer, said he was confident that that platform will be enacted into law.

The platform as finally adopted at the convention contained a strong civil rights plank.

"We did not write that platform to get in on," said Senator Myers. "We wrote that platform as a pledge to the American people." He added that there will be an "opportunity to celebrate enacment of every plank written into that platform."

Senator Douglas declared that "Anyone who runs up against Bill Dawson in an election campaign knows he is in for a fight, and, due to his generalship as well as the principles of our party, a number of our Southside wards (in Chicago) have seen the light and realizes that if Abraham Lincoln was living today he would be a Democrat."

Mr. Dawson accepted the testimonial "in a spirit of humbleness."

"There can never be a strong nation until there is one family that is the human family—working together for all mankind" said the Illinois Congressman.

"So, as we go about our business, whether it be in the field of politics or the business or making laws, we have but one wish and that is to make some contribution to the strength of America by doing all in our power to bring about understanding of each other among all people—not for my sake because I am black but for all Americans because there can never be a great America as long as we have an America divided on questions of race or questions of color," Mr. Dawson declared.

Oscar L. Chapman, Under Secretary of the Interior, served as official host, and Dr. Marshall L. Shepard, recorder of deeds of the District of Columbia, served as master of ceremonies.

34c(2) 1949

Kansas

Dentist Wins School Board Post

Chicago Defender

WICHITA, Kans. — Dr. Hugh N. Sims, prominent dentist and a leader in civic activities, was elected last week to the Wichita school board in a city wide election, running sixth in a field of fourteen candidates. He is the first Negro to win an elective post in the city since 1880 when two colored constables were elected.

34c(2) 1949

Kentucky

KENTUCKY BARRISTER WINS INITIAL JUDGESHIP ROUND

Atlanta, Ga. Daily Journal

34c(2)

Charles W. Anderson, Jr., Louisville lawyer, and present Assistant Commonwealth's Attorney for the 30th Judicial District of Kentucky won the Republican nomination for Judge of the Third District Municipal Court here this week in a bitterly and hotly contested Primary election, Saturday, August 6th.

Anderson is the first Negro to win the nomination for Judge in either of the political parties. In winning the Republican nomination he defeated four white candidates in the most colorful and bitterly fought primary in the history or memory of Louisville voters. Anderson's majority over his nearest opponent was 1,645 votes.

Prior to his victory at the polls he had served twelve years in the Kentucky Legislature and three years as an Assistant Prosecuting Attorney in the South. He is a former President of the National Bar Association and has long been active in Kentucky politics. If he is elected Judge in November he will be the first elected Negro Municipal Judge in the South.

Wins Ky. Nomination For Judge

Defender

Chicago Defender

Jefferson

34c(2)

LOUISVILLE, KY.—For the first time in this city's history, a Negro was nominated as a major party candidate for third district magistrate when Charles W. Anderson, Jr., won the August 6, Republican primaries over four whites.

Anderson, a local lawyer, will run for magistrate of the third district Municipal court in the November elections.

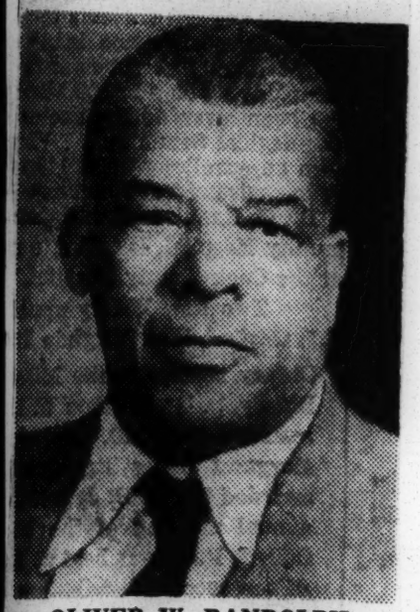
A veteran politician, he has served 12 years in the state legislatures, and during the past three years he has been an assistant commonwealth's attorney. He was the state's first Negro to hold either of these positions, it is believed.

Driscoll Appointees in Responsible Posts

Afro American

TRENTON, N.J.—More than a score of colored persons have been appointed to posts of responsibility in the State government by Governor Alfred E. Driscoll, the AFRO learned this week. 34c(2)

In addition, hundreds of persons have been employed in the various branches of government in a number of classifications.



OLIVER W. RANDOLPH

Oliver Randolph, Newark attorney, who was named a deputy attorney general, probably holds the top appointment while Windon Green, an aide in the Governor's office is in closer contact with the Governor than any other person in the State administration.

2 Asst. Prosecutors

Two assistant prosecutors—Robert B. Johnson of Camden and William A. Dart of Atlantic City—owe their appointments to Gov. Driscoll. Post. 10-8-49

Others named by the Governor include the following:

DR. WALTER G. ALEXANDER, Orange, member of the Public Health Council.

MRS. SARA SPENCER WASHINGTON, Atlantic City, member of the campaign committee.

MRS. CORDELIA G. JOHNSON, Jersey City, member Beauty Control Board.

REV. H. VAN PELT, Belleville, chaplain, State Prison.

DR. J. EARLE STEWART, Department of Public Health.

Others Listed

Others holding appointive or advisory posts include:

Dr. Louis J. Hilton, Newark; Dr. Joseph Carter, Asbury Park; Lenore Willette, Belleville; Al Stokes, Hackensack; Mrs. Omega V. Mason, Salem; Herbert Tate, Newark and Attorney Wood, Newark.

34c (2) 1949

New York

Victorious Brown Says Vote Showed Harlem Intelligence

34c (2) my

NEW YORK — (NNPA) — Earl Brown, City Councilman- elect from the Twenty-first Senatorial District last Wednesday said his victory was "proof of the inability of the Communiststo sell the intelligent voting public of Harlem a phony bill of goods."

Mr. Brown, the Democratic-Republican-Liberal party coalition candidate, won by a 3-to-1 margin over Councilman Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., running for relection on the American Labor and Communist party tickets. The vote was 63,030 for Mr. Brown to 21,962 for Mr. Davis.

This was the first time Mr. Davis has run for City Council since Proportional Representation was voted out in 1947. He is one of the eleven Communists recently convicted in the Federal District Court here and is now free on bail, and the only avowed Communist holding a public elective office in the United States.

Although the campaign had been described as one of the most bitter in Harlem's history, no incidents were reported to police on election day.

In contrast to Mr. Davis, who was running for his third term on the Council, it was the first time that Mr. Brown, 44-year-old writer for Life Magazine, had run for public office.

Mr. Brown toured the polling places on election day and made two complaints: that Davis workers were electioneering within twenty feet of the polling places, and that promises of strong support from Democratic and Republican leaders were not forthcoming.

ONLY NOMINAL SUPPORT

Mr. Brown charged that he received only nominal support from the political organizations until on Thursday, November 3, when six policemen and six other persons were injured in a Harlem disturbance in the midst of a parade by Mr. Davis's followers welcoming him upon his release from the Federal detention headquarters on bail after his conspiracy conviction.

At his office in the Time and Life Building of Rockefeller Center, Mr. Brown last Wednesday admitted that his 41,000 vote margin over his opponent was larger than he had expected, but he added that he never thought the issue had been in doubt.

"Even the captains of the political clubs in Harlem have yet to recognize the intelligence of our votes in the area,' he said. "The people of Harlem are not Communist-inclined and are in fact, afraid of communism--as well they should be."

Many observers agreed yesterday that the presence of hundreds of "outsiders" in Harlem, campaigning for Mr. Davis, had aroused resentment among Harlem voters and attributed to Mr. Davis's defeat. Supporters of Mr. Davis denied this and insisted that the presence of many young people below voting age and living outside the community merely showed that "every one is interested in the welfare of Harlem."

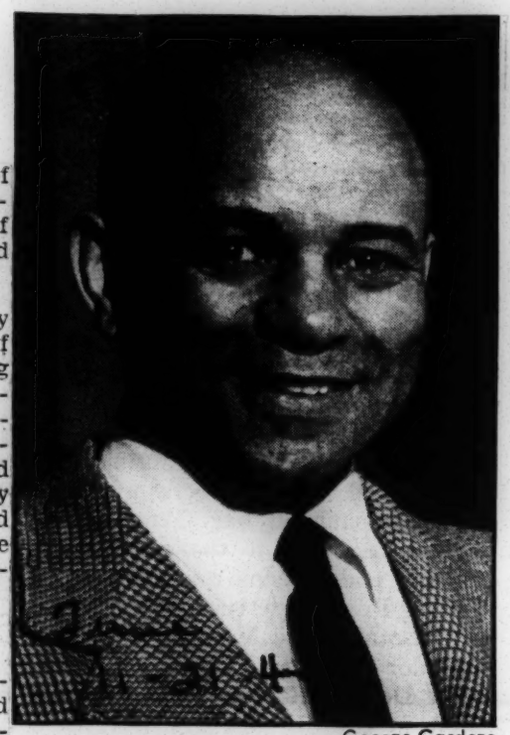
RECUPERATION ON

A. L. P. members were busy recuperating from their defeat and issuing counter-claims. Ewart Guiner, defeated candidate for Borough President of Manhattan, declared that the A. L. P. had firmly relaced the Republican party as the second strongest political organization in Harlem.

Mr. Davis's 20,772 A. L. P. votes outstripped the 15,313 Republican votes for Mr. Brown and the same pattern was apparent from the election returns for all candidates on the ballot in Harlem. Vito Marcantonio, defeated A. L. P. candidate for Mayor, polled 35,089 votes in four Harlm districts while Newbold Morris, Republican-Liberal Fusion Mayoralty candidate who was also defeated, received only 15,046 votes on the Republican line.

Mr. Brown said he plans to establish an office in his district with a full-time administrative secretary and researcher who will work directly with the people of the community. "My program will be purely civic and utterly non-political," he declared.

"Instead of beginning with publicity-seeking mass protests," he said, "we'll ask for the co-operation of the people, civic and labor groups and city officials. Then if we don't get it, we'll really raise the roof."



George Cardozo

COUNCILMAN BROWN
A lost voice

Fair Deal Town

The plain fact was that big, bluff William O'Dwyer had been a pretty good mayor, all things considered. Last week in an election that brought out 93% of New York City's registered voters, he was sent back to the City Hall.

It wasn't even close. Despite the opposition of most of the city's newspapers and two rival candidates, O'Dwyer piled up 1,264,600 votes—308,000 more than his nearest opponent, Republican Reformer Newbold Morris. Only two Republicans were elected to city offices. Triumphant Irish-born Bill O'Dwyer had his own explanation: "It means that New York City is a New Deal and a Fair Deal town. It means that, while the people of this city are not organized, labor is organized, and the people have confidence in any one in whom organized labor has confidence."

The election was a crushing defeat for the Communists and their political stooge, the American Labor Party. The A.L.P. elected nobody. Congressman Vito Marcantonio, A.L.P. candidate for mayor, who had boasted that he would win with more than 800,000 votes, got only 356,000, carrying only two districts in the East Harlem and Puerto Rican sections of the city.

But the Communists' worst humiliation came in West Harlem, where hulking Ben Davis, one of the convicted Communist leaders, was defending his seat on the city council. It was the only elective office in the U.S. held by a Communist, and the party poured its resources into the fight. Comrades sent sound trucks crisscrossing the district, harangued street-corner meetings nightly, and Candidate Davis shouted himself out of voice.

His conqueror was 47-year-old Earl Brown, a brand-new man in politics who worked his way through Harvard, taught college economics, is currently a staff reporter for LIFE. Democrat Brown, who was also backed by the Republican and Liberal Parties, breezed in by a three-to-one majority, 63,000 to 21,000. Said Brown: "It shows that the Negroes want no part of Communism."

34c(2) 1949 New York

Our Opinions

The Election Story

Chicago, Ill.

THE ISSUE of the so-called welfare state versus Republican "standpatism" was no where more tightly drawn than in the election in New York last week. The victory of the Democrats who stoutly supported the Fair Deal program and the President was decisive and complete.

John Foster Dulles who bitterly attacked the Fair Deal in his campaign against Senator-elect Herbert Lehman sent a wire to President Truman declaring truthfully, "You Win." In New York and elsewhere, the election results made it clear that Mr. Truman is gaining rather than losing the support of the American people.

Sat. 11-19-49

We were disappointed, but not too surprised, that neither Texas nor Virginia saw fit to abolish the poll tax. The white South is out of step with the rest of the nation, despite the fact that some progress is being made there. The need for a Federal law to abolish restrictions on the ballot goes without question and this election confirms our view.

One of the most significant developments to us was the complete rout of Councilman Benjamin Davis in Harlem by Earl Brown of Life Magazine. The people of Harlem had the opportunity to make a clear choice between a nationally-known working journalist who is sincerely interested in the welfare of his people.

Davis' campaign featured all of the circus tricks in the Communist repertory and he received the full support of Communists from every section of the city and state. Paul Robeson spoke on Harlem street corners for Davis and no stone was left unturned by the zealots of the extreme left. Earl Brown was vilified as only the Communists can vilify an adversary.

The people of Harlem listened to it all and they watched the fireworks around the clock from beginning to end of the campaign. Tuesday they went into the polling booths and, without fanfare, voted their honest convictions. They voted overwhelmingly for Earl Brown and flatly repudiated Councilman Davis and all of his friends, including Paul Robeson.

Nobody is going to stampede Negro voters by wild, emotional appeals and circus tactics. This was demonstrated in the Harlem election last week as it was brilliantly illustrated in the 1948 defeat of Henry Wallace. More important stilll, Negro voters do not like to see their legitimate grievances brazenly exploited for ulterior ends.

The Negro voter is a responsible American who recognizes more prfoundly than many of his white fellow-citizens that democracy has not failed because it has not been truly tried. Our citizens are determined to make this democracy fulfill its desyiny and they know better than most that those who stand in the way of full democracy in America are the best friends Russia ever had.

The standpat philosophy of the tory Republicans and the revolutionary philosophy of the Communists were both blasted by the people who vote-the true rulers of our democratic society. It was a thrilling victory for all of us who want to make America the land of which our forefathers dreamed, a free country with justice and equality of opportunity for all.

Chicago, Ill., Defender
Sat. 11-19-49

Brown's Victory Over Davis Called 'Upset' in Harlem

Afro-American Sat. 11-19-49

By JAMES L. HICKS

NEW YORK, (NNPA)—The Communists played the fiddle but the Republicans and Democrats called the tune in defeating Communist City Councilman Benjamin J. Davis in his bid for re-election on Nov. 8.

Harlem voters united with white residents of the 21st Senatorial District to expel Davis and replace him with Earl Brown a columnist and Harvard graduate, by a margin of nearly three to one.

Called Upset

Although Brown was endorsed by the Republican, Democratic and Liberal Parties, his victory over the only elected Communist official in the Nation was generally conceded in Harlem to be an upset.

This was because, despite Brown's support by the major parties, he actually received no financial backing from either of them. and was forced to campaign with only his wife, his campaign manager, and one paid secretary, with less than $5,000 for expenses.

Davis, on the other hand, was backed by the Communists with all the manpower and financial assistance the party was able to muster in an all-out fight to keep their only elected standard bearer in office.

Votes Tell Story

The election returns show that Brown beat Davis by a substantial margin in all three of the Assembly districts, the 7th, 11th and 13th, which make up the 21st Senatorial District where the grim battle was fought.

With only two out of 140 election districts missing, Brown, had beaten Davis in the 11th District predominantly colored, by 2,824 votes, swamped him in the 7th District, predominantly white, by 25,880 votes; and taken the 13th District half and half, by 11,340 votes.

Afro-American

Brown's total for the three Assembly Districts was 63,030 compared to Davis's 26,621, with two of the 140 election districts still to report.

Sat. 11-19-49

Will Fight On

Questioned as to his future plans, Davis said he would 'continue to battle until my term expires in City Council and when that's over, I continue to battle harder than ever.'

Brown was the only colored candidate elected to office. Ewart Guiner, American Labor Party candidate for Manhattan Borough president, polled 96,890 votes compared with those of the winner, Robert Wagner, who received 353,719.

Earl Brown Defeats Davis In New York

Detroit, Mich.
Daily Worker

President Truman Elated Over Fair Deal Victories

Thurs. 11-10-49

NEW YORK—Earl Brown, a long time member of the staff of Life Magazine defeated New York Councilman Ben J. Davis Tuesday on the basis of late but unofficial returns on balloting for the city post.

Davis, a former Atlantan and son of the late B. J. Davis, Sr., Republican stalwart years ago, fas only released from jail last week. He is under conviction in United States District Court as a Communist, accused of attempting to overthrow the government.

Former New York Governor Herbert H. Lehman came back with a decisive rush Tuesday night to unseat Republican Incombent John Foster Dulles for a place in the U. S. Senate--a smashing victory for the Democrats in the nation's "off year" elections.

Out of politics since 1946, Lehman paced a Democratic sweep in the Nation's Key political state.

President Harry S. Truman, who backed Lehman solidly, hailed his victory in Washingtton as significant.

Political observers immediately saw the triumph over Dulles, strongly supported by Gov. Thomas E. Dewey, as an indicator of the political winds of 1950 and 1952.

To climax and confirm the Democratic victory in New York, Mayor William O'Dwyer was returned to

office as head of the Nation's greatest city--after a bitter campaign with Newbold Morris, Republican-Liberal-fusion candidate, and left-winger Rept. Marcantonio.

The attempt to repeal the poll tax in Texas also went down to defeat. The Texas margin was less overwhelmning in balloting which brought out only a fraction of the possible 1,500,000 voters. Voting against repeal were 110,292, for repeal 85,708. Seven Southern states still have poll taxes.

Harlem's Man!—Newly elected Councilman Earl Brown and his wife (right) are shown with campaigners shortly after he had defeated Benjamin Davis in last week's election. The photo was taken in the victor's headquarters at 129th Street and Seventh Avenue.—Layne Photo.

34c (2) 1949

New York

IN MANHATTAN, Communist Benjamin Davis (above) finds the heat and [illegible] as his rival, Earl Brown, also a Negro, is elected to Davis' seat on the important New York City Council. Davis, recently convicted of plotting the overthrow of the Government by force, was the only Communist holding office in U.S. (*International*)

Fayetteville's New City Councilman

Journal & Guide

A SECOND North Carolina city, Fayetteville, has elected a colored member to its council for the first time since Reconstruction days. The Fayetteville councilman is Dr. W. P. DEVANE. About two years ago Winston-Salem elected a Negro to its governing body.

Dr. DEVANE received 2,413 votes and placed fourth in a field of sixteen candidates aspiring to the five-man council. Much of the credit for his successful campaign is being given to the Citizens Civic Committee of Fayetteville, which had placed the names of 2,700 colored voters on the registration books before the election in an unprecedented show of political solidarity.

The energy and skillful organization of the voting drive in Fayetteville should be an inspiration to other communities, and offer a pattern for successful political movements elsewhere.

Of more than passing interest is the fact that Dr. DEVANE was elected by the votes of both white and colored citizens of his city. It was pointed out in news dispatches that in one ward with no Negro voters, he polled 45 votes and in another mixed ward he received considerably more ballots than could be accounted for by Negroes alone.

Norfolk, Va. Sat. 5-21-49

The same encouraging trend was demonstrated notably in the election in Richmond which saw OLIVER W. HILL elected to the City Council and in all three of the bids for public office by VICTOR J. ASHE in Norfolk. This exhibition of a liberal spirit among white voters is notable and offsets somewhat the discouragement produced by many instances of illiberality.

Sat. 5-21-49

Fayetteville has every reason to be proud of what has happened. Dr. DEVANE has a heavy responsibility. The confidence which the voters showed in him is shared by this newspaper.

REV. WILLIAMS RE-ELECTED IN WINSTON-SALEM

WINSTON-SALEM, N.C.—(ANP) The Rev. Kenneth R. Williams, first colored alderman here since Reconstruction Days, was re-elected to office last week for his second two-year term. Pit. 5-28-49

NEGRO REGISTRARS WILL TAKE OVER IN CAROLINA TOWN

New York Times 7-30-49

DURHAM, N. C.—(APS) A motion which provides for the use of Negro registrars was passed here last week as the Durham County Board of Elections changed boundaries of two precincts. Headed by Sigmund Meyer, the group passed the motion which employed the term of "minority group representation" but which is understood to refer to Negroes. A Negro delegation at a meeting three weeks before asked the board for representation.

Dr. Devane Wins Council Seat in Fayetteville, N.C.

Afro American Baltimore, Md. Sat. 5-14-49

Places 4th in Field of 16 Aspirants With 2,413 Votes; First Since Reconstruction

By DOUGLASS HALL

FAYETTEVILLE, N.C.—Dr. W. P. Devane, who refused a $10,000 bribe not to run, was sworn in as a councilman here on May 4.

He placed fourth in a field of 16 candidates in the election on May 3, receiving 2,413 votes from members of both races and some Indians.

Cumberland co

1st Since Reconstruction

Among the candidates were seven members of the old Board of Aldermen, all of whom were defeated.

Dr. Devane is the first colored candidate to run successfully for an elective office in Cumberland County since Reconstruction days.

More than 7,000 votes were cast in the historic election preceded by an intensive registration drive by civic and religious organizations which made over 2,000 colored citizens eligible to vote.

Told of Bribe

Twice as many persons voted in the councilamic election as in previous elections.

In explaining the bribe offer, Dr. Devane said a well-dressed man he did not know offered him $10,000 to withdraw from the councilmanic race.

He refused the offer and told the man not to molest him again.

150 Volunteer Workers

More than 150 volunteer workers, men and women, worked with fervid enthusiasm to get voters to the polls, and 66 cars were made available for this purpose.

There were no disturbances at the polls.

Policemen on duty tried to remove "watchers" stationed at the polls by the Devane sponsors advising them that such activity was illegal. Sat. 5-14-49

They were permitted to remain on duty, however, after consultation with a lawyer, a talk with the City Attorney, and a call to the Chief of Police.

One of Devane's poll watchers, Richard Walker, who had been on duty continuously since 5 a.m., collapsed from the ordeal.

Dr. DeVane Elected In Fayetteville

Journal and Guide Norfolk, Va. Pa. 5-14-49

Colored Man Chosen To Sit In Newly Formed City Council

By A. A. Morisey
N. C. Correspondent

FAYETTEVILLE, N. C.—Dr. W. P. DeVane, who was elected to this city's five-man council Tuesday, May 2 and his many campaign workers and supporters, reviewed their success with great satisfaction late last week after the election results were made known and the Negro councilman had taken the oath of office. 5-14-49

The campaign workers and the entire electorate could be justifiably proud because they had gotten out a record-breaking vote, installed the new city manager form of government, and elected a highly respected colored citizen to the new council.

Dr. Devane is the first member of his race to hold office here since Reconstruction days.

On Wednesday following the election the new council was sworn in by C. W. Broadfoot. Dr. DeVane received 2413 votes to place fourth in the field of sixteen candidates, seeking five seats. 5-14-49

Joe Tally, Jr., was unanimously elected mayor by the successful councilmen. Others who will serve on the council are: Gene Plummer, Bob Shaw, and George B. Herndon.

Dr. DeVane's election had seemed assured before the voting because of the large registration of colored voters. The Citizens Civic Committee, sponsors of the campaign had placed the names of 2700 colored voters on the books and this unprecedented show of strength caused great concern about the city.

It was reported an attempt had been made to bribe Dr. DeVane and have him leave the race. Rumors were that he was offered $10,000 by an unidentified man to withdraw from the race. Pa. 5-14-49

The DeVane campaign was the best organized of any of several colored candidates seeking election in the state. It dates back to the registration campaign several weeks ago when an intensive drive was begun. All voters were required to register anew during the period.

During the registration period a mass meeting of colored citizens, sponsored by the Citizens Civic Committee, picked Dr. DeVane to be their candidate.

Evidence of the success of the efficient campaign was seen on Tuesday morning when large numbers of voters began forming lines at several precincts. More than sixty automobiles were made available to transport the workers to the polls. M. J. Bullock was campaign manager, and the Rev. Henry M. L. James was assistant manager. 5-14-49

In each ward there was a captain who had lieutenants working under him. The lieutenants who were responsible for the workers had the job of insuring that every voter got to the polls on election day.

The DeVane strategy was through the effective use of single-shotting. This aroused considerable misunderstanding among voters when supporters of various candidates insisted that voters were required to vote for a "slate" of aspirants.

The Citizens Civic Committee, sponsors of DeVane, is led by J. Hollingsworth, chairman; Rev. Mr. James is vice chairman, and Steve Rogers is secretary-treasurer.

RECEIVED WHITE SUPPORT

The local Fayetteville Observer noted editorially after the election that DeVane is "Also a representative of all the people of Faytteville." It was pointed out that he received 45 votes in one ward where there were no Negroes registered, and received in another, considerably more votes than the total Negro registrations in that ward. 5-14-49

The larger number of votes from white citizens reflected the liberal spirit among those voters and is an indication of the respect

Dr. DeVane grew up in Columbus per cent of white patients.

Following the election, Dr. DeVane issued a statement in which he expressed pleasure at the confidence and trust shown for him and pledged, "I shall endeavor to represent all the people all the time to the best of my ability."

Dr. DVane grew up in Columbus and Balden counties and attended high school at Albion Academy. He graduated from Shaw University. He has received his medical degree from Meharry Medical College, and has studied extensively at other medical institutions. 5-14-49

He was one of the founders of the Community Hospital in Wilmington, N. C., and served on several important municipal boards in that city. He has practiced here since 1924.

Elected to City Council in North Carolina

Afro American
Baltimore, Md
Sat. 5-14-49

Dr. W. P. Devane, who was elected to the city council of Fayetteville, N.C., last Tuesday, is shown listening ot the election returns in his office. Shown with him are several of his backers. Most of them, along with many others, spent the night waiting and working. The photo are: Hubert Raper, Kenneth White, Charles Baggett, Gaither Perkins, Miss Mamie Miss B. Davis, Mrs. C. Holmes, and Mrs. C. William Williams. (Douglass Hall photo.)

34c(2) 1949 North Carolina

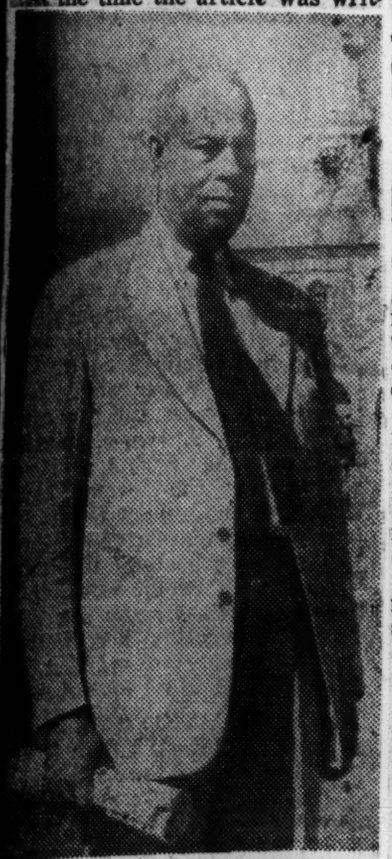
Councilman Has Brought Tangible Gains to People

Two Policemen, Better Roads and Lights Obtained by Physician Who Rejected Bribe

By DOUGLASS HALL

FAYETTEVILLE, N.C.— Six months ago I revealed in the AFRO AMERICAN how Dr. W.P. DeVane, a local physician and candidate for the City Council, had been offered $10,000 to withdraw from the race.

At the time the article was written, Dr. DeVane seemed a "sure-winner," and later did become the first of his race to become a member of the city council.



DR. W. P. De VANE

Local newspapers and a few short-sighted citizens stated that to offer the man an amount like that would be absurd.

Some came out and plainly stated that they thought the whole thing was a "lie," while others polished it up a bit, saying that "someone was playing a practical joke on the physician."

More Than $10,000 Job

At this early period in the game, I am attempting to prove that the job is a $10,000 position, and bigger.

Maybe Dr. DeVane has not benefitted personally from it, but the colored community certainly has been accorded more than $10,000 worth of benefits.

Now maybe I am a little hasty in assuming that Dr. DeVane's influence had anything to do with the change of attitude at City Hall, but I am willing to take that chance.

The councilman told me that "If I had put the same amount of work in my office that I have in the City Hall, I would be $4,000 richer."

Takes Something From Man

The first six months in office has cost the physician much valuable time.

All-night sessions, weary figuring of the budget, changing of the form of government and many personal investigation tours throughout the city have put him on the border of a nervous breakdown.

Then there are the visitors. A policeman allegedly calls someone "n . . r;" somebody has family troubles; a bank refuses a loan, a street suddenly becomes more muddy than usual, and an outside toilet smells worse.

All come to the councilman and remind him, "We voted for you, so you got to do something about it!"

$17,500 at Least Expended

There are no exact figures on just how much money has been influenced into the colored community by Dr. DeVane's efforts, but it is far above the $10,000 mark.

Then, too, much of his accomplishments cannot be measured in terms of dollars. But here are the facts:

In an all-night session, Dr. DeVane contended and got a budget of $7,500 set aside for colored policemen. Last week two policemen were appointed to begin work on the first of October.

They will start at $200 a month and will receive raises periodically. More than $10,000 worth of roads and lights have been put into the colored community. That's $17,500 that one can put his hands on.

Put Community on Map

Dr. DeVane has put the colored community on the map, and he has also abolished the use of racial terms in the city council.

There are parts of the colored community now in the city limits that formerly were actually left off the city map. The attitude of the council was generally, "Well, we will have to do something for the colored people."

ELECTION HIGHLIGHTS:

Pa. Gets Two Judges; Ohio, a Councilwoman

Two judges, two magistrates, one State legislator, and three councilmen topped the list of successful colored candidates who sought various offices in the general elections on November 8.

Municipal Court Judge Herbert E. Millen of Philadelphia led the slate of five judges, receiving 771,993 votes compared with 767,437 votes for the second man, Judge Emanuel W. Beloff.

Judge Millen was the first of his race to be named to a court of record in the history of Pennsylvania. He was appointed in October, 1947, by Gov. James M. Duff to succeed the late Judge Charles Brown.

Brown Elected Judge

State Legislator Homer S. Brown of Pittsburgh, 53, was elected Allegheny county court judge over his Republican rival, Judge Harry N. Jones, incumbent, by a majority of 70,000 votes.

A native of Huntington, W. Va., Judge Brown is a graduate of Virginia Union University, Richmond, Va., and the University of Pittsburgh.

He left behind a brilliant legislative record in Harrisburg where newspaper correspondents once voted him the "most able legislator in the State Assembly."

2 Philly Magistrates

Ralph Knox, a grocer, Democratic candidate, and Hobson R. Reynolds, 47th Ward Republican, were elected as magistrates in Phila.

Knox, a veteran campaigner, who was employed in the City Treasurer's office and as an inheritance tax appraiser before the war, placed fourth in the list of seven magistrates, receiving 5,225 votes.

He replaces Magistrate Joseph H. Rainey who was disowned by the Democratic Party after he ran for Congress last year as a Progressive Party candidate.

Reynolds placed sixth in the race, polling 5,292 votes. This will be his second full term in the minor judiciary.

New NYC Councilman

Earl Brown, columnist, and Harvard graduate, defeated Benjamin J. Davis Jr., by a 3 to 1 margin for a seat on the City Council in New York City.

Brown, endorsed by the Democratic, Republican and Liberal Parties, received 63,030 votes; Davis, 21,962. Davis's defeat left the Communist Party outside the fold of any elective office in the Nation.

Woman Wins in Cleveland

Mrs. Jean M. Capers, 36, former assistant city prosecutor, defeated Augustus G. Parker of the Eleventh Ward to become the first colored woman to win a seat in the city council in Cleveland, Ohio.

She received 3,086 votes. Parker, who was a councilman for eight years and the council's top housing expert, received 2,321 votes.

Democratic Victor

Dr. Roy J. Gilmer, 34, of New Haven, Conn., became the first colored Democrat to be elected an Alderman from the 19th Ward, normally a Republican stronghold, by defeating Edward L. Harris, 55, Republican, chief cook at the Union League Club.

Dr. Gilmer is a graduate of Meharry Medical College and president of Zeta chapter, Alpha Phi Alpha fraternity.

Jersey Legislator

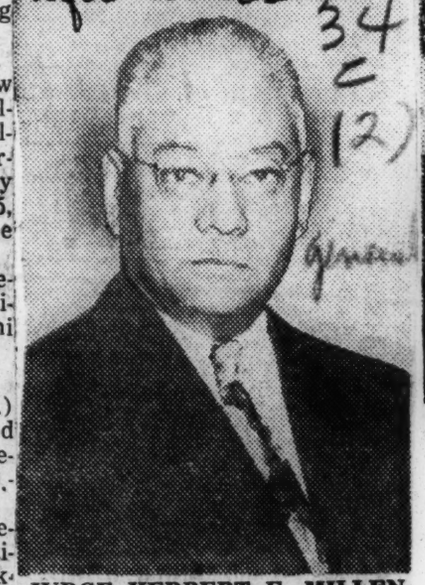
James A. Curtis, Newark (N.J.) attorney, incumbent, was re-elected to the State Assembly on the Republican ticket. He received 140,612 votes.

Virginia and Texas voters rejected by large pluralities constitutional amendments in "one package" to repeal the poll tax. The opposition in both States branded the proposed repeal laws as "subterfuges."

Another interesting election feature took place in Virginia where Sydney Moore of Richmond polled 44,348 votes as a candidate for Attorney General. The incumbent, J. Lindsay Almond, received 145,138 votes.

WINNERS

JUDGE HOMER S. BROWN
Will Sit in Pittsburgh Court



JUDGE HERBERT E. MILLEN
Re-elected in Philadelphia

MRS. JEAN M. CAPERS
1st Cleveland Councilwoman

DR. ROY J. GILMER
On New Haven, Conn. Council

EARL BROWN
Beat Ben Davis in NYC

RALPH KNOX
Philly's New Magistrate

JAMES A. CURTIS
Back in N.J. Assembly

34c(2) 1949

School Board

VOTERS ELECT MRS. CRIST AND MRS. COWNIE FOR BOARD

Voters Monday elected Mrs. Owen Crist and Mrs. Charles T. Cownie to six-year terms on the Des Moines board of education. They were chosen over six other candidates for two board vacancies in a turnout of 8,827 voters. Tribune 3-17-49

Of the eight candidates Mrs. Crist led with 5,194 votes and Mrs. Charles T. Cownie was second with 4,217.

Richmond Breaks Loose From An Unwritten Ban

RICHMOND has again done itself honor by shedding the unwritten bans against the employment of Negroes as election officials. Other Virginia cities and towns — and more in the Southland generally—should take heart from this advance in the capital of the old Confederacy and embrace in the fundamental process of government a fairer proportion of their loyal colored citizens.

Richmond has taken this step for the first time since the Reconstruction era but it is not the first Virginia city to do so. Norfolk and Roanoke, to mention only two, had already done so, as had Newport News, Hampton, Portsmouth, and one or two others. The overall story on this is told in the story on our front page.

Richmond presaged some changes in its policy when citizens of both races nearly elected OLIVER W. HILL to the state legislature and later did elect him to the City Council.

All those responsible for the increased awareness of citizenship responsibilities by Richmonders and the successful campaigns to increase the size of the colored electorate, have every cause to feel gratified and proud.

Six Negro leaders represented the darker people in Richmond in conferences with the city electoral board culminating in the formal announcement of the policy change. Initially, about twenty colored men and women will serve at predominantly colored precincts in the coming August primary and November general election. These precincts number eight at present.

There are some aspects of the officials' procedure not entirely satisfactory, and to these the spokesmen for Negroes rightly noted protests. Corrections will undoubtedly be worked out. The initial victory has been won. That is significant. Unflagging efforts will broaden the advance already achieved.

Still In Race For Va. Legislature

RICHMOND, Va. — Chances for Rev. W. L. Ransome to win the Democratic nomination for the Virginia state legislature were improved this week when the name of Atty. Lynwood E. Smith was ordered blotted from the ballot because of failure to pay his poll tax.

With 18 candidates for the seven Richmond seats in the House of Delegates, the elimination of Smith will enable the Negro voters of the city to plump all their votes for one Negro candidate, thus improving his chances for election on the city-wide ballot. It was this technique by which Richmond's Negro voters were able to elect Oliver W. Hill to the city council two years ago.

Negro Woman Runs for Seat In Virginia Legislature

RICHMOND, Va.—Tuesday, Nov. 8, Richmonders will have their first chance to cast their ballots for a Negro woman, Mrs. Senora B. Lawson, candidate for the State Legislature. Mrs. Lawson was nominated by the Progressive Party, but is supported by broad Citizens Committee.

She is one of 10 candidates from which seven are to be elected. Of these 10, seven are Democrats, one Republican and an "independent" who in reality is a trotzkyite, Howard Carwile, an attorney who pretends to be a champion of the Negro people. Carwile's candidacy is being used by certain misleaders and "cautious" conservative leaders among the Negro people to split the vote for Mrs. Lawson because they fear her militant fighting program and past activities.

Despite this, there is every indication that Mrs. Lawson will be elected. This would mean that for the first time since Reconstruction a Negro would be a member of the State Legislature, and the first time in history that a Negro woman would be elected.

Mrs. Lawson is the only candidate in the race who has been fighting the Byrd machine for more than 20 years. She is for the complete repeal of all the vicious Byrd-Tuck anti-labor laws that have been forced through the State Legislature. She declares that if elected she will introduce a bill to increase unemployment insurance and extend it to a minimum of 52 weeks and will fight to get far greater appropriations for welfare.

34c(2) 1949

Wisconsin

First Wisconsin Negro Presides In Assembly

Courier Journal
Louisville, Ky

Madison, Wis., May 12 (AP)—For the first time in Wisconsin's history, a Negro presided over the lower House of the Legislature today. 34c(2)

He was Assemblyman Leroy J. Simmons, Milwaukee Democrat, who relieved Republican Speaker Alex Nigol. 5-13-49 Tue.

After adjournment, Simmons was guest of honor at a luncheon sponsored by the state A.F.L. and C.I.O. Simmons was elected to the Assembly in 1944.

34d 1949

DURING SECOND DAY OF TRIAL OF INDICTED COMMUNISTS

A crowd in Foley Square watches those entering and leaving the Federal Court House

Loyalty and May Day

Daily Worker

MAY DAY started back in 1886 when the AFL set aside this day to struggle for the eight-hour day.

It is as American as baseball.

It is the holiday of the working class, of the men and women who do all the work in our country's factories, but who don't own either the factories or the products which they produce.

May Day this year will be Labor's day for demanding that we stop the atomic war which the banker-generals are preparing us for. May Day's marchers will urge U. S.-Soviet peace talks. Sun. 4-17-49

IN NEW YORK CITY, where labor will march, an opposition parade is being organized by the city officials, certain Catholic officials of veterans groups, and certain trade union officials. They are calling this a "loyalty parade." This is supposed to make Labor's traditional parade the "disloyalty" parade, no doubt.

But what is loyalty? We say that to bow down to the "cold war" policy with its "inevitable war" philosophy is disloyalty to the USA and its people.

We say that it is disloyalty to America to let the Wall Street minority gamble with the lives of our boys in order to get fat war contracts. We are proudly disloyal to the profits of the Wall Street munition makers; that makes us proudly loyal to our country and its common people, the people of Abraham Lincoln.

We are disloyal to high rents; but we are loyal to rent control, to Government housing which will provide homes for our GI's and our working class families.

We are disloyal to high prices; but we are loyal to higher wages for Labor, for shorter work week without any cut in pay, so that American families can live in decency and in health.

May Day's marchers will be "disloyal" to the do-nothing 81st Congress which refuses to legislate a civil rights law for the Negro people; but they will be loyal to the equal rights guaranteed in the US Constitution which is so cynically subverted by the jimcrow officialdom in Washington.

Peace is not disloyalty! An unjust and unnecessary war is the height of disloyalty! Let the working people raise their banners of loyalty to the America of the common man, not the profits of the munition makers, profiteers and landlords! Let us be loyal topeace!

United in Infamy

Pittsburgh Courier Sat 3-12-49

HOWEVER, the Republicans and Democrats may be separated by political differences, they seem to be united when it comes to perpetuating the vicious jim-crow system which disgraces democracy.

Last week the House of Representatives voted down a proposal that would have ended racial segregation in the Washington, D. C. schools by 106 to 64.

The amendment to the annual District of Columbia appropriation bill, which was authored by Representative Powell of New York, would have withheld Federal funds from any municipal agency practicing discrimination because of color, race, creed or national origin.

A newspaper count showed that forty-nine Democrats and fifteen Republicans were for the amendment, while thirty-six Republicans and seventy Democrats were opposed to it.

Political Realignments

New York Times

Alliance at National Level Proposed of Republicans, Southern Democrats

To the Editor of The New York Times:

In The New York Times recently Arthur Krock took up the question of the long overdue "reorganization of the two major political parties," both split wide open and reported a quiet movement afoot to try to get citizens of reasonable like mind under the same label and scrap those bearing the words 'Democrat' and 'Republican.'"

He sees no evidence for believing that "the old labels have lost any of their spell" over officeholders and party workers who are of vital importance in any proposed realignment of parties. In conclusion he asks if Republican support of Southern Democrats in the Senate will "make it more feasible for Southern Democrats to join certain types of Republicans in a reorganized major party opposed to the 'Fair Deal.' Or will it help to build up a two-party system in the South that, by another political route, might accomplish something of the same thing?"

Beginning with their opposition to President Roosevelt's attempt to pack the Supreme Court in 1937, and spurred on by his "purge" campaign in 1938, Southern Democrats have shown increasing agility in "aisle crossing." This has been wholly acceptable to their constituents who, in turn, have had no occasion to cross any aisle.

Party Labels

At first glance, the necessity of party regularity and the fixed labels of "Democrat" and "Republican" would seem to be the chief obstacles to any realignment of our present major party organizations. But closer examination does not support that too-hasty conclusion. Our major political parties are not "national" parties in the full sense of the word, but are merely "aggregations" of state parties operating under the same name and allied together under rules of their own making. The recent action of four Southern states in refusing to pledge their electors to President Truman illustrates the point. This circumstance of "state parties" puts the matter in a much clearer light.

For instance, while retaining their respective titles in their respective states, Southern Democrats and Northern Republicans can form an effective alliance—at the national level only—by abandoning their present useless and ineffective allies in each other's territory. This fact of separate territories permits of no conflict for office between them, except in the border states of Maryland, West Virginia, Kentucky, Oklahoma and Missouri; and leaves to both their present political names of "Democrat" and "Republican," their present dominant political organization in their separate constituencies, and their present party regularity within their respective state party organizations. Neither has anything to lose and both have much to gain from such an alliance.

Alliance in Operation

In a Republican-Southern alliance, limited to the national level, their members in each house of Congress would, by simple resolution, constitute them-

solves the official majority, elect new officers, and merge their committee seniorities for committee ranking and chairmanships. Of the eleven most important committees in the Senate, five committee chairmanships would fall to Southern Democrats and six would come to Republicans. In the House seven of the most important committee chairmanships would go to Southern Democrats and five to Republicans. In almost every instance the Republicans would be replacing Northern Democrats.

Come 1952, the Presidential candidate of a Republican-Southern alliance would be on the "Republican" ticket in the thirty-two Northern states, on the "Democratic" ticket in the eleven Southern states, and one or the other tickets in the five border states.

While this view of the possibilities of party realignment is not quickly grasped by those whose attention has been focused on other phases of politics, or those whose thought and activity has been bounded by state lines, it is clearly understood by enough national leaders to make it the most probable of all approaches to the problem. Its strength lies in its simplicity—a mere rearrangement of familiar things. Nothing would be changed in forty-three states, leaders, party names or party organization.

Everything would be changed in Washington. J. HARVIE WILLIAMS.

New York, April 19, 1949.

Dixie Democrats Claim Majority To Beat Down Try To Choke Filibuster

Russell Says Southern Poll Indicates 58 Votes Against Expected Ruling By Vice-President To End Talkathon

WASHINGTON, March 4—(AP)—Southern Democrats tonight claimed a whopping majority to beat down an expected administration-backed attempt to choke off their five-day-old filibuster in the Senate.

Senator Russell (D), Georgia, said that a private poll taken by the Southerners indicates they have 58 votes.

All they need is 49 votes, a simple majority, to override an expected ruling by Vice-President Barkley in favor of ending the debate quickly.

"We have enough votes to defeat the effort to break the filibuster against this proposed rules change," Russell said.

An Associated Press survey showed the Southern bloc gaining support, but less heavily than Russell claimed.

Latest AP figures showed 43 senators, 24 Democrats and 19 Republicans—on record as saying they will vote "no" on efforts to gag the debate by a possible ruling from the chair.

Nineteen senators—16 Democrats and 3 Republicans—said they would vote "yes."

Lucas Needles Fulbright

As the talk-talk-talk rambled on, with Dixie orators fighting to reserve the right of unlimited debate, Democratic Leader Lucas of Illinois began needling the latest in the row of Dixie speakers, Senator Fulbright (D), Arkansas.

"Does the senator agree," Lucas asked, "that those who are seeking a delay on a vote on this motion could debate the issue if they so desired for three months?"

Fulbright agreed it was possible, all right. "I thought it was very unwise to bring up the motion in the first place," he said.

Lucas wanted to know if Fulbright was about through talking.

Fullbright smiled. He then had held the floor for an hour and 35 minutes. But, he said, "Due to the great many interruptions, I've just barely begun my speech."

Fulbright attributed the upsurge of support for the Southerners directly to President Truman's statement at his news conference yesterday that he favors settling the issue by a simple majority vote.

The result, Fulbright told the Senate, is that "we are gaining strength."

Tobey Interrupts

As Fulbright carried on the conversational ball, Senator Tobey (R), New Hampshire, interrupted to shout heatedly:

"I'm heartily sick of this. Here we listen to kid stuff. Talk! talk! talk! Without a vote. So it goes on. Drool, drool, drool. When do we vote?"

"I wish," Fulbright said with mock sadness, "I could determine. If the proponents of this rule change would stay on the floor and expose themselves to this information, it wouldn't take a week. It may take a long time.

"But," he went on, "if you will guarantee to bring them all in and make them listen, we'll convert them inside a week."

Lucas told reporters that Senator McGrath, of Rhode Island, Democratic national chairman, has called a meeting of Northern and Western Democrats for Saturday morning.

Test Set Next Week

Although Lucas did not say so, it was understood that McGrath would urge the Democrats to support President Truman's stand for a change in the Senate rules.

The test is expected next week over a ruling by Barkley, the Senate presiding officer, on the question of whether debate on a motion can be halted by a two-thirds vote. That's what the current oratory is about—a motion to take up a resolution to change the Senate's debate rules. The rule, if adopted, would blunt the filibuster as a tactical weapon in debate. It would permit the Senate to cut off debate at any time by a two-thirds vote of senators present on the floor.

Senator Millikin, of Colorado, chairman of the Republican conference, told a reporter he will vote against the expected ruling by Barkley. Previously he had been listed as undecided.

Meanwhile, strange doings in and behind the filibuster scene evoked cries of "phony" from Republicans and administration Democrats—against each other.

Senator Wherry (R), Nebraska, minority floor leader, charged that the administration is only shadow-boxing—not really trying to break up the time-consuming debate which has jammed the Senate's legislative machinery all week.

Lucas retorted: "The Republicans may think the effort to break the filibuster is phony, but their attitude has been phony from the start."

A Southern spokesman, Senator Sparkman (D), Alabama, had a different slant. He blamed both Republicans and Truman Democrats in the three-sided fight.

Sparkman said President Truman's entire domestic program may be "sabotaged" by the current filibuster.

Like other Southerners, Sparkman is convinced that the administration's move to limit debate is designed as the opening wedge for anti-lynch, anti-poll tax and similar legislation deeply affecting the South.

Sparkman said the pressure comes from the "Democratic leadership and others, including Republicans who will not feel badly if it (the filibuster) delays or kills off the domestic program."

Independents Slated For Brooklyn Race

A new political party, the Independent Party, will oppose the Democratic incumbents in the Brooklyn (Ill.) mayoralty race, April 19. Monday, Circuit Court Judge Ralph Maxwell, in a ruling, handed down at Belleville, granted the party a place on the ballot.

Mandamus proceedings were brought by Independents who alleged that John Johnson, village clerk, and candidate for re-election on an administration ticket headed by Mayor William Terry, had refused to accept nominating petitions for the second ticket.

Atty. Billy Jones, representing the Independents, argued that proper attempts had been made to file the petitions before the Mar. 15 deadline. However, Johnson refused to accept the petitions.

Ulysses S. Jackson, candidate for mayor, heads the ticket for the new party. Others included: Jesse Brown, clerk; Samuel Robinson, police magistrate, and James Joor, Augustus Barbee and Myers Wilson, candidates for three trusteeships.

Mayor William Terry's slate included: Johnson, Fred Bailey, police magistrate, Prince Wells, Wilson Neal and Phillip Newell are incumbents for trusteeships Wells and Neal seek re-election.

STATES' RIGHTERS TO OUTLINE PLAN

Permanent Organization to Be Mapped Today

(The Associated Press)

Birmingham, Ala., Feb. 6—States' Rights Democrats from 12 states will meet here Monday to plan a permanent organization to continue the fight for states' rights.

Members of the States' Rights executive committee, of which Gov. Ben Laney of Arkansas is chairman, met Sunday for a preliminary conference with local States' Righters.

Laney said the meeting Monday was called to study reports submitted by committee members who have been making surveys leading to a permanent organization.

He added the meeting would be the first formal gathering of States' Rights leaders since the presidential election.

Gov. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina and Gov. Fielding L. Wright of Mississippi, presidential and vice-presidential candidates last year, are scheduled to attend the conference tomorrow.

Laney said a national campaign to impress upon the American people the "dangers of the current trend toward bureaucracy, regimentation, centralization and federalization of government," would be discussed.

The name States' Rights Institute was adopted by Laney's committee at a meeting in Birmingham last December, when it was decided to launch the educational campaign.

Committee members said the educational program is expected to be adopted and launched at Monday's meeting.

W. W. Wright, Jackson, Miss., is vice-chairman of Laney's committee. Other members expected here tomorrow include George Godwin, Jackson, Miss., Judge Everett Truly, Fayette, Miss.; Leander Perez, New Orleans, and Merritt Gibson, Longview, Tex.

Folsom Outlines Plan to Improve Negroes' Lot

Courier Journal
Louisville Kentucky

Montgomery, Ala., May 3 (AP) —Governor James E. Folsom outlined a broad program today to improve the living conditions of Negroes in Alabama.

His message to the Legislature at the opening of its 1949 session called for:

1. Increased appropriations to Negro colleges to meet constantly growing demands for higher education. The C-J 5-4-49
2. Repeal of the poll tax.
3. More liberal voter qualifications to "provide the people . . . with an opportunity to qualify themselves as electors with no idea of disfranchising any of our population."
4. More State parks, especially for Negroes, because "we have failed this part of our population in not developing wholesome recreational facilities for them."

34d 1949

Attitudes of Former Presidents Toward Negroes

ROGER SAYS:

A Review of Attitudes Of Former Presidents Toward Negro Citizens

By J. A. ROGERS

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier—The Editors.)

WHAT MAY Negroes expect of President Truman, 1949-1952? Will he be radically different from his predecessors? I'll review as best as I can in a few words the attitude of these latter towards citizens of color.

This is true, not one of them from Washington to FDR was even mildly heroic when it came to standing up for the under-dog, that is the Negro, I mean stood up for him as St. Francis of Assisi did for the poor; Wendell Phillips and Garrison for Negroes and Gandhi for Untouchables. All of them though professing Christianity with the possible exception of Jefferson, shunned the Christian injunction of equal justice for the lowly.

Mr. Rogers

"Inasmuch as ye have done it to the least of these my brethren," said their leader, Jesus, "ye have done it unto me." All of them, when it came to a show-down, sided with the top-dog against the Negro masses for political gain.

* * *

OF COURSE, THERE are instances when some of them did put their foot down as Theodore Roosevelt, the boldest of them all to date (in deeds, not words) in the matter of political appointments, and William H. Taft who sided with Booker T. Washington when the white man who attacked Washington in New York was being made a hero by the South.

However, the general attitude of the Presidents, silent or expressed, may be summed up in Taft, who when he took office after the stormy Roosevelt openly declared he would never appoint Negroes to office where it offended the South. Taft, as the Washington, D. C., report rightly says, started off jim crow in Federal office.

Another Republican, Harding, also came out in a notorious speech at Birmingham, Ala., for "white" supremacy. The two worst Presidents for the Negro, however, were Grover Cleveland and Woodrow Wilson, who being Democrats, relied on the South for support. Cleveland boasted that he had never dined with a Negro and that as Governor of New York he had opposed non-segregated schools.

* * *

AS FOR WILSON the report very rightly says that "segregation did not become general Government policy" until his Presidency "where there came to power a new kind of Congressman, politicians who had won office on the pledge to maintain 'white supremacy'."

I recall how when William Monroe Trotter of Boston called on Wilson at the White House to protest against the jim crow he had instituted how the high and mighty Wilson who, as a poor student at Princeton used to get his meals free at a Negro boarding house by bringing paying students there, walked out because Trotter dared to speak, not as a Negro to a Southerner, but as a citizen. Wilson, despite the butcheries of Negroes during his reign, never once lifted his voice against lynching lest he offend the South.

But when I class Lincoln and Franklin Roosevelt with the rest am I not biased? Yes, I am if popular belief, not fact, should be the criterion. Lincoln made it very, very clear that he was first of all a white man's man. "I am as much as any other man in having the superior position assigned to the white race," he said.

He led the fight against slavery, it is true, and for that we owe him eternal gratitude but he, himself, made it very clear that he did it, not for the Negro, but to save the Union whose economic and political life was being strangled by Southern slavery. He said that if he could save the Union by retaining slavery he would have done so. What Lincoln said against Negroes has become the bible of the great Negrophobes. Read Ben Tillman, Vardaman, Blease, Tom Dixon, Bilbo and that most violent of all Negro-haters, R. W. Shufeldt.

The simple true is that were Lincoln alive and to repeat what he said we class him with the unspeakable Bilbo. Had he lived Charles Sumner, Thaddeus Stevens and Frederick Douglass would undoubtedly have had the same trouble with him over citizenship for Negroes as they had with his successor, Andrew Johnson.

* * *

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, too, has become another Lincoln for Negroes, most of whom think that he originated relief and WPA not for the Nation, but expressly for them. Roosevelt was a politician of the politicians, extremely calculating with a consummate charm, largely mere varnish, that many a confidence man must have envied. Like Wilson, he never attacked lynching lest he offend the South.

Under him Negro Presidential appointees dropped to its lowest from the twenty-four it was under Taft to five. Of course in his "alphabet" agencies he gave Negroes high-sounding jim-crow jobs. But these Negro big-shots had no more real authority than their humble brothers who were raking leaves.

Violent Outbreak in Harlem Marks Jail Release Celebration for Davis

Harlem seethed in turmoil last night when an outbreak approaching riot intensity marked an outdoor victory celebration in honor of City Councilman Benjamin J. Davis, one of the eleven top Communists released on bail yesterday.

The violence broke out at 114th Street and Lenox Avenue shortly before 9 P. M., when a motorcade, with torchlights, was proceeding northward in Lenox Avenue amidst roars of applause from hundreds of onlookers, most of whom yelled admiration for the man convicted of conspiring to overthrow the Government.

With only three police radio cars and four-foot patrolmen—a total of ten policemen in all—on hand a call was immediately put in for an emergency squad when persons on rooftops and in tenement house windows began showering empty bottles, tin cans, pots, pans and other missiles down into Lenox Avenue, most of them aimed at the police cars.

The anger of the steadily increasing crowd, which mounted from 500 to more than 1,000 within a few minutes and appeared to be steadily growing at 10 P. M., was intensified when the police arrested two men and bundled them into the radio cars. First reports did not indicate if anyone was injured.

It was announced at 9:45 P. M. at Police Headquarters that eight radio patrol cars had been sent from three precincts nearest the disturbance. Four were dispatched from the West 123rd Street station house; two from the East 126th Street one; and two from the East 104th Street station house.

The "victory" celebration began inauspiciously with a preliminary open-air meeting at 110th Street and Lenox Avenue, at which one of the speakers was Paul Robeson, singer, whose concerts in upper Westchester County last summer truck floats were two other convicted Communist leaders, Robert Thompson and Henry Winston. Another passenger was William L. Patterson, national executive secretary of the Civil Rights Congress.

From one or two of the motor vehicles, loud speakers blared in ear-splitting cacaphony. Above the din, some reporters heard one voice coming over a loud-speaker saying: "We will not be stopped by blue-coated Fascists."

The police halted the driver of the loud-speaking truck for questioning at 114th Street and Lenox Avenue. Then came the torrent of missels.

Some unseccessful attempts were made to overturn one of the radio cars, but nobody molested a truck in the motorcade carrying a large sign saying: "Vote Row C for Marcantonio and Ben Davis."

The tumult was at its height when police reinforcements arrived. The scheduled meeting at 125th Street and Lenox Avenue was called off for the time being caused riots between extreme leftists and non-Communists. Robeson expressed pleasure at the release of Davis under $20,000 bail and urged his re-election to the City Council.

There was enthusiastic applause when Davis told the preliminary meeting:

"I am out on bail because you brought me out of jail. I am back just in time to get re-elected. I am back to fight for the people and no SOB—[here he interjected "Medina," meaning the Federal judge who handed down the sentences on the eleven top Communists released on bail]—is going to stop me."

After his brief speech, Davis told his hearers that the principal meeting would be at 125th Street and Lenox Avenue. At that time, more than 300 persons were waiting at the appointed place and the crowd was growing.

The motorcade drove off, going north in Lenox Avenue. Among those riding in the ten cars and

Marcantonio, Predicting Victory, Lays 'Police Brutality' to Mayor

By MORRIS KAPLAN

Forecasting victory in a close duel with Mayor O'Dwyer, Representative Vito Marcantonio, American Labor party candidate, read his other rival, Newbold Morris, Republican-Liberal-City Fusion standard bearer, out of the mayoralty race yesterday.

In an interview at ALP headquarters, 13 Astor Place, Mr. Marcantonio adhered to his prediction of more than a week ago that he would obtain at least 850,000 votes.

"I predict that I will run first," he said. "O'Dwyer will be second and Morris will be third."

He said that the Morris campaign started to slip during registration week and had now "collapsed completely."

"Mr. Morris has failed to deal with the real issues," Mr. Marcantonio said, "and has dodged every important issue. As a result, he's going to make a very poor showing. Both O'Dwyer and I will get votes at Morris' expense, but I will pick up more. The fight is now definitely between O'Dwyer and me." Some ten days ago he had said Mr. O'Dwyer would run third.

Replying to a question on the disturbance in Harlem Thursday night during a rally for Councilman Benjamin J. Davis Jr., Communist candidate for re-election, Mr. Marcantonio said:

"It's a repetition of what I have said all along, police brutality. The police wouldn't have done it in any other neighborhood. The people were not disorderly. They were struck without any provocation."

Of Davis' campaign, he remarked:

"I think his election will be a vindication of the Bill of Rights."

On the campaign circuit since the beginning of August, Mr. Marcantonio showed no let-up in his oratorical fervor yesterday. At 5:30 A. M. he showed up at the Fulton Fish Market, where he told several hundred workers that if elected he would build a new market structure.

He carried on his attack against Mayor O'Dwyer, whom he accused of having broken his word to the people on the 5-cent fare, the civil rights program, collective bargaining for Sanitation Department workers, relief and welfare and rent control.

Eight speaking engagements, three of them outdoors, drew crowds in East Harlem, Yorkville and Greenwich Village. He charged that Mr. O'Dwyer had "rediscovered America" for Jews, Negroes and Italians "with the end of a nightstick."

"Cases of police brutality have piled up," he declared. "The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has protested even to Governor Dewey. His own city magistrates have charged there are too many cases of police brutality."

He said the Mayor was "tied hand in foot with the evil mortgage conspiracy that perpetuates Jim Crow segregation for the Negro and Puerto Rican people" and went on to say that no action had been taken on the defacement of Jewish synagogues.

Attacks 15% Rent Rise Bill

Although the Mayor promised rent protection as late as last summer, Mr. Marcantonio charged, his own bill in the City Council gives landlords a 15 per cent increase in rents.

"And O'Dwyer hasn't lifted a finger to give adequate funds to his City Rent Commission to enforce his law," he added. He demanded that the Mayor tell the truth about "the big real estate assessments."

"Let him tell," he continued, "how he has shifted the burden from the big real estate owners, the big banks onto the little people. Let him tell how he doubled the sales tax, how he doubled the fare and handed the city surplus over to the lower big real estate taxes. Let him tell how much the big real estate operators and the big banks contribute to his campaign in return for his benevolence."

Speaking over WMCA last night Paul L. Ross, ALP candidate for Controller, said:

"The American Labor party and the New York Tenants Councils scotched the Mayor's ill-concealed plan to hike rents by 15 per cent. He had to find a new formula. The Mayor's Democrats then introduced a bill in the City Council authorizing the City Rent Commission to approve rent increases demanded by landlords without setting any limit on such rent raises. Newbold Morris' Republicans and Liberals approved, of course. They let the Democrats carry the ball for the big real estate boys."

New York City Council Ousts Ben J. Davis, Its Commie Member

NEW YORK, Nov. 29—(AP)—Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., one of the 11 convicted Communist leaders, has been ousted from his seat in the New York City Council as unfit to hold office.

The 46-year-old Negro, the only admitted Communist holding a major public office in the nation, was unseated yesterday by his fellow councilmen.

The council ruled that Davis is unfit to sit because of his recent conviction in Federal Court. He and 10 other top American Reds were found guilty of conspiracy to advocate violent overthrow of the government.

Corporation Counsel John P. McGrath told the council state law provides that conviction of a felony automatically ends the term of an elected official.

Davis, who had only until Dec. 31 to serve in his $5,000-a-year post, called the ouster "a police state procedure and legislative lynching."

Davis, who first was elected to the council from Harlem in 1943, was defeated for reelection last Nov. 8. He ran with the backing of the Communist Party and the American Labor Party and was beaten by a Negro newcomer to politics who had coalition backing. Earl Brown, a newspaper man, won easily with the support of the Republican, Democratic and Liberal Parties.

The council vote to unseat Davis was 15-0, with two councilmen refraining from voting.

The council and the board of estimate are the city's legislative branch of government.

Davis, first member ever expelled from the council, came to New York from Atlanta, Ga., in 1935 as a reporter from The Daily Worker, Communist newspaper. He now heads the firm that publishes it.

During his Federal Court trial, the council met at night so he could attend.

Council Ousts Davis, 15-0; 2 Abstain, Demand Hearing

Communist Held to Have Forfeited His Seat Upon Conviction—Denied Right to Vote, He Charges 'Legislative Lynching'

By THOMAS P. RONAN

REMOVED FROM OFFICE

Benjamin J. Davis Jr., one of the eleven Communist leaders found guilty on Oct. 14 of conspiracy to teach and advocate the forcible overthrow of the United States Government, was formally expelled from the City Council yesterday. The members, voting 15 to 0, ruled that he had forfeited his membership upon his conviction.

Twelve Democrats and three Republicans voted for the ouster. Councilmen Stanley M. Isaacs, Manhattan Republican, and Louis P. Goldberg, Brooklyn Liberal, refrained from voting. Mr. Isaacs and Mr. Goldberg held that Davis was entitled to a Council hearing before action was taken.

Although Davis was ruled out of order by Council President Vincent R. Impellitteri when he tried repeatedly to make a statement, he managed to denounce his expulsion as "police-state procedure" and "legislative lynching." It was the first ouster from the Council since that body was formed in January, 1938.

After the vote was taken, Davis remained in his seat but did not participate in the proceedings except to rise with the others as a mark of respect to the memory of the late Councilman William M. McCarthy, Brooklyn Democrat, and Bill Robinson, the dancer. In resolutions passed unanimously, the Council expressed its sorrow over the death of the two men.

After the session, Davis, who as the only Communist Councilman had been the last remaining member of his party holding a major public office in this country, challenged the legality of his ouster. But he said that he would consult his legal advisers before taking any formal action.

The 46-year-old Councilman's term was to end on Dec. 31. He was badly defeated by Earl Brown, candidate of the Democratic, Republican and Liberal parties, when he sought re-election last Nov. 8 as the nominee of the American Labor and Communist parties in the Twenty-first Manhattan District.

Councilman Benjamin Davis Jr.

The New York Times, 1949

Yesterday's session opened on an acrimonious note when Edward Rager, Manhattan Republican, pointed to Davis and demanded that "this convicted traitor be removed from this room forthwith." Mr. Rager was ruled out of order but not before Davis had shouted angrily that he wanted to answer "the vicious lies of this little crackpot."

At the request of Vice Chairman Joseph T. Sharkey, Brooklyn Democrat, the Council Clerk read a communication from Corporation Counsel John P. McGrath holding that under state law Davis had immediately forfeited his seat and his right to collect pay as a Councilman when he was convicted of a felony.

"Decency" of Hearing Urged

Mr. Sharkey then moved that the McGrath opinion be accepted and incorporated in the Council's record. Mr. Isaacs objected strenuously. He said he thought the Council "should have the decency" to hold a hearing at which Davis and his counsel could be heard.

When Mr. Isaacs tried to have the Sharkey resolution referred to the Committee of the Whole for an immediate hearing in camera, at which Davis could be heard, he was ruled out of order by Mr. Impellitteri.

Mr. Sharkey explained that during the trial of the eleven Communists, many demands had been made on the Council to remove Davis but that the Council had been "very patient."

"Now we feel we have sound legal grounds for this move," he said.

When the roll was called, Davis's name was not included, but he jumped to his feet and announced: "I'd like to have my name called. I vote no."

Mr. Impellitteri replied: "I've already ruled that you cannot join in the proceedings."

WON'T BE INTIMIDATED
DAVIS TELLS MEDINA

New York,N.Y.(NNPA)-Speaking to a crowded courtroom,just before sentence was passed on him and 10 other convicted Communist leaders,City Councilman Benjamin Davis told the judge about to send him to jail that he would not be intimidated by the court's decision.

Speaking in a low voice with carefully chosen words,Harvard trained Davis pointed out in explanation that he had not been intimidated by lynchers in Georgia and would not be now.

Like the other Communist leaders who spoke before him, he defiantly told Judge Harold Medina that his jail term would not stop him from continuing to follow the Communist Party Line.

Georgia-born Davis was one of the ten who were fined $10,000 each and sentenced to five years in jail Friday.The 11th was given the same fine but only a three-year term because of his war record.

NOT ONE GIVEN BAIL

Immediately following the sentence of the 11 men, all of whom had been convicted by a mixed jury headed by a colored woman, of seeking to teach and advocate the overthrow of the U.S. Government by force and violence,Judge Medina denied an application for bail and the defendants were hauled off to jail.

The jam-packed Federal Courtroom in which the men heard their sentences pronounced the most dramatic moments of a record-breaking trial which has been tainted throughout its nine months with drama bordening on fanfare.

Davis took advantage of the moment just before the sentence to deliver a ringing address in the hushed courtroom.

The theme of it was that no matter what the decision of the judge would be his conviction was an effort on the part of the Court to prevent colored people from continuing their struggle for equal rights in this nation.

Stating that he wished to nake"Certain remarks" about the trial,Davis said,"I have in mind, not alone my party but my people, as well as my country. They are very unhappy. This verdict and the sentence you pronounce on me will only continue their oppression.

"WON'T BE ALONE"

"It will not prevent them from continuing their struggle for first class citizenship.They have a glorious record in American history.They have fought for everything they have got. They will keep fighting. This time they will not be alone.

Declaring that conviction of the 11 Communists reduced the status of the first through the sixth admendments to the Constitution to the status of the 13th and 14th admendments Davis said the "people who should be sentenced, the Rankins and the lynchers of the South," were not present at the trial.

"I think my people will respond to this heinous crime which is against all that the Communist Party stands for," he declared.

"You cannot kill our party.This verdict is also being taken as a signal to deprive the colored people of their right in the City Council"

HITS POLITICAL OPPONENT.

Here,Davis, who is conducting a campaign for re-election to the City Council from within jail walls, seized upon the opportunity to strike at his political opponent,columnist Earl Brown.

He referred to Brown as a"political pipsqueak that the colored people will not even spit upon",and said "he needs this kind of trial to aid his political future- if he has a poltical future.

(see other side)

After he concluded, Winston who was seated next to him in the lineup of the 11 men, rose to state that he concurred in all that Davis said and in the statement made by Eugene Dennis ahead of him.

Then all of the other Communist leaders rose and concurred in Davis' and Dennis' remarks and sat down to await sentence.

OLD LAW GAVE 10 Years

The sentence was not immediately forthcoming. However, O. John Rogge, former assistant United States Attorney General, was introduced and accepted by the Court as Davis' attorney.

There followed a long debate between him and other defense lawyers against the Government lawyers as to whether or not Judge Medina was authorized under the Smith Act to sentence the 11 men to a maximum of 10 years or a maximum of 5 years.

The original Smith Act passed in 1945 provided for a maximum of 10 years imprisonment and $10,000 fine for offenders convicted under its provisions, but the law was amended in 1948, just four days after the indictment against the Reds so as to cut the maximum prison term down to 5 years.

PROSECUTOR SOUGHT DOUBLE

Judge Medina stated in court that he was inclined to consider the intent of Congress in amending the law and to also consider the proximity of the date on which it was amended to the date on which the indictment was returned.

He said he did not see how he could fail to consider this but asked the lawyers for their opinion.

The Government lawyer, John F. McGohey, soon to be a Federal judge, differed with Judge Medina in his interpretation of the amending clause and said that the men should be sentences under the terms of the law under which they were indicted. He then asked the full penalty of ten years. After considerable argument, Judge Medina said he was ready and then the defendants were told to stand. Davis and Winston were the first to rise. All of the men received their sentences in stoic silence, and arguments immediately began as to bail.

Judge Medina finally denied a motion for bail and the long trial came to an end in his court, with defense lawyers announcing they would appeal. .....

Afro-American
Baltimore, Md.
Sat. 10-29-49

Southern Negroes Tell Why They Hope for Davis Reelection

Worker Sun. 10-23-49 New York

The reelection of Ben Davis would be a great victory for the South. Those who do have the ballot can, by voting for Mr. Davis, help gain it for those who don't have it in the South. Their votes for Davis can help the cause of Negro women, Mrs. Ingram, Southern labor, and Negro rights.

This is the consensus of opinion in several recent interviews with Negro people in Alabama.

One Negro veteran in Birmingham said: "Negroes in the South can't vote, but people in New York can. I hope they reelect Davis who is fighting to get the ballot here."

Negro women in the South are the most cheated and exploited people here. One of them, Mrs. Rosa Lee Ingram, is in jail because she upheld her honor against the profane attack of a white man. Ben Davis has staunchly campaigned for her freedom. Negro women in the South have heard his voice for justice.

One Negro woman, whose husband is dead and who works as a maid to support her children said, "If Davis is elected he can speak out from the world's biggest city for the cause of Negro women. He's sure done it for Mrs. Ingram and he's going to fight right on for her."

A Negro sharecropper from Lowndes county said the Negro people in the Black Belt have no voice. He said they would have a spokesman if Councilman Davis were reelected. The Lowndes county sharecropper said he remembered Davis' great defense in the Scottsboro case. He also recalled when Davis defended Angelo Herndon, a Negro youth, who was sentenced to the slow death on a Georgia chain gang.

Negro strikers, steel workers and coal miners, interviewed here, said Southern labor, Negro and white, needs the voice of Ben Davis for its cause. They said Davis championed strong unions with unity between white and Negro workers. If Davis were reelected, they pointed out, Southern labor would have a strong champion in its fight against the Dixiecrats and Wall Street. In that case whites, as well as Negroes, would benefit.

Negroes in the South urge New York voters to vote for Ben Davis and help the cause of justice and human rights.

Communists And Negroes

To the Editor:

On Sunday, July 3, The Birmingham News published a letter from me in defense of my union, the United Steel Workers of America. Due to the many threats I've received by telephone and because Communist leaders have said I could not prove the statements made, I ask that you publish these facts.

It was stated in my letter that the Communist Party agent infiltrated into the Bessemer area and the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers Union and tried to divide the working men on the basis of color. I also stated that the leadership of Mine, Mill was Communist dominated. I think this is proof. Monday, Aug. 15, 1949, Maurice Travis, secretary of the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers resigned from the Communist Party to continue to hold his job with this union. I did not say that the rank and file membership on Red Mountain were Communist, but they are being mislead by the Communist Party. I am not trying to condemn the rank and file, but I am trying to defend them. I believe they are faithful trade union members and 99 per cent do not have any knowledge or affiliation with the Communist Party, but they fight for the Mine, Mill Union because it is the only thing they know to do. The party got a few Negroes to sign cards and schooled one or two Negroes to be Communist leaders in this area. Still I don't believe these members are Communist at heart.

One of the things I stated on July 3 was that the Communist Party offered to faithful members that when Joe Stalin takes over this country everyone would receive a mule and five acres of land. This is being told to members of the Southlands. I know these things make the boys very angry, but they are facts and the Communist Party is taking a beating all over the country. I will not stop defending my union and country until the Communist Party is driven from the Negro race.

I know the Negro people have grievances and these grievances must be considered and adjusted, but I do not believe the right approach to settlement is through the Communist Party and to Negro Communist leaders.

You must think not of yourself, but of the 15,000,000 Negroes and of a great country, the United States of America. We can settle our grievance only through the brotherhood of man and the fatherhood of God.

PERRY L. THOMPSON,
Vice President Local Union 1466, United Steel Workers of America, CIO.

Paul Robeson Says His Forces Will Take Offensive Hereafter

NEW YORK, Aug. 31—(AP)—Paul Robeson, declaring that "from now on out we take the offensive," vows he'll return to Peekskill, N. Y., where a riot broke up his scheduled concert Saturday night.

The Negro singer spoke last night to a crowd of 3,000 cheering supporters at a Harlem rally protesting the riot, which started after veterans' groups staged an anti-Communist rally outside the concert grove.

"I want to warn the Legion," the singer declared, "that I have been to Memphis, Tenn., and Florida, and I'll be in Peekskill again."

ROBESON referred to attendance at last night's rally, and said "they've got their answer here tonight. I don't see any Legion here tonight.

"We'll have our meetings and our concerts all over the United States. The sure way to get police protection is to make it clear we will protect ourselves."

Robeson and his supporters have charged Westchester County officials with laxity in not providing police protection at the riot scene in a wooded picnic grove outside Peekskill.

Law officials of the county are investigating the disturbance on orders from Gov. Thomas E. Dewey.

CITY COUNCILMAN BENJAMIN DAVIS, a Negro, and one of the Communist leaders now on trial for conspiracy to advocate overthrowing the government, said at the meeting:

"If advocating defeat of this fascist violence is overthrowing the government, then, by God, the government is going to be overthrown."

At the meeting, attendants passed out copies of a Civil Right Congress "newsletter," and other reading matter, including the Communist newspaper, The Daily Worker.

The newsletter called on President Truman to act "in this outrage" and demanded that Gov. Dewey remove Dist. Atty. George Fanelli, of Westchester, from office.

Ben J. Davis, Jr. Driven Into Ranks Of Communists, Say

Son of Former GOP Stalwart Was Forced to Leave Georgia After Defending Angelo Herndon on "Insurrection" Charge

New York— Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., the Georgia-born son of the former Republican National Committee of that state, and who is an open-and-above-board Communist, may be reelected a member of the New York City Council, despite the fact that he is now on trial for being a Communist, and as such is said to have engaged in teaching his followers how to overthrow the American system of government by force.

Davis, it is admitted would not have a look-in as a candidate for the city council if he had to depend for votes of persons who follow the "Communist line." But the mass of followers he has, drawn from other parties and among independent voters, feel that the kind of persecution Davis has undergone through a great part of his life has made his acceptance of the Communist doctrine plausible for a person of his education and sensitivity. These supporters do not want to be enlisted with any group that would further countenance the kind of persecution that has been heaped upon Davis. They say it is such persecution that makes disciples for the communists who could not make any headway, if the sensible people of the United States devoted more time to making Christianity and Democracy work than in making verbal attacks on Communism.

It is pointed out by Davis' friends that he was born on September 8, 1903 in Dawson, Ga. His grandmother, Mrs. Katherine Davis was born in slavery and died in 1924. Davis' mother, Mrs. Jimmie Willard Davis died in 1932, it is claimed, "as a result of a long illness following Ku Klux Klan demonstrations and terror directed against his father who became Republican National Committeeman from the State of Georgia. Davis, it is said, recalls vividly the cross burning and stoning of his home at the time his father became Republican National Committeeman from Georgia.

Young Davis, it is believed would have remained in Georgia to follow in the Republican footsteps of his father had he not seen the oppression he probably would have had to undergo.

Davis received his early education in 1945 and at the time of his passing was editor of the National Baptist UNION-REVIEW and was an officer in the Republican organization, as well as a delegate to the Republican National Conventions continuously for many years.

Young Ben Davis was one of a family of six children. Besides himself, only a sister survived early childhood. She, the wife of Dr. Richard Carey of New York City.

Davis received hi searly education in the Atlanta public schools and in the high school at Morehouse College. In 1925, he graduated from Amherst College.

He studied law at Harvard University and received his bachelor of law degree there in 1929. While at Amherst, Davis played football for three years, was on the debating team and participated in many musical activities. He, however, was barred from participation in the school of music club at Amherst because the club often appeared at Southern schools.

In 1932, Davis was admitted to the practice of law in Atlanta. His first trial case, and the one in which he won national fame, was as defense attorney for young Angelo Herndon, age 17 who led a demonstration of the unemployed in Atlanta, for which he was arrested, and was found to have in his possession some copies of the Daily Worker, the Communist newspaper. The courts of Atlanta sentenced young Herndon to a term of 20 years in rison for "leading an insurrection." This sentence, however was later reversed by the Supreme Court of the United States and Herndon was set free.

Davis later joined the defense of the "Scottsboro Boys in Alabama. He says he was threatened by a gunman in front of the Georgia State Capitol and "later was ambushed by the Ku Klux Klan in an office building in Atlanta and narrowly escaped with his life."

It was following these experiences in his home state, Davis says, that he left for New York. 1933.

Robeson's Pro-Red Talk Silly, Robinson Asserts

House Committee Hears Ballplayer

From Wire Dispatches.

Washington, July 18.—Jackie Robinson declared today that Paul Robeson was just plain "silly" when he said American Negroes never would fight against Russia.

In case of war Negroes would pitch in "to help their country win" whether the war be against "Russia or any other enemy," the Brooklyn Dodgers' star infielder told the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

"No one has ever questioned my race's loyalty," he said, "except a few people who don't amount to very much."

The hard-hitting ballplayer said Negroes were "stirred up" about racial discrimination, but didn't need—or want—the help of Communists in fighting it. "We can win our fight without the Communists," Robinson said, "and we don't want their help."

Spectators Congratulate Him.

This came at the end of a prepared statement he read to the committee, and was greeted by a loud "amen" from somewhere in the audience crowded into the small hearing room. Spectators crowded around Robinson to congratulate him after he finished. He was the final witness on Communist influence among Negroes.

Robinson said he really had no comment to make on a recent statement by singer Paul Robeson, by 15,000,000 members of his famous athlete too, that race . . .

"I can't speak for any 15,000,000 people any more than any other one person, but I know that "sound very silly when he expresses them in public, that his business and not mine."

He cautioned the committee not to confuse activities of Communists with the life of Negroes or other minority groups and to believe that somehow they are connected.

Has Too Much Invested.

"It is thinking of this sort," he said, "that gets people scared because one Negro, speaking to a Communist group in Paris, threatens an organized boycott of his race . . .

"It is thinking of this sort," he said, "that gets people scared because one Negro, speaking to a Communist group in Paris, threatens an organized boycott of his race . . .

Robinson said "sound very silly to me," Robinson said. "But I've got too much invested for my wife and child and myself in the right to sound future of this country, and I and if he wants to

other Americans of many races and faiths have too much invested in our country's welfare for any of us to throw it away because of a siren song sung in bass."

Robinson told the committee he had been advised, by some Communist sympathizers and also people opposed to Communism, not to testify. He said he chose to do so out of a "sense of responsibility."

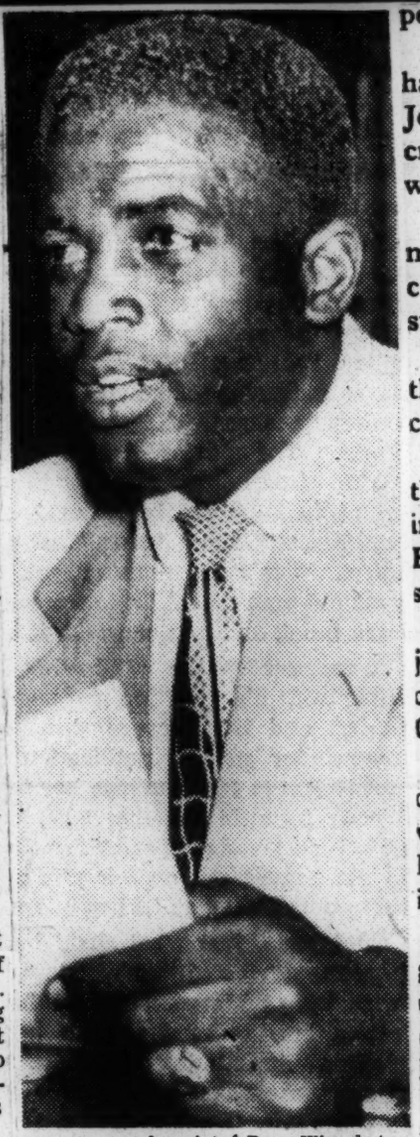
There is a "terrific lot of misunderstanding" of Communist influence among Negroes, he explained, "and it's bound to hurt my people's cause unless it's cleared up."

Resent Discriminations.

Any Negro "who is worth his salt" resents slurs and discriminations based on race, Robinson said, "and he's going to use every bit of intelligence, such as he has, to stop it. This has got absolutely nothing to do with what Communists may or may not be trying to do. And white people must realize that the more a Negro hates communism because it opposes democracy, the more he is going to hate any other influence that kills off democracy in this country."

Because Communists "kick up a big fuss over racial discrimination when it suits their purpose," some people "try to pretend that the whole issue is a creation of Communist imagination," he said.

"Negroes were stirred up long before there was a Communist Party, and they'll stay stirred up long after the party has disappeared—unless Jim Crow has disappeared by then as well."



Associated Press Wirephoto.
JACKIE ROBINSON

Negroes and Communism

An aspect of the recent rioting at Peekskill, paradoxical as it may seem, highlights the main reason why one of the hardest things a Negro can do is to be a "constant" Communist. The paradox was this: Paul Robeson was the main attraction at a concert benefit for the Harlem Division of the Civil Rights Congress, but about 90 per cent of those present to hear him sing were white. The publicity and propaganda before and after would have you believe that the figures were reversed and 90 per cent of the crowd were Negro and the other 10 per cent white.

Correspondingly, those opposing the whole thing on the grounds of "True Americanism," as Westbrook Pegler would put it, were "loyal, decent Americans" who want no "foreign isms" and ideologies and who would buy one way tickets to Russia for all who seek to import these ideas.

The peace officers, district attorneys, sheriffs, police captains, lieutenants, state troopers annd patrolmen, with the exception of two, were white. That is what we found to be the true background of the Peekskill incident.

But when violence broke out, it followed unerringly an age old pattern: the objects of vilification, physical attacks and derision being singled out were among the Negro 10 per cent or anyone looking like a Negro.

It is true that Jews were picked out for beatings, manhandling, etc., but it must be remembered that there were Jews among the "demonstrating war veterans," as vicious, cruel and belligerent as the so-called native whites who also wore the "overseas veterans'" caps.

An eyewitness told us that the mob had but two or three means of identifying the Robeson supporters: (1) by their color, (2) by their attire (those in sports shirts, and other summer clothes) and, (3) by their "subversive" actions.

With thousands milling and fighting at close quarters, the situation in which the Negro finds himself in similar circumstances is hightlighted.

Color identification predominates above all else. Save by their attire or acts, the blood-thirsty mob had no way of telling who was Communist among the whites and who was not. But everyone with a dark skin was suspect, and open for a sound whipping.

Negroes are the greatest "joiners" on earth. They will join any church, any lodge, any club, and any movement except one that places them on a dangerous spot such as the Communist Party.

If you care to make a study, you will notice that in most of the demonstratiions, disorders, strikes, outbreaks, etc., in which Communists are the accused, you will find few, if any Negroes directly involved, even though the cause or program is apparently for the benefit or advancement of the Negro.

We are not talking of the few but of the many, the great masses who might take advantage of the tempting talk of the Communists to get with those who so loudly and emphatically proclaim their sympathy with the plight of the Negro.

If there were anything subversive about the Negro it will not be found in his identification with mixed organizations or movements.

If there were any disloyalty, lack of patriotism, skullduggery, etc., among Negroes, it would have to be uncovered in connection with his churches, his bridge and whist and social clubs, his Greek Letter fraternities, his civic improvement organizations, his schools and his burial societies.

Among these, the investigator would find, would be his true identity—an American more intensely patriotic than those who try to prove it with rope and faggot; more fundamental than those who beat their breasts in the public square and loudly proclaim their fealty; more truthful than those who make "Americanism" a career for which they get paid. But his skin is not white, and his sufferings are predicated upon that curse or blessing, which way you view it.

In the face of Communistic "proofs" that the Marxists are way out in front in actually doing things to free the Negro from discrimination, segregation, Jim Crow, lynching and second class citizenship, the great mass of Negroes—the upwards of 20,000,000, remain steadfast aloof from any connection with the party.

The general sense of resentment that wells unconsciously in the hearts of every Negro that his color must and does set him apart in any circumstance or condition in which he might find himself, has long ago been congealed into a rock-hard core of resistance and suspicion of the "Greeks bearing gifts."

Oppression, segregation and discrimination have carved out the pathway over which he must tread if he wishes to exist as an American.

The path leads a labyrinthal course past verboten drinking fountains, hotels, restaurants, bars and grills, churches, restrooms, sleeping and parlor cars, stores, theaters, baseball parks, ships, housing developments, street cars, buses, and graveyards.

It winds its way under the thorny branches of the trees of scorn and hate. It climbs the hills of intolerance and social injustices.

It bears the right to pass the reviewing stand of the whipping boys of exploitation, bigotry and bias.

It traverses the pastures of ignorance and greed and ends at the road forks leading to a Jim Crow heaven or hell.

But it neither skirts nor comes near the bright neons of any ism that can't be turned into an "all-colored" version. This cannot be done with Communism.

EX-COMMUNIST SINGS ON SINGER

Sees Robeson Yen To Be Black Stalin

Constitution 7-15-49

WASHINGTON—(AP)— A Negro ex-Communist said yesterday that Singer Paul Robeson wants to "become a Black Stalin" among Negroes. Atlanta, Ga.

The former Communist, Manning Johnson, said Robeson was a party member for many years, and that he engaged in "highly secret and confidential" work for the party. Jul. 7-15-49

Johnson told the House Un-American Activities Committee he left the party in 1940 after 10 years' membership. He named Robeson as a member assigned to work among artists and intellectuals "and middle-class groups the party was trying to penetrate."

Robeson was assigned, Johnson said, to "certain secret work that was intercontinental—in connection wit hhis concert work."

The singer has "developed a complex," with "delusions of grandeur and power," Johnson added, and aspires to "become a Black Stalin" among Negroes.

Johnson said the Communist Party is encouraging Robeson's delusions "because they can use them." As a great artist, Johnson explained, Robeson can impress other artists and intellectuals.

"It is regrettable indeed that such an able man has sold himself to Moscow," Johnson said.

Johnson, called to testify in the Committee's current investigation of Communist infiltration into Negro organizations, lives in New York. Sun 7-15-49

to 1940—and spent three years in its ruling echelon.

The party membership of Mr. Robeson, Mr. Johnson testified, was such a secret that anyone who exposed it was subject to expulsion. He said he had seen the singer go into huddles with top Comunist leaders. Mr. Robeson was assigned, he said, to work among the art groups in behalf of Comunism, to appeal to the "intellectuals" in the role of a performer who had won a great name for himself.

Denounces Communism

Mr. Johnson, a dark brown man of much education and now in a key position in an American Federation of Labor union, denounced Communism bitterly today. Among its projects, he testified, was the establishment of a Negro Communist republic, starting on the Eastern Shore of Maryland and reaching into the Deep South, which would declare its autonomy and put on a rebellion.

This, he stated, was only a part of the Communist plot to incite race hatred, civil strife, and a general Communist move to keep American factions in such turmoil as to woo candidates into the Soviet pattern.

At issue was a demand for response by American Negros to a declaration made by Mr. Robeson that Negros would not take up arms if the United States became engulfed in war with Russia.

One witness, Clarence B. Clark, a disabled Negro veteran, said that when it was announced in Pittsburgh, his home town, that he would testify, he was besieged with telephonic declarations that Negros were read to "fight a circle saw" for their country.

As to himself, Mr. Clark testified, there was a member of his family three in every war including and since the Revolution. As a member of a draft board, he testified, he had "lowered" his age and waived waiting for his number to come up.

Mr. Johnson, the former national committeeman for the Communist party, testified that Mr. Robeson was not allowed to attend party conventions or other functions where his membership would become known to the rank and file of the party.

However, he testified, Mr. Robeson, after playing the title role in "Emperor Jones" years ago, "developed a complex and delusions of grandeur" and set out to become "a black Stalin" among the Negroes of America.

Mr. Johnson reported that, from the Communist party side, "they just wanted to use him, as a great artist, to impress other artists and intellectuals generally."

"It is regrettable indeed," he said, "that such an able man has sold himself to Moscow."

Lester B. Granger, executive director of the National Urban League, a social service agency seeking to improve the socio-economic conditions under which Negroes live in American cities, testified that "the prescription" for blocking Communist strategy in the United States was "less worry about Robeson and more concern for democracy."

Defines Negro's "Hope"

"Authentic Negro leadership in this country," he said, "finds itself confronted by two enemies on opposite sides. One enemy is the Communist who seeks to destroy the democratic ideal and practice which constitute the Negro's sole hope of eventual victory in his fight for equal citizenship. The other enemy is that American racist who perverts and corrupts the democratic concept into a debased philosophy of life.

"In opposing one, Negro leadership must be careful not to give aid and comfort to the other. Those white leaders of stature in this country will be very badly advised if they seek to increase the difficulties of reputable Negro leadership as it stands precariously on defense against these two enemies."

Mr. Johnson told the committee that the Communist party sought to establish among Negroes and the rest of the world "the illusion of an influence they actually never hope to attain."

He estimated that there were not more than 2,000 actual Negro Communists out of 15,000,000 in the United States.

Attacks Reactionaries

"And as for the anti-Communist reactionaries," he said, "they, too, are engaged in trying to fool the public by shouting 'Communist' at every Negro who offers a protest against the injustices perpetrated upon his people, or by exaggerating the extent of actual Communist influence among the Negro public." 7-15-49

He proposed that the Un-American Activities Committee investigate the Ku Klux Klan and "similar black shirt and white shirt groups wherever they may be found."

"Such efforts," he said, "can well serve to reassure Negro leadership that while it is fighting against one enemy of this country, Communism, our Government is helping to fight off the other, racism."

'BLACK STALIN' ROLE IS LAID TO ROBESON

Ex-Red Official Says Singer, a Communist, Suffered 'Delusions of Grandeur'

New York Times 7-15-49

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, July 14—Paul Robeson, Negro singer and actor, was identified as a member of the Comunist party "for many years" today by a former member of the national committee of that party.

The identification was made before the House Committee on Un-American Activities by another Negro, Manning Johnson, who testified that he had belonged to the party for ten years—from 1930

Testifies Robeson Wants To Be 'Stalin'

Wash. Post 7-15-49

By the United Press

Manning Johnson, self-avowed former Communist, yesterday named Negro singer Paul Robeson as a long-time Communist Party member with ambitions of becoming "the black Stalin."

Johnson, one-time Negro member of the Communist Party National Committee, told the House committee on Un-American Activities he had frequently met Robeson at party headquarters.

"There is not one iota of doubt that Paul Robeson was a Communist Party member," he said. "Not only did we know that in the hierarchy of the party, but we knew that he was engaged in certain transcontinental work in connection with his lecture tours."

Johnson testified that Robeson "has delusions of grandeur." He said he is "desirous of becoming the black Stalin and the Communist Party is encouraging that."

He said Robeson's party membership was kept secret from rank and file members, and that the singer was assigned to work "among intellectuals, artists and the middle class people that the party was seeking to penetrate."

The committee is holding hearings aimed at refuting Robeson's statements that American Negroes would not fight for this country against Russia, and that minorities are better off in Russia than here.

Two prominent Negro leaders told the committee yesterday that members of their race are "too deeply rooted in the United States" to be disloyal to this country. They were Lester B. Granger, executive director of the National Urban League, and Dr. Charles S. Johnson, president of Fisk University, Nashville, Tenn.

The committee has not yet decided whether to subpena Robeson to question him about his fondness for the Soviet Union.

Granger said there is no "real danger" the Communist Party will be able to organize American Negroes. 7-15-49

"The real danger lies in the uses which the Soviet Union and all its party puppets here and abroad can find for the unsavory racial conditions which the party so zealously advertises," he said. "It is true that this country stands shamed before the world today because our racial practices do not accord with our professions of democracy idealism."

He said only a very small number of Negroes have joined the Communist movement. A Negro committee investigator reported yesterday that fewer than 1400 United States Negroes are Communist. Said Granger:

"Even that small number stands not as a testimonial to the recruiting skill of Communist leadership, but rather as a sign of our failure to make good on our democratic professions."

Johnson stressed the role Negroes have played in every war in American history.

"If there has ever been an instance of disloyalty, it has yet to come to my attention," he said.

'Never a Benedict Arnold'

Clarence B. Clark, Pittsburgh Negro who said his ancestors have fought in every war in which this Nation has been involved, stated that it is "asinine" to claim American Negroes would refuse to fight Russia. 7-15-49

"There are over 300 families who can trace their ancestry back to those 500 Negroes who stood with Washington at Yorktown when Cornwallis handed over his sword," he said.

Clark said: "There has never been a Benedict Arnold among us." He said his own family line could be traced back to a slave "named only Jonas" owned by the explorer, George Rogers Clark.

Truman Denounces Wallace, Robeson 'Gang'

President Truman yesterday used the word "gang" to denounce scornfully Henry A. Wallace, Paul Robeson and Clifford J. Durr, president of the National Lawyers Guild—leaders of a "Bill of Rights Conference" in New York this weekend.

Newsmen told Mr. Truman that Durr, Robeson and Wallace had said they will demand a probe of the Federal Bureau of Investigation when the Bill of Rights Conference convenes.

The Chief Executive said quickly he had no comment on what that gang wants to do.

"Did you say gang?" a reporter asked.

Yes, the President replied, gang; that was what he had said. Brusquely, he added, he had taken care of them in the last election.

ROBESON, DAVIS DUBBED REDS IN D. C. TESTIMONY

Times 7-19-49

BY LOUIS LAUTIER

WASHINGTON, D. C. -(NNPA)- Both Paul Robeson, noted singer and actor, and John P. Davis, editor of "Our World" magazine, were dubbed Communists last Thursday on the unsupported testimony of an admitted ex-Communist, Manning Johnson, 40, of New York City, who said he now is in Federation of Labor, UN-American Activities Committee, that both Robeson and Davis were Communists.

Prior to Johnson's testimony, the hearing, called to give colored persons an opportunity to refute the statement allegedly made by Robeson that colored Americans would not fight for the United States in a war with Soviet Russia, had moved along on a very high plane.

Both Lester B. Granger, executi-

'MY ANSWER'

New York Age Sat. 8-20-49

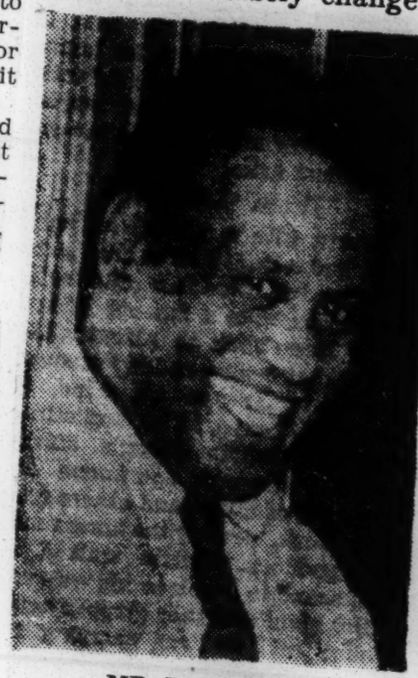
By Paul Robeson

As Told to Dan Burley

(Copyright, 1949, reproduction wholly or in part strictly forbidden without permission of The New York Age Publishing Co.)

(Editor's Note: The views expressed in this and subsequent articles are those of Mr. Robeson and do not necessarily reflect in any manner of interpretation the aims and policies of The New York Age. Space granted Mr. Robeson is for the purpose of public service and fair play.)

WHEN SOME of our leading Negroes select those most guilty of exploiting their people to get thick with in their social and economic affairs, they pick the wrong people, no matter what excuse might be presented. Leopards don't change their spots and neither do those who think about us adversely change their thoughts overnight. This sort of thing I'd call "20th Century Uncle Tommism"—going back to the Big House to fawn at the boss' feet—and we shouldn't tolerate it one minute if we expect to go ahead.



MR. ROBESON

Me? I'm out with the field hand. That's the only way I can see it. They tell us to stay in our place. Well, I'm staying in mine—out here with the field hand—the litt'e fellow, the guy who gets pushed around, the fellow who has to do all the hard work and gets nothing from it.

I'm talking about the sharecroppers, Negro and white, on the sprawling plantations in the South.

I'm talking about the tobacco, steel and lumber workers; the men who tote the sandbags with chains about their legs to stem the Mississippi at flood time so as to save the empire of some guy in New York, London or Paris who has never seen the land which keeps him in luxury nor met and talked with the people on whose backs his kingdom rests.

Yes, that's the only way I can see it—stay with, work with, fight with and sing with the field hand, and if we stick it out long enough—we'll get the Big House!

We must solve our problem where we find it. Not by going thousands of miles away to take up something we are not familiar with.

Why should we leave the United States without first getting what is coming to us through a militant struggle to gain the profits that have come from our labor, our blood, our sweat, our tears? I'm talking now about the various schemes that would arouse false hopes in the Negro people about taking some other land as a homeland when we already have our home right here on American soil which will be ours when we make it our own.

Think what a Federation of the West Indies would mean economically. With Negroes 98 per cent of the West Indian population, why shouldn't they control the sugar, tourist trade, the banana and rum industries and the possibilities of further industrial development of the islands? Think of the amount of base metals and the other natural wealth to be found there.

A Federation of the West Indies would give Negroes a completely integrated economy that would make the West Indies one of the most important places of the world—connected with the Latin and South American mainland. Think of the strategic position a native West Indian-controlled political and economic federation would command. Think of the weight such a setup would throw in United Nations circles!

of the National Urban League, and Dr. Charles S. Johnson, president of Fisk, had testified concerning the unquestioned loyalty of colored Americans without an attempt to smear any individual.

Mr. Granger deprecated the hue and cry raised in the United States following the statement made by Mr. Robeson at a Paris "peace" conference inspired by Soviet sympathizers. "The furore would have been ludicrous if it had not been so tragic," he said.

NO ROBESON REFERENCE

Dr. Johnson read a scholarly essay in which he made no reference to Mr. Robeson.

"If we examine the familiar indices of national loyalty," he said, 'the efforts and ambitions of American Negroes have at times been embarrassingly excessive.' His reference was to the demand of colored men for combat service in the armed forces in time of war and to the high rate of enlistment of colored men, making it necessary for the Army to restrict the number it would accept.

Mr. Johnson testified that he had been a member of the Communist Party for ten years, having terminated his membership in 1940. During the period of his membership, he served as a district organizer for the Communist party in Buffalo, New York, attended the Communist national training school in Communist headquarters in New York City, and was a member of the National Committee.

The branding of Mr. Davis as a Communist came at the afternoon session at which Mr. Johnson continued his testimony regarding the causes of his break with the Communist party.

SET UP BY REDS

Mr. Johnson testified that the National Committee of the Communist party decided to set up the National Negro Congress and assigned to James W. Ford the job of organizing that body and getting people to front for it.

A. Philip Randolph, who was not a member of the party, accepted the leadership of the congress, Johnson said adding that Davis(who "was a member of the party until the time I left, served as secretary of the provisional committee.

Johnson testified that the leaders of the congress did not know that it had been started by the Communist party, that they were only concerned with the general program.

The witness described the activities of the Congress up until Randolph's open attack on Communist domination of that organization and his resignation from the body.

Mr. Granger told the committee that the extent of Communist influence among colored people has been "grossly exaggerated."

PERSONAL SUCCESS NOT ENOUGH:

Well-Being of All Men Paul Robeson's Goal

Chicago Defender 10-29-49

By LOUIS LAUTIER

WASHINGTON (NNPA) — Just what impelled Paul Robeson, self-styled anti-Fascist, to give up his professional career, enter into the struggle for the colored people and veer so sharply to the left? At the time, he himself admits, he was "at the top of the heap," with only Marian Anderson, Jascha Heifitz and Dorothy Maynor commanding larger fees or achievement. "When I was in Europe, I was making a reputation as an artist and by my achievements I believed I was helping my people," he explained.

Since his return from Paris, he revealed, he has had 48 concerts cancelled out of 86." However, he added, he had prepared himself for just such a situation by learning several languages.

He stated that he made friends with the Indian, the Russian and the Chinese people, the poor white working people of England and France. He said that he likened their conditions to those of the Africans and West Indians judge's action and showed how the same interests were keeping all of them poor.

"I can make my living singing among the Eskimos, the Chinese and the Hindus," Robeson said. "I am going to pursue my career in this country, but the main thing I want to do is to help where I can."

Many people, he said, are eager for the race struggle but blocked by individual success

struggle of the colored people, which, in the end, is a political and economic struggle."

Not Least Bit Frustrated

"We want the right to vote, the right to work, the right not to be persecuted and lynched," he stated. Those things you have to get by passing laws, and that meant for me a different kind of role."

He ridiculed the "nonsense about personal frustration," declaring that "nobody would have been surprised if I had been a lawyer and had done this. In addition, he said that he plans to return to concert work and "Othello," under his own management.

Detroit Lawyer Sentenced For Court Contempt

Chicago Defender 10-25-49

NEW YORK, -(NNPA) -- George W. Crockett, Detroit lawyer who was sentenced to four months in jail for contempt of court while defending two Communist leaders, last Wednesday that the action against him was brought on by his attempt to work out fear of his client with-out "judicial disfavor."

Crockett said he and the four other lawyers for the Communist defendants incurred the disfavor of Federal Judge Harold Medina when they challenged the legality of the "tok-

Declaring that he had worked only in the interest of his client Crockett quoted the following passage from the Canons of Professional Ethics governing the conduct of lawyers: "The lawyer owes entire devotion to the interests of the client. No fear of judicial disfavor or public unpopularity should restrain him from the full discharge of duty."

He said his jail sentence was not a surprise because he had seen the disfavor he had incurred in challenging the jury system. But, he said, "If going to jail or being disbarred is the price I must pay for my adherence to the highest duty of a lawyer I shall gladly pay the price."

34d 1949

Communist

The Communists Convicted

Conviction of the 11 top U. S. Communist leaders on charges of conspiring to teach overthrow of the United States by force is a victory for the people and for the American form of government.

And hardly less applause is due Federal Judge Harold R. Medina for the vigor with which he enforced the dignity of his court in holding six defense attorneys, including one defendant who acted as his own lawyer, in contempt.

In the months-long trial, the Communists used every known delaying tactic. Heckling, shouting, sneering at the court were part of the pattern. They worked in shifts in an effort to obstruct justice. And the lawyers were ably aided by the Communist Party, which organized pickets and passed out word for the faithful to write threatening, vicious letters to the jurist. It was hoped that the elderly Judge's health would break and he would be unable to carry on with the trial.

A great many people doubtless grew impatient with the calm manner in which Judge Medina repeatedly warned the attorneys during the trial. But had he held them in contempt at the time only further delay would have resulted. That was what the defense wanted.

Judge Medina has performed a great service, at no little sacrifice.

Only one of the big-time Communist leaders in the country escaped trial. He is William Z. Foster, whose trial was severed from the rest because of ill health.

The Government's suit claimed that the American Communist Party was reorganized in 1945, on orders from Moscow, for the purpose of teaching use of violence to overthrow the U. S. Government. Numerous instances of such teachings, notably at a "school" in New York, and a great many quotations from official Soviet literature were used to bolster the case.

The Communists cannot claim they failed to get a fair trial. Probably no judicial system in the world, except the American and perhaps the English, would permit the many months of wearying testimony, the charges, countercharges and legalistic maneuvers which have characterized this trial. The Soviet courts, which must represent the ideal to the defendants, would have had the trial done and the sentences meted out in a day or less.

Doubtless the case will be appealed to the U. S. Supreme Court. If upheld there it will mean that Communists will not henceforth find it so easy to use American constitutional guarantees to destroy the very freedoms they are meant to preserve.

It seems to us that all Americans can take great satisfaction from this trial and conviction. For it demonstrates, more forcibly than all the laws Congress could pass, the vigor and the hardiness of our constitutional government. The good sense of the American people, as evidenced by the jury which handed down the verdict, is our best protection against forces that would destroy us.

GUILTY AS CHARGED

Eleven top leaders of the Communist party of the United States stand today convicted of conspiracy "knowingly and willfully to advocate and teach the duty and necessity of overthrowing and destroying the Government of the United States by force and violence." Their six attorneys, including one prisoner acting as his own attorney, have been sentenced for contempt of court.

We believe that all disinterested persons who have studied the case will agree that the convictions were in accord with the law under which the accused were tried and that the contempt sentences were justified by what Judge Harold R. Medina described as actions "deliberately entered upon in a cold and calculated manner for the purpose of causing delay and confusion so as to make the trial impossible, to provoke an incident to result in a mistrial or to impair his (Judge Medina's) health."

This has been a political trial in the sense that the fate of the leaders of a political party was at stake. It has been a political trial in the sense that the Smith Act, under which the indictments were drawn, was commonly regarded as being directed against the Communist party. It has not been a politically conducted trial. Too much praise cannot be given to Judge Medina for his unwavering fairness and for his patience under atrocious provocation. His charge to the jury may well be remembered in times to come as a model of lucidity and impartiality. The right of a minority to "express and to advocate its views" was not, he reminded the jury, under question. What was questioned was the right to advocate illegal measures and to conspire to teach the necessity of those measures.

Yesterday's verdict was not the end of this case. Under our legal system it could not be. There will be an appeal. In due season, we may suppose, the Supreme Court of the United States will be asked to determine whether the Smith Act is constitutional or whether the defendants were deprived of any legal right. Beyond the legal procedures there will be a further appeal to public opinion and to Congress and other legislative bodies as to what we are to do about the Communist party. The party as such was not on trial, and therefore cannot be outlawed by this verdict. If new leaders took over the party and did what the old leaders did they would have to be tried for their actions and not because they were Communists.

This view is clearly supported by Judge Medina's charge and by the logic of the case. It has been questioned by the Communists themselves—and indeed it is to their interest to question it. To be effective martyrs for their cause they must exhibit themselves as victims of political persecution. If they used false names, if they lied, if they held secret meetings—and all these things they admitted—this was, on their showing, because they feared for their jobs, their liberty or even their lives. The jury did not agree that honest men, seeking peaceful change, would use these methods.

It is quite true that the Communist party is distrusted in this country. Why? Because the evidence brought out in this trial and available elsewhere is that this is not an American party; that it was introduced here from abroad; that its policies have been dictated from abroad; that it has acted in the interests of a foreign Power hostile to American democracy. But this status, these policies and these actions are not interfered with under federal law until and unless they involve the advocacy of "force and violence."

As far as federal law goes the Communist party can continue in existence, with its leaders and members subject only to such restrictions as are imposed on all citizens. We do not know that the Smith Act, under which these convictions were obtained, is an ideal piece of legislation. We do know that the offenses which the jury decided had been committed were dangerous to this nation's peace and security. We must have a way of dealing with such offenses, whether we act under existing law or seek new legislation. We must preserve against all attacks the freedom to inquire, speak, write and publish; and because this is our duty we must see to it that no one has the freedom to conspire against all the other freedoms.

We believe that the vast majority of the American people will concur in the verdict which twelve average Americans—eight women and four men, long-suffering and patient under many months of affliction—handed in yesterday morning.

Women's Group Objects to Label Of 'Communist'

New York, Oct. 24 (AP)—The Congress of American Women last night termed as "outrageously unfair" a House-committee report calling the Congress a "Communist hoax."

A statement issued by the women's group said the House Un-American Activities Committee released its report without letting the C.A.W. know it was under investigation and "without asking a single question."

"This is characteristic of the irresponsible procedure of this committee . . . a procedure so outrageously unfair that it should shock all Americans, regardless of point of view, into indignant protest," the statement said.

The C.A.W. described itself as "an organization of women whose openly avowed goal since its inception has been the furtherance of world peace, and the betterment of the conditions of life for themselves and their children."

Protest Red Convictions

Civil Rights Threaten March On Washington

NEW YORK, Oct. 22—(AP)—The Communist Party threw its high-powered propaganda machine into speed today in a drive to get imprisoned Red leaders out on bail pending their appeals.

Rallies were scheduled, petitions were circulated.

The Civil Rights Congress, which has been listed as subversive by the attorney general's office, announced a "march on Washington would be held next

Washington Times Herald

Thursday

Delegates from 48 states, the organization said, will demand setting aside of the sentences of 11 leaders of a minority political party for their ideas and teachings.

Eugene Dennis, general secretary of the Communist Party, and nine other leaders were sentenced yesterday to five years in prison for their conviction a week earlier on charges of conspiring to advocate forcible overthrow of the government.

ANOTHER DEFENDANT, Robert Thompson, drew a three-year sentence. Each of the 11 was fined $10,000. Federal Judge Harold R. Medina refused to free any of them on bail pending their appeals.

The Americans for Democratic Action expressed belief the 11 should be released on bail until there is a Supreme Court test of the Smith act, under which they were convicted.

And the American Civil Liberties Union said there was "grave doubt" about the constitutionality of the act.

Appeals from the convictions and sentencings were filed with the U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals yesterday. If the appeals are turned down, the next step is appeal to the Supreme Court.

Such a move would give the high court its first opportunity to rule on the constitutionality of the 1940 Smith act, which makes it a crime to advocate overthrow of the government by violence.

34d 1949

MAN IN STREET PRAISED:

Paul Sees an America He Would Fight for

By JAMES L. HICKS

NEW YORK, (NNPA)—Paul Robeson said at a press conference here Oct. 4, that he loves and will fight for "the America which he saw on his recent trip to the West Coast."

He appeared elated over the reception he received in both cities.

Robeson called a press conference at 270 St. Nicholas Ave., and gave newsmen his reactions to the reception he had received on a visit to Los Angeles and Chicago where he sang and spoke in both places.

Praises Man in Street

He said the strong police protection and lack of disorder in the two cities was due more to pressure from the average man in the street than to city officials themselves. He called this an encouraging sign.

Robeson stated that he had been provided with police escorts and that following each meeting he had thanked the police commissioners of both cities.

He added that he also expressed the hope that all colored men and other minorities would be given the same protection.

Racial Goal Stressed

The singer said it is important that colored people remember the racial issue today is not that one colored man has become successful but what happens to millions of other colored men who are prepared to be equally as successful but who are never given the chance.

Robeson again charged that the old type colored leader is disappearing and in his place is rising the colored leader of the trade union movement who will refuse to play Uncle Tom.

Scores Truman's Program

He criticized President Truman's four-point program for aid to undeveloped countries of the world.

Robeson said Nigeria has just about won her independence from Great Britian, but under such a program she would simply become a tool of the United States.

He urged colored Americans to use their influence to prevent such countries from passing into United States control through the Truman program.

West Indian Freedom

He opined that, if left alone, the people in the West Indies will become "free" before the colored people in the South are "freed"

The singer stated that instead of colored leaders fronting for the President's program in such countries, they should help them win their independence because the West Indies would then be in a position to aid colored Americans.

Teacher Condemned

Robeson took an unnamed colored teacher in South Carolina to task for telling him on a recent visit there that she was happy to welcome him to "the State of our great plantations."

"How can she say that when everyone knows that the plantations belong to the white man?" Robeson asked.

Improved Thinking Hailed

All through his talk he expressed encouragement at the way colored people over the nation are thinking today, pointing to Chicago as an example.

He said on visiting a public forum conducted by colored Chicagoans, pleased to vote their agreement that establishment of a Republic in China was the most important event of the week.

Referring to Russia and Communism, Robeson said Russia has abolished race prejudice while the United States maintains it.

Favors Dodgers

"Am I supposed to be friendly with a nation which has ruled out discrimination," "I should think so", he said in answer to his own question.

Robeson was asked if he had a favorite team in the World Series (the conference was held on Monday before the series began).

"I certainly do have a favorite—the Dodgers," he replied." I hope Newcombe wins two and that Jackie just runs wild."

He said he hoped to be able to take in several of the games.

Sixth Red Def Robeson Testi

NEW YORK, Sept. 21—(AP)—The sixth of 11 Communist conspiracy trial defendants takes the witness stand today after Singer Paul Robeson's vain effort to place on the record his views on communism versus capitalism.

Defendant Henry Winston, the Communist Party organizational secretary, was called as a witness late yesterday but his preliminary testimony was interrupted by the overnight recess.

Winston has been in jail during off-court hours since June 3 when Federal Judge Harold R. Medina sent him up for the duration on a contempt charge. Winston protested the court's treatment of another defendant.

Robeson took the witness stand yesterday, but most of his intended testimony was blocked.

The husky Negro singer found himself once again under the thumb of his one-time university professor—none other than Judge Medina. Robeson once attended a class taught by Medina at Columbia University.

The defense did not introduce Robeson as a character witness. Instead, Defense Atty. George W. Crockett, Jr., a Negro, launched a series of questions about Robeson's background, his knowledge of the 11 Communist leaders on trial and other subjects.

AT ONE POINT, Crockett asked Robeson if he ever had appeared on the same speaking platform as Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt.

"You must know perfectly well," Judge Medina told Crockett, "that a question as to whether this witness was on the platform with the wife of Former President Roosevelt has absolutely nothing to do with this case, and I don't think it is proper for you to continue a series of questions like that."

After a few more questions were blocked by government objections, Crockett said:

"In view of the court's ruling, I am convinced it will be impossible to bring before the court the testimony I had hoped."

"I don't think you should have called him (Robeson)," replied Medina.

When Robeson started to say something, the court turned to him and interrupted:

"No, Mr. Robeson, I don't want to hear any statement from you. I can't find from anything in these questions that you have any knowledge of the facts that are relevant in this case."

* * *

SHORTLY afterward, Crockett gave up his questioning and Robeson left the stand after the government declined to cross-examine him.

Mrs. Roosevelt, whose name was raised in the testimony, has said she would walk out on a Robeson concert if she found him speaking for communism.

Robeson talked to newsmen outside the courtroom and protested his treatment in court. The singer, central figure in the two recent anti-Communist riots in Peekskill, said:

"They don't want the truth. I refuse to believe after today that the courts sit in a middle position. The Communist Party has played a magnificent role in fighting for the freedom of the American Negro."

A newsman asked:

"Are you a member of the Communist Party?"

"That question," replied Robeson, "is not relevant."

ROGERS SAYS:

It's as Hard to Cure Negroes of Their Loyalty As Whites of Their Bias

By J. A. ROGERS

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier—The Editors.)

I LIKED most of what Jackie Robinson said. I'd thought much along the same line myself. But I think he spoke under the wrong auspices. The Un-American Activities Committee, which did nothing to get him into baseball, wanted him as a stooge, at best a red herring, and he fell for it beautifully.

Mr. Rogers

The Negro's loyalty is not on trial. But the committee is. What has it done against jim crow right under its nose. After Jackie had spoken he could not have been served outside with an ice cream soda or have obtained a room in a hotel.

I have never taken Robeson's statement, even in its original form, seriously. I saw it as wishful thinking. The Negro has three centuries of loyalty behind him. It would be as impossible, therefore, to make him disloyal in a generation or two as it would be to cure all the whites of their color prejudice in the same period.

WERE THERE ANOTHER war the percentage of disloyal whites would be greater than the same of Negroes. Moreover, it was not Negroes, but whites, who tried to wreck the Union in the 1860s. The Negroes helped loyal Americans to save it.

Why was there so much fuss about Robeson's unfounded statement? My guess is that the whites who protested imagined what they would do were they in the Negro's place? They felt they wouldn't be loyal. Today while they have a full loaf to the Negro's half, many are not content. They want butter on the loaf. And I don't blame them, except when they insist on the half-loaf for those of any other group.

I said that Jackie was used as a red herring. Let's look at what is supposed to have inspired his going to Washington. Negroes, it is said, will not fight for America in a war with Russia. But where is the war? The consensus is none is near. Generals Marshall, Eisenhower, Clay, and only last week, President Truman, said there is no war ahead.

THOUGH CERTAIN Russians and certain Americans seem to be doing their best to provoke one and "artificially alarm" the two peoples, the Russians, by all account, don't want one and most Americans realize that another war will bring their nation to the level of England and France.

Since, therefore, no immediate war is near for Negroes to fight in, why all this furor over what Robeson said? Because it puts Negroes on the defensive. Makes them suspect. Hamstrings them in their fight for civil rights? Why were not the leaders of other minorities, who already have rights denied Negroes, called. I wager what Robeson said of Negroes is truer of these minorities.

But the chief reason is that Robeson has emerged as a powerful leader. Pull him down. And who are the best to do that? His own, as always. For my part I don't care what kind of "ist" Robeson might happen to be. I've never been choosy about who fights my enemies.

* * *

AND THE WHITES don't either. When Hitler declared war on Russia, Churchill made it clear that he hated Stalin's very guts but he pitched in with him against the common enemy. America didn't like the Russians either but she gave them eleven billions in war materiel.

Robeson, I am firmly convinced, is as loyal an American as any other. I have known him since 1924 and he has never expressed himself but as that. I talked with him recently and this is what he said:

"I love my people. I love my country. I have many calls to go to other countries to sing but I'm going to stay right here and carry on the fight." And he's being a lot of money by that decision. What Negro leader is making such a sacrifice?

AND THE NEGROES are responding to him. I witnessed the ovation given him at Rockland Palace. Alvin W. Stokes, Negro investigator for the committee, is quoted as saying "a fourth of those present were Negroes." This is positively not true. It was the Negroes, it is said, will not fight for America in a war with Russia. But where is the war? The consensus is none is near. Generals Marshall, Eisenhower, Clay, and only last week, President Truman, said there is no war ahead.

Finally, it's bad for two talking to please his employers, prominent Negroes, who have at bottom the same aim, to fight each other. It gives our enemies a chance to go to town on us in this case.

Mr. Stokes was about Robeson. Nothing was said about the even greater shot he took at the committee itself.

It wasn't until I read the whole story from the radio commentators and the press in general that I learned that and had it was an out-and-out blast against an entirely different opinion. Most people are probably going to hear only his attack on Robe-

Danger of Communists and Communism to Labor and the Negro

Within the span of history since emancipation, no movement has developed in the United States of America which constitutes a graver danger to the Negro and labor than the Communist Party, with its numerous, varied and various front organizations and transmission belts, its practices, policies, principles, programs and philosophy. It is a sinister menace because it comes to the Negro and labor in the guise of their friend and benefactor, preaching racial and social equality for the Negro and all minorities, and the liberation of labor from the thrallrom of capitalist exploitation; objectives devoutly to be wished.

It is extremely difficult for an oppressed group such as the Negro the victim of the most ruthless forms of persecution such as the lynch rope, mob law, poll tax, white primaries, jim-crow in transportation, education, residential relations and every other form of human relationship in the Western world in general and the United States in particular not to view with suspicion many of the so-called standard bearers of democracy in the United States.

Being the object of the most subtle and brutal forms of insult, outrage, abuse, humiliation at the hands of white Americans and white world Christiandom, it is not difficut to understand how Negroes are unable to be objective in dealing with groups who boldly carry the banner of racial equality such as the Communists. The natural impulse on the part of Negroes is, because of insufferable and indescribable oppression, a willingness to join hands with Satan if he announces his intentions to fight for intellectuals, especially those who feel more keenly the rapier thrust of discrimination and segregation than some of the Negro workers because of their natural ambition for status, often forget the masses of Negroes after they get their desires and are willing to embrace, commend and praise any group or program which violently condemns the United States of America and the whole system of white supremacy. Very infrequently they are willing to look behind these groups and movements for the purpose of inquiring into their motives. Little do they realize that Communists have absolutely no interest in and concern about the basic welfare of groups [illegible] Negroes, Jews, Catholics, Mexicans, Japanese-Americans, Filipinos, labor or any other group except insofar as they are able to use these groups to further the interest and advancement of the cause of Soviet Russia.

This is evident from the fact that during the war untold Negroes were victims of discrimination in industry. They were denied jobs on every hand because of their race and color, and the Communists after Hitler invaded Russia, urged and counselled the soft--pedalling of all forms of agitation against discrimination. They contended that there was only one thing before minorities, labor, America and the allies, namely, winning the war and especially creating a special front to withdraw German troops from the Eastern front where they were pressing Russia.

Before Hitler sent his panzers into Russia, Russia was opposed to war. Communists in the United States of America maintained a picket line around the White House. President Roosevelt was denounced as a war monger and social fascist.

BUT A RIGHT ABOUT FACE TOOK PLACE IMMEDIATELY UPON THE MARCH OF THE GERMAN ARMIES ACROSS THE EASTERN FRONT INTO RUSSIA.

Just as Communists are only interested in using Negroes along with other groups to build up movements in the United States of America which they may be able to employ to embarrass and sabotage the industrial, ideological and military forces of the country, they similarly have no interest in labor, that is, labor outside of Russia. They are busy splitting up all labor unions they cannot control and dominate not only in America but in France, Italy, England, the Middle East and Eastern countries. They have also split racial, religious and liberal movements when it was apparent that they could not control them.

But the great danger of the Communist does not consist so much in the fact that they are seeking to extend their domain. All nations with power have sought to extend their domain in the world but it is the method by which they seek to extend their domain. Wed-1-19-49

Russian Communist doctrines defy and glorify lying, misrepresentation, falsification, smearing, deceit, hypocrisy as valid and legitimate methods and means for discrediting, breaking down and destroying their enemies or any individual or country or group they cannot control.

With the Communists the end justifies the means; the means may be murder, theft, arson or any form of action branding our democratic countries as being immoral and unethical and against the public's good. In fact the Communists do not recognize the existence of a moral order. They berate, decry, deride, ridicule and smear the truth or all forms of virtue, responsibility, dependability as bourgeois prejudices and weaknesses.

It should be evident what a sinister, vicious and disastrous effect such doctrines will have on the minds of impressionable youth. What a dreadful thing it is for youth to grow up in the world under the belief that order means nothing, that truth is a farce and fraud—the end and not the means is the important thing in the world.

It would be interesting to note, too, that whenever a Negro, or leader of labor or of any group, decides to question the practices, principles, policies, program and philosphy of the Polit Bureau, whispering campaigns of slandering and libel, misrepresentation with closklike regularity, is set in motion with a view to character assassination.

These are some of the reasons why Communists are a grave danger to the Negro and labor and other minorities.

FORTUNATELY SOME NEGROES ARE BEGINNING TO SEE THE LIGHT. Max Yergan, former top Negro Communist in the United States, has recently broken with the Kremlin line. He is now being denounced as everything but a "child of God" because of his deviation from the Communist gospel.

WELL MIGHT IT BE SAID THAT THE NEGRO WOULD BE SIMPLE AND SILLY TO ADD TO HANDICAP OF BEING BLACK, THE HANDICAP OF BEING RED. Wed-1-19-49

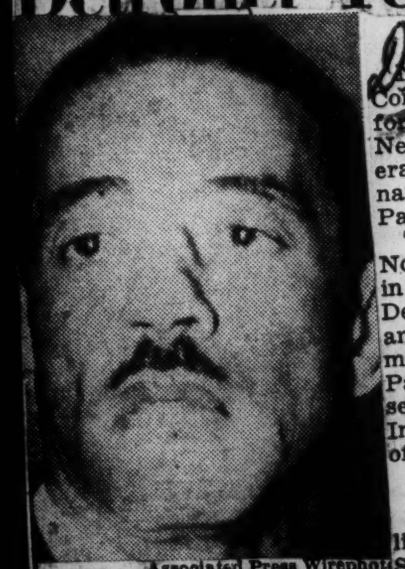
Richard Wright, novelist who once followed the Communist line, is now going his own way because of his opposition to the artistic and intellectual regimentation of Moscow. Soon other distinguished Negro Communists as well as laborites will seek freedom from the dictating of the Communist line.

THE JURORS AND ALTERNATES SELECTED FOR THE COMMUNIST TRIAL

Left to right: Seated—Mrs. Thelma Dial, foreman; Russel Janney, Mrs. Ida F. Howell, Kathryn E. Dunn, George E. Smith, Mrs. Lillian Berliner and Patrick S. Reynolds. Standing: Henry E. Allen, Mrs. Lillian Schlesinger, James F. Smyth, Mrs. Carrie L. Robinson and Mrs. Gertrude Calvin. Alternates: Mrs. Jane Schultz, Mrs. Lillian Wolfe, Mrs. Dora E. Zagat and Mrs. Matilda Dunn. The New York Times

FORMER COMMUNIST TESTIFIES

Detroiter Tells How Reds Planned Negro Nation



Associated Press Wirephoto

WILLIAM O'DELL NOWELL
Insurrection in the South

By EDWIN A. LAHEY
Of Our Washington Bureau

Daily Worker 4-19-49

NEW YORK—A former Detroit Communist related Monday plans for an insurrection of Southern Negroes to the jury in the Federal Court conspiracy trial of 11 national leaders of the Communist Party. Detroit, Washington

The witness was William O'Dell Nowell, a Negro who once worked in the Ford Motor Co. plant at Dearborn. His organizing work among Detroit Negroes so commended him to the Communist Party leaders that in 1931 he was sent to the International Lenin Institute in Moscow for 15 months of study in the art of revolution.

* * *

NOWELL'S TESTIMONY had a little shelf-age, since the proposed Southern insurrection was the subject matter of a Communist convention in New York in 1930.

Nowell was a member of the Communist Party from 1929 through 1936. He is now on the payroll of the Immigration and Naturalization Service of the Department of Justice in Washington. Tues. 4-19-49

He has testified in deportation hearings against Communists.

* * *

THE COMMUNISTS back in 1930 envisaged an autonomous Negro nation stretching from Virginia to the Mississippi Delta, Nowell said.

"This plan would be executed by utilizing the legitimate grievances of the Negro people down there as a means of mobilizing them preparatory to the proletarian revolution in the United States," he said.

Nowell named Jack Stachel, one of the defendants, as his mentor in the Communist Party in Detroit.

On his return from Moscow, he was given leadership posts in the Anti-Imperialist League, the District Negro Commission and the American Negro Congress, Nowell said.

Nowell also became Michigan educational director for the Communist Party after his studies in Moscow.

He fell out of favor with the party leaders in 1934, however, for disagreeing with their Negro program. In 1936 he resigned the party. Tues. 4-19-49

EARLIER MONDAY, a Detroit defense attorney, George Crockett, Jr., and a Detroit FBI agent, Fred G. Cook, were locked in a cross-examination.

Crockett tried without apparent effect to prove that the FBI spied on union meetings at the request of the automobile manufacturers.

Cook resolutely denied this when it was suggested by Crockett.

"How do you know?" Crockett demanded.

"Such a request most certainly would not be acted upon," Cook declared.

Crockett asked if Cook knew John Bugas, labor relations manager for the Ford Motor Co. and former head of the Detroit FBI office. Cook said that he did not.

* * *

COOK AND another FBI agent had testified about a Communist meeting held in Detroit on Jan. 31, 1946, as a memorial to Lenin.

In the cross-examination, the defense tried to establish that the FBI was carrying on intelligence work in the General Motors strike, which was then on.

But the Government pointed out to the jury that the Lenin memorial meeting notices did not mention the strike, and that it was purely a Communist political affair.

Benjamin Davis Announces For N. Y. City Council

The Black Dispatch Oklahoma City, Okla. 342 Sat. 5-21-49

NEW YORK — (ANP) — Benjamin Davis, Communist councilman, now on trial in Federal court with 11 other Communists, announced last week his candidacy for re-election to his present post.

Twice elected under proportional representation, Mr. Davis faces a stiff fight to win a third term. A change in the methods of electing councilmen puts Mr. Davis in the 21st state Senatorial district, running from 100th street to 160th street and from Eighth avenue to the River, but between 117th and 134th streets, the area runs clear across to Madison avenue, taking in a large Negro population.

At the time of his original designation for the council, Mr. Davis was endorsed by Tammany hall. However, the endorsement was speedily withdrawn. This year, he will be opposed by a Tammany candidate of the Negro group, yet to be selected.

Mr. Davis says he will seek the support of all progressive groups. In his first election, he succeeded and had the alleged support of Adam Powell, the first Negro elected to the city council. Of late this alliance has cooled but at one time it was said that Mr. Davis would follow Powell into Congress, when and if the Conggessman decided to retire. There were no events proved. Mr. Davis is the only Communist member of the legislative body in this country.

From other columns . . .

COMMUNISM AND THE NEGRO

Are Negroes Communistically Inclined?

By William A. Nolan, S. J.

From the Catholic Interracial Review

Since the beginning of this year Communist and pro-Communist activities of some Negroes may tend to give an impression which is quite inaccurate.

Let us take the trial of the 12 Communist leaders in New York. Two of them are Negroes. One out of five defense lawyers is also a Negro. A Negro "expert" witness against the New York Federal jury system was on the stand for 11 days. Then came the series of demonstrations by Paul Robeson: his remarks in Paris to the effect that Negroes would not fight against Russia, if need be, and his two Peekskill performances. Of course, there was the wonderful counter-testimony by Jackie Robinson, Lester B. Granger and other Negro leaders. But unfortunately, the evil that men do is more often remembered than the good. It is unfortunate that this is all the more liable to occur when the men are Negroes.

The simple truth is that extremely few Negroes are, or have ever been, Communists. The Communist Party wants Negroes very badly, but Negroes definitely do not want Communism. In the hope of attracting new candidates, the Communist Party pushes a few Negroes to the top and keeps them in the public eye. This explains how there were disproportionately so many Negroes on display at the treason trial in New York City.

Up to the time of the Wallace movement, much less than one percent of Negroes in the United States was ever strongly influenced by Communist propaganda. And most of those who were strongly influenced in one way or another did not belong to the Party itself, but were, for a time, more or less innocently deceived by Communist front organizations. According to the testimony of witnesses at the Communist trial, the Wallace movement was a Communist-controlled affair from start to finish. Its platform, however, was presented in such a way that uneducated or emotially upset people might easily be fooled. There are no complete statistics on how many Negroes voted for Wallace, who received 2.4 percent of the entire presidential vote. In New York, proportionately more whites than Negroes voted for Wallace.

Although the Communist Party in the United States was formed in September, 1919, Communist activities among Negroes were very slow in getting under way. The early Communist Party in this country was extremely foreign in its outlook, and for a long time took little interest in native American problems. But in the second half of 1928, after Stalin had eliminated his competitors for power, the Comintern got down to business on the American Negro question and sent over a very detailed directive as to what was to be done about it. An idea of how independent the activity of the Communist Party in this country is can be gleaned from the declaration of Earl Browder that until Stalin explained the Negro question to American Communists, they were unable to understand it. Very likely, Stalin has not met more than a few hundred Negroes in his entire life.

The 1928 directive of the Comintern told the American Communists that they must get busy among Negroes and that they must promote two main slogans about them: 1) "Equal Rights," 2) "Self-determination in the Black Belt." For Communists everywhere, the slogan is the official unit of propaganda. Extraordinary importance is attached by the Communist leaders to promotion of the right kind of slogans, as if they had some strange magical power of producing any desired result.

As for the two main slogans which were to be publicized among Negroes, the first one about "equal rights" offered no difficulty to the American interpreters of Comintern strategy. But the other main slogan—"Self-determination in the Black Belt"—proved to be a weird importation from eastern Europe. When it was first sent over from Moscow, Ben Gitlow, then a top-ranking Pary member, was campaigning in the South for the 1928 presidential election. The doctrine of self-determination in the Black Belt struck him with all the refreshing effect of an axe-blow between the eyes. At once, he appealed to the "C.I. rep"—that is, to the official representative of the Comintern, or, to be more precise, to Stalin's supreme agent in this country. The "C.I. rep." outranks all the dummy top officers of the Party, such as the 12 on trial in New York City.

Stalin's Agents Reports

At that time Stalin's chief agent happened to be a Hungarian known in this country under the name of Pepper. The exact words of Pepper's reply to Gitlow show how independent American Communists are in their dealing with Negroes:

Comrade Gitlow, there is much truth in what you say; but we could not help ourselves in Moscow. The Russians on the Commission could only see the American Negro question in the light of the minorities question which existed in Russia before the Revolution. Had we not fallen in line, we would have been severely condemned as deviators and khvostists who neglect work among the Negro masses.

Just what was this business of self-determination in the Black Belt, whic hthe Kremlin masters exported for the consumption of American Negroes? Briefly, it meant that Negroes in the South were to regard themselves as a nation distinct from the rest of Americans, and that they should exercise their right to determine their own political independence by setting up a Negro Soviet Republic below the Mason-Dixon line. The entire business sounded not only impossible, but also absurd.

In this slogan of self-determination, Stalin was merely applying to Negroes in the South a program which he himself had worked out at Lenin's bidding, back in 1913. In old Russia, the bulk of Communist support was scattered among what we in this country would call minorities. Lenin, therefore, ordered Stalin, who belonged to the Georgian minority group, to work out a program which might win over the sympathies of the minorities of old Russia. Much can be said in favor of Stalin's proposal as an effective piece of propaganda for Russia. The trouble was that he concluded, against plenty of evidence at his disposal, that what was good enough for Russia ought to be good enough for Negroes in the South. Stalin, of course, knew very well what he hoped to gain from demanding that the Communist Party in this country push the program of self-determination in the South On the basis of their distinct "nationhood," Negroes were to demand the right to secede and form a separate State. If the whites resisted, then Negroes must take up arms in defense of their rights. Lenin had previously declared that these national liberation movements would probably mean civil war within the capitalist countries and their colonies.

Few people in this country know that Stalin had decreed a Negro Soviet Republic for the South back in 1928. Nevertheless, a perusal of the official Party literature will show that possibly half of what Communists have written about Negroes in this country has dealt with the slogan of self-determination in the Black Belt. On the one hand, the Communist leaders knew that they could not get Negroes to become shock brigades for a civil war in this country. On the other hand, Stalin had commanded a program of self-determination in the Black Belt This left only one means of evasion open to the Party leaders. They could conduct interminable theoretical debates and write thousands of pages of discussion articles whichc ended just about where they began.

These deliberations on the precise meaning of the distinct "nationhood" of Negroes in this country were, and still are, something out of this world. Their basic point of departure was always, of course, Stalin's own definition of a nation. According to Stalin, every nation must have common territory, a common language, a common economic system, a common historical background and a common culture and psychological make-up. Finding the common territory of the Negro nation proved relatively easy, since the Black Belt consists of those adjoining counties in Southern States, in which Negroes are alleged to be the majority of the total population. On the other hand, the matter of common language and common economic system offered serious difficulties. To the un-Marxist eye, they appeared to be identical with those of Southern whites. The Communist experts, however, rose to the perplexing situation with reams and reams of obscure "correct Leninist orientation."

Great efforts were also made to show how Negroes look upon Africa as their "old country" and how they still cherish many of the customs which their ancestors practiced there. The fact is that no other minority group in this land ever had fewer ties with the "old country." The only culture and history which Negroes can remember is what they learned from white people in the colonies. It was the express policy of the white colonists to destroy as far as possible all tribal connections and memories among Negroes, inc nearly all the slave revolts in pre-Civil War days were started by members of the same tribe.

The toughest nut of all to crack was the problem of common culture and common psychological makeup. If it is contended that Negroes are a nation, then they ought to have distinct cultural interests—distinct, that is, from the rest of Americans. About the only distinctive feature of Negro culture which the Communists experts were able to dig up were the Negro spirituals. But these could hardly justify the claim of a separate Negro culture. It took the Communist experts from 1928 to 1946 to solve this problem, which they did in a very peculiar way. According to the "correct Stalinist orientation," Negroes are a young nation, not really aware of the fact. William Z. Foster, chairman of the Party, even admitted that, whenever the subject is brought up, Negroes get very angry. Nonetheless, they must be a nation on at least the "unconscious level," since Stalin said that they are a nation.

From 1928 to 1933, the Comintern compelled the Communist leaders

in this country to push the slogan of self-determination in the Black Belt. But in the latter year, directives from Moscow commanded them to soft-pedal it, since it might irritate Southern congressmen too much. At that time, Stalin needed votes for recognition of the Soviet Union by the United States. After 1935, the slogan of self-determination received a further set-back as not being in harmony with the cooperative spirit of the Anti-Fascist Democratic Front (1935-1939).

During the war, Communist tactics swung so far to the right that in January, 1944, Earl Browder came out with an article which he later regretted very much. In this article, Browder declared that Negroes had already exercised their right of self-determination, and what they had determined upon was complete integration into American life Nearly every student of social trends in this country could have told him this years earlier. But in January, 1944, Browder and all the leading Communists, except Foster, felt very happy at having laid the problem of self-determination to rest in a way "which no foreseeable development could now change."

Naturally, Browder could not see ahead clearly to April, 1945, when Jacques Duclos, leader of the Communist Party of France, was to issue a letter condemning most of what Browder had done since the beginning of the war. By the middle of 1945, Russia was safe again, and no longer needed the assistance of the United States and Great Britain. Consequently, Stalin could order all Communists to push self-determination in the colonies of the British Empire and in the southern part of the United States. With Germany and Japan out of the way, civil wars in the British Empire and in the United States would become great assets to the Soviet Union.

Accordingly, in July, 1945, the Communist leaders had to reopen the entire question of self-determination in the Black Belt. Knowing how much Negroes hate the idea as destructive of everything they hope for, the Party experts conduct "learned" discussions and debates on the slogan, but try as much as possible to keep from letting Negroes know about them. It is doubtful whether one Negro in a hundred so much as hears that these discussions are going on. Doxey Wilkerson, the "expert" Negro defense witness whom the Communist leaders kept on the stand for 11 days, during the present trial, wrote an article in the July, 1946, issue of Political Affairs (the highest theoretical publication of the Party), in which he listed no fewer than 8 reasons why this business of self-determination should not be revived. However, he ended by submitting to Party discipline, and agreed that Stalin is always right.

Francis Franklin, a Southern white who was expelled from the Party last year, has accurately summed up the attitude of Negroes toward the right of self-determination. According to his discussion article in Political Affairs for May, 1946, the only effect which this slogan ever had upon Negroes was to confuse them and to give them the impression that Communists were more than a little queer. He added that whenever Negroes figured out exactly what it meant, they became very angry and would have nothing to do with it.

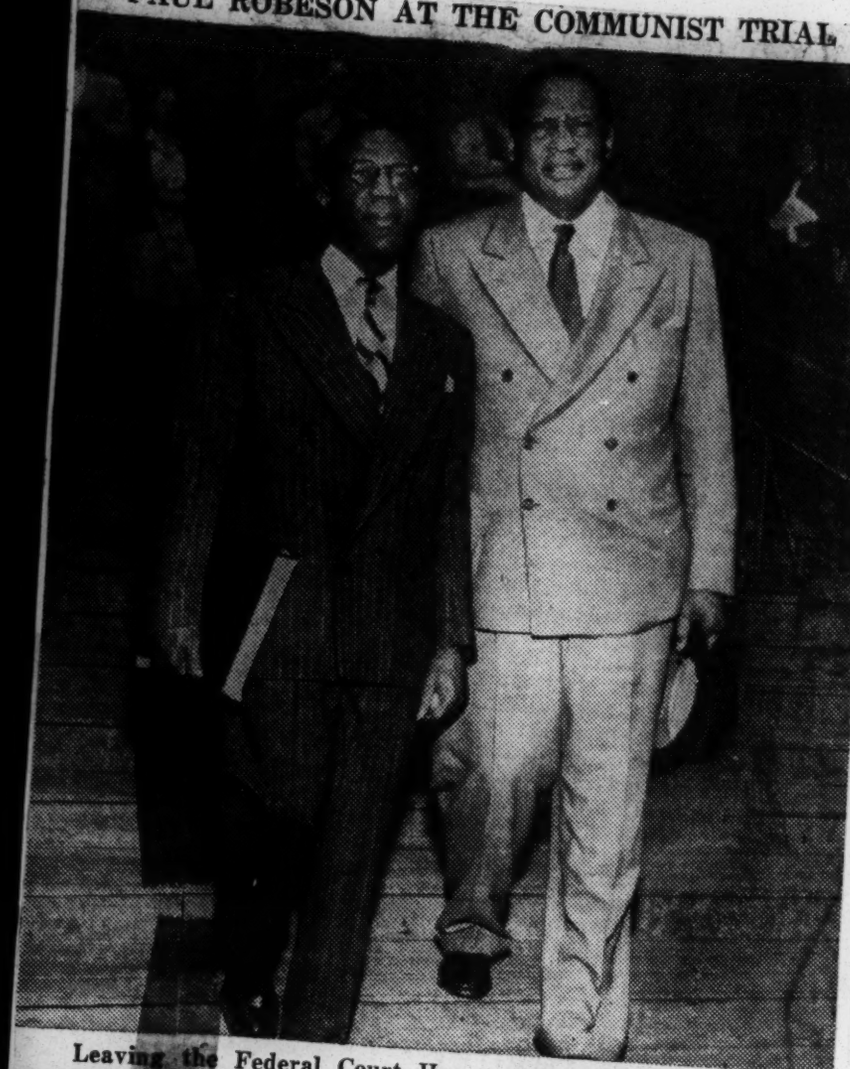
Nevertheless, the Communist Party still officially promotes this slogan of self-determination in the Black Belt and will continue to do so as long as Stalin orders it To a reader unfamiliar with the labyrinths of Communist ideology, this 21 year emphasis upon so unpopular a slogan may seem weird and almost unbelievable. But at least, it brings out one fact very clearly: Communist propaganda in this country is a very foreign affair. If Stalin wants Negroes to sacrifice their future in this country through a civil war against white people, the Party leaders certainly will not gainsay him.

The Shape of Things

SENTENCING OF THE COMMUNIST LEADERS seemed curiously irrelevant alongside the historic fact of their conviction. In giving ten of the eleven defendants five years' imprisonment and a $10,000 fine (Thompson's war record saved him two years) Judge Harold R. Medina went as far as he could go. He indicated that he would have meted out even heavier sentences if Congress last year had not halved the penalty for conspiracy, a fact which strangely came to light only in the week after the convictions. Coupled with denial of bail pending appeal, the severity of the sentences draws the line clearly. It has, in fact, an undeniable logic. Either the Communists represent a "clear and present danger," as Judge Medina believes, in which case the maximum sentence is justified; or they represent no such danger, in which case the application of the Smith act was not warranted in the first place and the men are entitled to their freedom. Judge Medina has chosen to assert the existence of the danger as a matter of law. Higher courts may well decide that this was not a matter of law but of fact, and as such to be determined by the jury. Or they may find, as a question of law, that the danger does not exist in a degree necessary to sustain the prosecution. Should they, on the other hand, uphold this application of the Smith act, as well as the law itself, then the actual sentences meted out to the eleven Communists will be of small importance in the light of larger implications. For we shall then have moved into an era of fear in which prosecutors will try to root out dangers which the greatest of our jurists would never have deemed either clear or present. We can only hope that the judges of the higher courts are not easily frightened. The First Amendment hangs in the balance.

34d 1949

PAUL ROBESON AT THE COMMUNIST TRIAL



Leaving the Federal Court House yesterday with George W. Crockett Jr., one of the counselors, left, after he testified.

Associated Press

ROBESON TESTIFIES FOR 11 COMMUNISTS

34

Says He Knows Them All, but Stay on Stand Is Brief as Court Bans Questions

New York Times

NOT A CHARACTER WITNESS

Wed. 9-21-49

Judge Lectures Counsel for Trying to Offer Evidence of Type He Has Ruled Out

By RUSSELL PORTER

Paul Robeson, singer and actor, was called as a defense witness at the Communist trial yesterday, but did not get a chance to testify on anything of importance. On objections by United States Attorney John F. X. McGohey, Federal Judge Harold R. Medina ruled out almost all questions asked by defense counsel as irrelevant.

Mr. Robeson left the stand after twenty minutes, having said little more than that he knew all eleven defendants.

As members of the Communist party's American Politburo or national board, the defendants are being tried for criminal conspiracy to teach and advocate force and violence to overthrow the United States Government and destroy American democracy. Government witnesses have testified the defendants reorganized the party for this purpose in 1945 on orders from Moscow.

Not a Character Witness

Soon after Mr. Robeson took the stand Judge Medina asked George W. Crockett Jr. of defense counsel, who was putting the questions, whether he had called Mr. Robeson as a character witness. The lawyer said no.

Mr. Crockett then asked a series of questions apparently intended to bring out that the witness had heard the defendants make many speeches but had never heard them advocate violent revolution. Mr. McGohey objected to each of these because such testimony would not disprove Government evidence that the defendants advocated violence in their writings and in secret party schools.

After sustaining a number of these objections, Judge Medina reminded the defense lawyer that he had said Mr. Robeson was not a character witness.

"If you have anything this witness can testify to," the judge added, "I suggest you get to it."

Mr. Crockett, however, continued with the same line of questioning. Then he asked whether Mr. Robeson had ever spoken from the same platform as Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt.

"I am beginning to get the impression, Mr. Crockett," the judge then said, "that these questions, which you must know come within my ruling of exclusion, are being asked for the purpose of getting a claim as to the facts before the jury in a way that I have noticed has been done by other lawyers in this case, as to which I have previously indicated by displeasure.

"A series of quetsions such as you have been asking are bound to convey the impression that the facts stated in the questions are true, despite the fact that I ruled them out and despite the fact that it is obvious from my rulings that if asked and objecte to I would sustain the objections and rule them out. I don't think that is what a lawyer should do.

"You must know perfectly well that a question as to whether this witness was on the platform with the wife of former President Roosevelt has absolutely nothing to do with this case, and I don't think it is proper for you to continue a series of quetsions like that."

After the judge nad sustained objections to a few more questions, Mr. Crockett said:

"In view of the court's ruling, I am convinced it will be impossible to bring before the court the testimony I had hoped."

"I don't think you should have called him," the judge said.

Statement by Robeson Barred

"May I——," the witness began, addressing the Court.

"No, Mr. Robeson," Judge Medina said, "I don't want to hear any statement from you. I can't find from anything in these questions that you have any knowledge of the facts that are relevent in this case."

Mr. Crockett soon afterward ended his questioning, and Mr. McGohey said:

"In view of the direct examination I have no questions."

After leaving the stand Mr. Robeson went to the press room in the Federal Court House, where he protested to reporters against the rulings of the court. He refused to say whether he is a member of the Communist party. Mr. Robeson, who is a graduate of Columbia Law School, was asked why he had not appeared as a character witness.

"I don't know," he replied, and then referred the question to Mr. Crockett, who did not reply to it.

If Mr. Robeson had been called as a character witness, he could have testified to his knowledge of the defendants' reputations but would have been subject to cross-examination on any criminal record of any one about whom he testified.

The reading of a deposition by William Z. Foster, the party's national chairman, was finished yesterday. He defended the use of false names, false statem[illegible] and false passports by Communists because, he said, "they were "persecuted" when known to be party members.

Henry Winston, one of the defendants, who was jailed for the rest of the trial on June 3 for contempt of court, was called to the stand, but was still engaged in preliminary testimony when court was adjourned until this morning.

ROBESON WITNESS AT COMMY TRIAL

Times-Picayune

But Objections Hamstring Singer's Testimony

(The Associated Press)

New York, Sept. 20—Paul Robeson testified for the defense in the Communist conspiracy trial Tuesday.

Wed. 9-21-49

But he didn't get to say what he wanted to say—that "the Communist party has played a magnificent role in fighting for the freedom of the American Negro."

However, he got to say it at an impromptu news conference after he left the stand.

United States Attorney John F. X. McGohey kept objecting, and Federal Judge Harold R. Medina kept upholding the objections until the singer stepped down after only 20 minutes on the stand.

"They don't want the truth," Robeson told newspapermen outside the courtroom. "I refuse to believe after today that the courts sit in a middle position."

Robeson, central figure in two recent riots near Peekskill, N. Y., managed to get across only two main points:

That he knew personally all 11 of the Communist leaders on trial.

That one of his professors when he attended Columbia university law school was Medina.

Medina told Robeson at the outset to answer questions briefly and not to volunteer information. Then the judge ruled that a number of questions asked by defense counsel George W. Crockett Jr. had no bearing on the case.

Crockett said in view of these rulings he couldn't get the testimony he wanted from Robeson.

"I don't think you should have called him," the judge remarked.

McGohey said he didn't want to cross-examine, and Robeson retired in an atmosphere of some confusion.

One of Crockett's questions, ruled out by Medina, was whether Robeson hadn't once shared a platform with Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Robeson told a reporter Crockett didn't mean the late President but rather Mrs. Roosevelt. He said he had appeared on the same platform with her many times, and showed clippings proving it.

(Mrs. Roosevelt said recently she would walk out on a Robeson concert "if he were making speeches for communism.")

Robeson said, too, that he would have praised the Communists for their stand on the Negro question if he had been given the chance.

"Are you a Communist?" a reporter asked.

"That question," Robeson replied, "is not relevant."

Harry Winston, organizational director of the Communist party, appeared as the 34th defense witness. The defendant, born in Hattiesburg, Miss., has been jailed by Medina for duration of the trial on a contempt citation.

Robeson Denied Speaking Halls In Ohio Cities

Journal and Times

Sat. 9-24-49

AKRON, Ohio—(NNPA)—When Baritone Paul Robeson arrives here October 5 for civil rights rally and concert he may find himself without a hall, but the concert will go on anyway according to his sponsors.

New York

The Akron Armory Board last Tuesday met with [illegible] Herman Brown, executive secretary of the Akron Council for Negro and Democratic Rights, promotors of Robeson' appearance here, and returned the rent money for the hall.

No contract had been signed, said Emerson C. Woolf, Akron lawyer and superintendent of the Armory. The board refused to permit the hall to be used for the Robeson meeting because it feared violence.

Woolf said her received a telephone call last Tuesday after the board had decided not to rent the hall, warning him not to permit the Armory to be used by Robeson. "I asked the man his name several times and he refused to give it," said Woolf. Brown said. He added that the board might consider an appeal to the state adjutant general for use of the Armory here.

Robeson concerts near Peekskill, N. Y., recently. Several were injured. It is feared that there might be trouble similar to that which occurred at Peekskill if Robeson appears.

The lone dissenter to the resolution denying Robeson access to the school was Walter N. Kirn, who passed the vote.

"I detest the ground they stand

Two riots de

RIOTS DEVELOPED

ts developed at sites of

IGHT CONSIDER APPEAL

The executive board of the coun-

here will meet to decide what

on," said Kirn, referring to Communists, "but I think they should be permitted to talk."

DENIED USE OF SCHOOL BUILDING IN CINCINNATI

CINCINNATI, Ohio—(NNPA)—The Cincinnati school board Monday, Sept. 12, unanimously rejected an application for use of Stowe Junion High School on October for a concert by Singer Paul Robeson.

The board declared such a meeting "would not contribute to the welfare of the community."

The request for the use of the Stowe Junior High School for the Robeson meeting originally was made to John Locke, director of community relations for the public schools.

Locke told the school board he advised the committee "the demonstration, disorders and mass violence occurring at recent meetings of the Civil Liberties Union at which Paul Robeson has spoken and sung leads me to believe that the purpose of this meeting is one that, at this time, does not make for the welfare of the community."

Members of the committee then asked to submit their request to the board.

Robeson Testifies For Reds, But Has Chance To Say Little

Sidney Times Sat. 9-21-49

NEW YORK, Sept. 20—(AP)—Paul Robeson testified for the defense in the Communist conspiracy trial today.

But he didn't get to say what he wanted to say—that "the Communist Party has played a magnificent role in fighting for the freedom of the American Negro.

However, he got to say it at an impromptu news conference after he left the stand.

U. S. Attorney John F. X. McGohey kept objecting, and Federal Judge Harold R. Medina kept upholding the objections until the Negro singer stepped down after only 30 minutes on the stand.

"They don't want the truth," Robeson told newsmen outside the courtroom. "I refuse to believe after today that the courts sit in a middle position."

Robeson, central figure in two recent riots near Peekskill, N. Y., managed to get across only two main points:

Thet he knew personally all 11 of the Communist leaders on trial; and

That one of his professors when he attended Columbia University law school was Medina.

Medina told Robeson at the outset to answer questions briefly and not to volunteer information.

Then the judge ruled that a number of questions asked by Defense Counsel George W. Crockett, Jr., also a Negro, had no bearing on the case.

Crockett said in view of these rulings he couldn't get the testimony he wanted from Robeson.

"I don't think you should have called him," the judge remarked.

McGohey said he didn't want to cross-examine, and Robeson retired in an atmposhere of some confusion.

White Man's View On The Paul Robeson Statement

Atlanta, Ga. Weekly Voice

MEMPHIS, Tenn. — (SNS) — The following article from the New York Compass was written by Jennings Perry, a former Nashville Tenn., newspaper editor. It reveals what the inheritors of Patrick Henry, Thomas Paine, and other patriots felt. "What would a white man say and do under the same circumstances?

Jun. 8-12-49

Now that the House Committee on Un-American Activities has ball player Jackie Robinson's word for it that American Negroes will so fight Soviet Russia in case of War, the committee can whittle its fore--finger at singer Paul Robeson in the playground gesture of exultation.

Or it can invite Mr. Robeson down to repeat what he actually said about the American Negro's feeling toward a society in which a Negro is not asked to wait until the millenium for equality.

When white Americans start in to clarify "What the Negro thinks" they are usually beyond their depth before they start. This is because it usually is impossible for white Americans to imagine themselves Black. They have to go to Negro white Americans cannot believe him really. It is not a thing he can fancy himself saying.

In the first place he cannot picture himself being told to go to anybody's back door--and taking it. His basic pride in being an American is that Americans "stand up for their rights." And the more he tries out in his mind what he would do if he were a Negro told to go in the back door the more baffled he becomes; for in his experiment he cannot refrain from thinking that he still would be a human being and react as a human being --that is a white American-- and the vivacity of his own feeling belies the soft answer that he may have had from the Negro.

Part of the answer that the House Committee on Un-American Activities had from Jackie Robinson was not so soft-the yes but part reminding the lawmakers that Negro Americans do actively resent the discriminations being made and practiced against them. But the Committee had its "refutation" of the no fight talk ascribed to Paul Robeson and could let the matter drop here, thanking Mr. Robinson nicely for his trouble.

Or it could rashly, as I have noted, call Mr. Robeson with the certainty that, not merely the question of the Negro's willingness to bear arms, but the immeasurably deeper problem of the Negro's daily lot in our land would be thrust afresh upon the uneasy conscience of the white majority. For in these areas Paul Robeson speaks with the burning indignation white Americans begin to feel when they attempt a mental journey into the black man's place.

The committee notoriously is not prepared to go into any un-American activity so commonplace as the Americans are subjected day in and day out in their native land.

After all, Americans, white and black, no longer are asked whether the world like to go to War. They are given a number and told to report for induction on pain of prison. The question that has agitated the committee is purely academic-and that has been since the device of the draft replaced the call for volunteers.

If we are ever stupid enough to have the War, the able-bodied young men--white and black--willing or unwilling will be marched into it by superior force-as usual.

CONVICTION OF 11 REDS HAILED AS PARTIAL VICTORY

Communist

Tribune 12-13-49

State Head Urges Drive to Avoid Jail

BY ROBERT HOWARD

[Reprinted from yesterday's late editions]

Approximately a thousand Chicago Communists were told Sunday that it was a "partial victory" when 11 of their top leaders were convicted in a New York City courtroom of conspiracy to teach the overthrow by force of the United States government.

"It was a partial victory in that the Communist party was not outlawed," Gilbert Green, Illinois chairman who is one of the convicted 11, said at a rally in the auditorium at Ashland av. and Van Buren st.

Out on $20,000 Bail

Green, who is out on $20,000 bail, told his followers that the Communists must see that the 11 defendants and five of their attorneys don't have to serve their sentences. That would be a complete victory, Green said, but he was vague about how the Communists expect to influence the Supreme court's final decision.

Green was sentenced to five years in prison and fined $10,000. Speaking at the rally with him was Atty. George W. Crockett Jr., defense lawyers was cited for contemptuous behavior by United States Judge Harold R. Medina.

A slender man who talks easily and distinctly without raising his voice, Green said the Communists intend to stay in business locally. He claimed 5,000 readers of the Illinois edition of the Worker, weekly paper published in New York, and said 3,000 more subscribers would be solicited and a special edition printed for Chicago Negroes.

Boo Judge Medina's Name

The audience was rather apathetic, altho all stood for the singing of the Internationale, contributed at least $1 to the collection plates, and followed cues in booing Judge Medina's name. Two policemen watched. Some visitors bought printed matter including appeals to national prejudices and such works as a biografy of Stalin and selected quotations from Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Presiding was Claude Lightfoot, Spreading the party line, Green said that Defense Secretary Johnson plans to rearm 5 to 30 divisions of western Germans to use as a spearhead in a war against Russia. He deplored the Criminal court conviction of the Elkay Manufacturing company goon Chicago Negro who acted as Illinois chairman while Green was on trial for nine months in New York.

Communists in Czechoslovakia Parade Criticism of U. S.

Czechoslovak Communists made fun of the United States during their May Day parade in Prague. At the head of the group are two blacked-up persons tied with ropes being driven by a group of hooded figures resembling the Ku Klux Klan. Behind them marched a group of men dressed in German Gestapo uniforms and U. S. Army uniforms. One of this group gives a Nazi salute.

Jail Homer Chase, Georgia Leader of Communist Party

Daily Worker - New York, N.Y.
Wed. 6-8-49

(Reprinted from yesterday's late edition)

ATLANTA, June 6. — Homer B. Chase, Georgia chairman of the Communist Party, was placed under a $5,000 peace bond today in an action unprecedented against a political leader, and was jailed when he failed to post the amount. The move was obviously aimed against the Communist Party here.

Chase was locked in the Fulton county jail during the afternoon, and his attorney said he would stay there until more legal steps are taken. He will ask the Superior Court to issue a writ of habeas corpus on grounds that the bond is five times greater than any previous peace bond in the state's legal history.

The Communist leader was ordered jailed or bonded by Judge Ralph McClelland in civil court, after a three-day hearing on a complaint brought by a renegade from the Communist Party, Mevans Wilder, 20. Wilder claimed he feared violence from Chase. But Dan Duke, prosecuting attorney, admitted there was little evidence Chase threatened Wilder.

Legal circles here said the ruling set a precedent in that it held an individual responsible for reprisal by a political party.

Chase had denounced the youth as "a stupid turncoat."

Defense attorney Hubert Morgan said Wilder, a former grocery clerk, "needs medical assistance, a guardian or a keeper rather than a peace warrant."

On entering the jail Chase told reporters that although Judge McClelland read the decision, it had been written by the Georgia Power Co.

Last Friday, Chase had exposed Prosecutor Duke's role in protecting and covering up the violence of Talmadge and the Ku Klux Klan. Duke not only threatened the defendant's witnesses, the Peoples Progressive Party and the Young Progressives with further local action, but also attempted to create a lynch atmosphere in the courtroom.

Accused Red Quits At Negro School

NASHVILLE, TENN., June 11—(AP)—Giovanni Rossi Lomanitz, a young atomic scientist accused of Communist activities, has left Fisk University in Nashville rather than admit or deny he belongs to the party.

Dr. Charles S. Johnson, president of the Negro University, said tonight the 28-year-old physicist stalked off the campus when told his contract would be suspended pending a congressional hearing.

"He did not submit a formal resignation," Johnson said. "He just left."

Lomanitz, twice interrogated by the House un-American activities committee on his alleged Communist affiliations, was named by a former associate yesterday as a Communist worker.

Johnson added that "We will not tolerate Communists on the faculty here at Fisk."

Lomanitz came to Fisk four months ago from Cornell University.

U. S. Racial Practices Ridiculed by Czechs

The Afro American
Baltimore, Md.

WASHINGTON (ANP) — A mock-panorama of American life was depicted in a May Day parade held last week in Prague by the Czech Communists for the purpose of ridiculing democracy as it is practiced in the United States.

An AP wirephoto of the parade appearing in a local paper showed two blacked-up persons, portraying the colored American, tied with ropes and being driven ahead of a group of hooded figures dressed in what resembled Ku Klux Klan regalia.

Behind them marched a group of men dressed in American army uniforms, but giving a Nazi salute. This is assumed to have been a representation of the white American citizen who preaches democracy but practices the same tactics used by the German Gestapo.

Tells of Red Plan

Daily World
Atlanta, Ga.

A FORMER Michigan official for the Communist party, William Odell Nowell (above) is shown in United States District Court, New York, where he testified at trial of eleven U. S. Reds, charged with advocating overthrow of the Government. Now a Federal employee, Nowell told of Red plans to establish a separate Negro nation in the South to "facilitate" a revolution throughout the United States.

Red With White and Blue

Courier Journal

In these days of un-American activities, I may be regarded as a little "pink," because I believe in free and equal rights for Negroes, outlawing of the Ku Klux Klan, "socialized" medicine, and, finally, I am a believer in free thought and free expression, unafraid to be investigated by the Un-American Activities Committee.

W. C.
Louisville.

really important. I may be radical, I am individualist, against the veterans' bonus.

Who can determine who is subversive and Communistic in our nation? I say the fanatically, prejudiced haters should be investigated or better still educated as to what is Communism and what is Americanism.

I don't consider myself "pink." I am just as red, white, and blue as the next guy, although color isn't

Jailed CP Leaders Hail Protest Movement

Daily Worker

Henry Winston, John Gates and Gus Hall, speaking to attorneys who visited them Saturday at Federal Detention Pen at West Street, declared that they were "tremendously gratified" at the rising protest movement against their jailing by Judge Medina Friday.

New York Mirror

The three Communist leaders said:

"We have noted with special satisfaction the statement issued by former Vice-President Henry A. Wallace that this jail sentence 'can have the most profound effect on the political and civil liberties of all Americans.'

"Wallace undoubtedly reflects the conscience of all decent Americans, irrespective of political viewpoint, who are horrified at the ruthless jailing of Americans for their American refusal to become stool-pigeons against other working men and women.

Mirr 6-6-49

"Americans recognize that the purpose of this jailing is to deprive the defense of the opportunity to present its case, and to railroad the defendants to jail.

"We greet our comrades and fellow fighters for civil liberties on the outside. We pledge that we shall continue, no matter what the penalty, to uphold the highest ethics of the American working class and the American people."

GUS HALL

GATES

WINSTON

Attorney Harry Sacher, counsel for Gates, visited the three men in the company of attorney David M. Freedman. 6-6-49

Sacher bitterly condemned the refusal of prison authorities to permit an adequate conference with his client.

"The facilities of the Federal pen are simply medieval," Mr. Sacher said. "We had to talk to the clients through an aperture, which made real consultation impossible. At a crucial stage of a protracted trial in which hundreds of exhibits have been introduced by both prosecution and defense, Mr. Gates is deprived to a substantial degree of the assistance of counsel.

"On Monday morning I shall lay these facts and others before the Circuit Court of Appeals."

Prison authorities refused to allow Sacher to give the men three books to pass the time until Monday when trial reopens. The banned books, all of pocket size, were: a volume of Shakespearian plays; one mystery story, and one copy of "Mr. Roberts," the story which in play form has been a Broadway hit for a year. "Mr. Roberts," a play about the Navy, was intended for Hall, himself a Navy veteran.

Winston and Gates are ex-GI's who saw service in the European theatre of operations. All three are married. Hall, a native of Ohio, has two children, and Winston one.

6-6-49

ROGERS SAYS:

Government Is Inept In Its Attempt to Try Communist Defendants

The Courier Pittsburgh, Pa.

By J. A. ROGERS

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier—The Editors.)

I'VE BEEN attending the Communist trial in New York. While I shall make no predictions of the outcome—that is, if it ever gets to one, Judge Medina said it is likely to go on from "year to year"—I think that, whether the defendants win or lose, communism, itself will be the winner. If the Government's idea was to crush communism then it coudln't have gone about it more ineptly.

Mr. Rogers

With the defense now telling its side, the Court is serving as a forum for Communist views and believe me, some of these are mighty strong—and justified, too.

Here was an insignificant group, never at any time able to poll as many as 75,000 votes—a red herring acros the trail, as Mr. Truman rightly called it—but which for the past three years has been boosted into the national limelight and is getting many millions of dollars of free publicity.

At the opening of the trial last January, there were enough police present to whip an army of gangsters. I'm sure that many seeing this display of force must have felt that Communist power in America justified it.

Negro Agent and Rabbi Say Reds Try To Destroy Minorities' Loyalty

Courier-Journal Louis. 7-14-49

Report Is Given On Robeson

Washington, July 13 (AP)—A Negro investigator and a Jewish rabbi assured Congress today their people have a deep loyalty to their country but that Communists are trying relentlessly to destroy it.

Alvin Stokes, investigator for the House Committee on Un-American Activities, testified that the Communist Party has a camouflaged program "for setting up a Soviet republic in the so-called Black Belt of the South."

Stokes said his investigations over the last two years show only about 1,400 Negroes are Communists.

But he said Negroes are the "target of constant and relentless Communist propaganda," aimed at exploiting inequities and inadequacies in American life.

Rabbi Benjamin Schultz of New York said there is "a deliberate Communist conspiracy to inflame racial and religious minorities here against the United States." One instance of this, he said, is singer Paul Robeson's "attempted provocation of American Negroes against their country and in favor of Russia."

Representative Walter (D., Pa.), a member, told a reporter he will insist that the committee subpoena Robeson to explain some of his statements.

Offers Report On Robeson.

Frank Tavenner, committee lawyer, produced an 11-page report which he said covers Robeson's activities and "associations with Communist-front organizations."

Robeson recently toured Europe, praising the Russians and saying American Negroes would not fight in a war against the Soviet Union. 7-14-49

The hearing today was held largely to give leading Negroes and others a chance to answer Robeson. They had asked that they be allowed to use the committee as a forum.

Robinson To Testify.

Jackie Robinson, the Brooklyn Dodgers' second baseman and first Negro to play in the major leagues, was supposed to be the star witness. He asked to be allowed to postpone his appearance, for personal reasons, and will be heard Monday instead.

Along with the testimony today, the committee received a letter from General Dwight D. Eisenhower, commander of allied forces in Europe in World War II and now president of Columbia University. It said the historic record supplies "irrefutable proof of the loyalty of Negro troops."

RALPH McGILL

The Constitution

Where To Henry Wallace?

Atlanta, Ga.

Fri. 7-1-49

A couple of months ago James Barfoot announced himself at my office. I was interested in seeing him. He was the young man who had campaigned last November in the Wallace movement and had run as the Progressive Party nominee for Governor.

I had never seen him. I had entertained certain ideas about him.

He came in to say that he had accepted the chairmanship of the Progressive Party in Georgia, and to ask it be announced. We talked at some length. As he talked I revised some of the opinions I had conceived. A few were sustained.

I still disagreed with him that the way to what he sought was through a new party.

Ideas I told him I honestly believed—as he did not—that Henry Wallace was a captive of the Communist Party in this country. I informed him also that I had come to this conclusion reluctantly, being unwilling to believe Wallace was aware of it, but that more and more I was coming to find it less possible to conceive of Wallace being so blind.

I already had, from one who had worked closely with Wallace, the information Henry Wallace was so bitter at Harry Truman and at the late Franklin D. Roosevelt for preventing him from becoming the vice-presidential nominee, he had lost all perspective and ate up the soft soap and applause given him by the fellow travelers directing him as a hungry boy laps up chocolate ice cream.

I had had, too, and this I did not say at the time, information that Henry Wallace's mail was screened and that those about him saw to it he received no mail which would "upset" him.

Fri. 7-1-49

Barfoot I found Barfoot to be—and this I must in honesty say I had not imagined—a deeply sincere person with a background solidly American. He insisted he would not allow the Communist Party to direct the Progressive Party and that if he found out he could not prevent such he would resign.

A day ago James Barfoot resigned.

I must admit surprise. I had an idea he would find it politically expedient to "work with them."

Resigning with him was Samuel W. Williams, of Atlanta University, Professor of Philosophy and Ethics. I have never seen him. I take Barfoot's word for it that he, too, is a person of integrity and character.

His resignation read like it.

He said he objected to the "dogmatic" left-wingers in the Progressive Party using the Government's foreign policy and the Negro problem as their exclusive political sources.

That took integrity.

Fri. 7-1-49

Belief A candid report, as I aim this one to be, must make it clear that both Barfoot and Williams have in no sense recanted any iota of their belief or policy in their resignations. On the contrary, they still believe, if Barfoot represents the two, almost naively but passionately as well, in the need for a political party which will honestly concern itself with what they conceive to be the genuine welfare of the people.

What they have done—and all they have done—is resign from an organization, saying it could not be made to work because of the constant Communist and fellow traveler obstruction of their policies. Many others, equally sincere, have left other organizations for the same reason.

Wallace I since have learned something else.

Neither Barfoot nor Williams were ever able to get through to Henry Wallace . . . who should have been deeply interested in them. Every letter they wrote him was returned. This could mean but one thing, and one thing only.

Someone around Henry Wallace didn't want him to know. There was a direct tie between the Communist influences in the Georgia party and those in the national party. A former associate with Wallace at the time Wallace left the New Republic, previously had informed me of the handling of his mail.

I would like to point out to Barfoot and Williams, who do not care for me, who perhaps do not even trust me, and who regard the press with suspicion, that they again provide but another illustration of the fact that the Communists use sincerety and honesty and exploit it to the limit wherever they can find it. This, too, is but another illustration of the fact that the Communists not merely are uninterested in having a peoples movement, which is American and not Communist, meet with any success but are grimly determined to see it has no success.

Smear For every thoughtful person both Barfoot and Williams provide an illustration, too, of how careful we should be in allowing the Communist smear carelessly to be applied. Yet, for them and all others like them, there must be a realization that the Communists themselves are a party to these smear campaigns, finding them useful in embittering those whose integrity they are exploiting. Nothing pleases a Communist more than to have a Liberal smeared as a Communist. Indeed, they work to have it done. Many of the congressional attacks on teachers and individuals privately are cleverly instigated by shrewd Communist propagandists who seek to have Americans lose faith in their institutions.

Many persons have made the error of thinking they could use the Communists. John L. Lewis did so when he formed the CIO. Many craft and numerous CIO locals made the identical error.

It is difficult to get at the facts. There is so much confusion in the welter of charges made. There is a semi-hysteria in some of the press, pulpit and from some civic leaders. But, in the slow trial of the Communist leaders in Washington, charged with seeking to overthrow this Government, important facts have been developed. Some of them, factual recordings, I would like to carry over for tomorrow.

RALPH McGILL

The Constitution

The Commies Do Me Honor

Atlanta, Ga.

Sun. 5-5-49

Homer Chase, the semi-hysterical, thin little Pol Parrot of Communist orders who lives, without toil, off the dollars the Communist fronts collect to "defend" sharecroppers and Negroes, "victims of the Fascist terror," attacked me in our little local trial as a "chauvinist."

That's a word now current in the Communist jargon.

As usual, the Commies have twisted it to their own meaning.

Miss Eunice Tontak said it meant oppression of minority groups, "such as Negroes in the South."

That is as far from the truth as it could be.

Words Miss Tontak was a secretary of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare. It was listed as a Communist-front organization. Miss Tontak was a member of the Wallace group in Georgia, which had as their executive director Don West, who was a Communist and who wrote boastfully of being a Communist in the Daily Worker. She has been attending "social" meetings with Chase at which, by her own admission, a secretary kept membership cards. But she insisted the meetings were just social gatherings to eat cake, play records and talk.

Chauvin Nicolas Chauvin was a soldier under Napoleon. He became such a passionate admirer of Napoleon and of the French Republic and, later, the first Empire, that the word "chauvinism" was formed to mean a greatly exaggerated devotion, especially patriotism. It was a word common in French vaudeville and literature.

What the Commies do is to use it to apply to anyone who loves his country—any country other than Russia.

Miss Tontak, who refused to say whether or not she was a party member, is the first person to try and distort it into meaning oppression of minorities.

Well, maybe I am something of a chauvinist, if it means quiet loyalty to this country and a contempt for the hypocrisy and lies of Communism.

Sun. 5-5-49

Enemies I despise the Communists and the Ku Klux Klan as representing something basically harmful and destructive of the meaning of America. The Commies, so long as we keep them in public view, are not dangerous. They are dangerous only so long as they can stay behind the woodwork. Out in the open they run and squeak like mice. For the Communists I have contempt. They are mostly phonies. The boys at the top, who know what they want, always use the little cry babies such as Chase, who turn against their country through the party, because they didn't have the money to go to college and wouldn't work it out, or because they had a childhood of poverty—or, because of some other such reason. They use them and they use the fellow travelers who like to get together and eat cake and play the Paul Robeson records and feel superior while they discuss the chauvinists and the capitalists.

Cynical The top Commies use them to pick up some case of an unjustly arrested Negro, or a sharecropper in jail for the murder of a vicious landlord, or they take the orphans of some lynched Negro—and they flood the country with appeals for money. This usually is done through some front organization. Usually they pick a case in which justice has been distorted and injustice done. The fellow travelers help the appeals.

But do you think the victims get any of the money?

Well, a little. A very little. They get their pictures made and they are herded before meetings called to raise funds.

When they are wrung dry they are dropped for another case. The fellow travelers also are dropped when their superficial, brittle intellectualism has been used up. I hear they are about to send Homer to California. At least that's what they told him. Homer hopes it's California.

The boys at the top want power.

So they use idealism, they exploit a sense of injustice, they pervert and prostitute efforts to help humanity; they rush in to betray and delay welfare organizations; to make them suspect. They get into church organizations. They are entirely hypocritical and cynical.

For such one may have contempt.

The Constitution Atlanta, Ga.

Klan For the Klansmen one can have a sort of contempt and pity. Because they have more appeal to the uninformed Americans, they are more dangerous to American institutions.

The Klan is the best friend the Communists have.

The degraded, brutalized murderers who recently took a Negro out of jail in Irwinton and killed him, allow the Communists to say, with some truth:

"What is the American law worth to you? Where is your guarantee of a fair and impartial trial?"

Those murderers in Irwinton, hideous and depraved, may think they have done nothing but kill a Negro, an act which their inhuman instincts does not consider a crime.

But, what they have done is to stab their country and their State in the back. They have given the Communists weapons. They have made it possible for Communists all over the world to say, "The American law is a lie." They have injured every decent American.

Sun. 5-5-49

The same thing is true of the stupid killers in Toombs County; those in Walton of a few years ago—and any others of the past.

present or future. They are lynching their own country and its good name. They are hurting their State and every person who lives by law. They are giving the Communists comfort and aid.

That's why the Klan is more dangerous to America. It creates a climate for lynching. It commends violence if it be against a Negro. It is, in a sense, an auxiliary of the Communist Party in that it, through, and by, its philosophy and deeds, is the chief support of the Communists.

The Communist trial is interesting in how revealing it is. Chase, in denouncing me, among others, used almost the exact words found in the book in which Stalin denounces Trotsky. When Communists join the party they swear to lie—and they officially become parrots—following the party line.

Robeson, at Foley Square, Says All True Americans Are on Trial

Daily Worker, New York, N.Y.

By Joseph North

An excited buzz ran through the federal courtroom when Paul Robeson entered, walked down the aisle to the defendants and shook their hands.

I heard that buzz before—when he came to the front-lines in Spain and sang for the International Brigades. And I thought, here in the Foley Square courtroom at the trial of the Communist leaders, that wherever you find democracy on the firing line, you will find this great son of the Negro people.

"I came here," he told me, "because I too am on trial." He said his people are in the dock here, "all that is best in America is before the bar."

Robeson came, he told me, "because all real Americans should come and see for themselves what is happening."

ASKS ALL TO SEE

He urged all New Yorkers to witness what he saw: the trial of the Jimcrow, anti-democratic jury system being conducted by the defense of the Communist leaders.

Negroes, he said, know a great deal about the jury system. "They know it in the South and elsewhere in America." It was his opinion that millions will be shocked to discover what the defense is uncovering—a federal jury system in New York that differs in no essentials from the brand you find in Mississippi.

He urged all New Yorkers to let Federal Judge John Clark Knox here know their sentiments, to write or wire him at Foley Square insisting that the court permit the truth be unearthed.

"Our people have the right to know, and it is criminal for the court to put obstacles in the way," he declared.

FEELS RESPONSIBILITY

Robeson is a former law student himself and had, as a matter of fact studied at Columbia under former Chief Justice Harlan F. Stone. "I know some law," he said, "and I can tell you that a fair trial is utterly impossible in this rigged atmosphere of hysteria."

The great singer said he came not only a private citizen but that he felt an overriding responsibility to see for himself, as co-chairman of the Progressive Party, as a leader of the Civil Rights Congress and as chairman of the Council on African Affairs.

"And I come as a friend and admirer of these men on trial," he told me. He had seen them, he said, in the foremost ranks of all major battles in America's interests. Mew. 1-24-49

"They are brave, able, talented men whose chief concern is the welfare of the Common Man. I respect them."

He said the trial reminded him of the Scottsboro case where "the first big fight for the basic rights of the Negro people in modern times took place. And I recall," he said, "that the Communists risked their lives to enter the South to challenge the jury system there. The fight was a searchlight on the South. And I respect the Communists for it."

IN FRONT LINE

He said that during this war he saw Communists in the front-rank of the battle against fascism, "the first to die for freedom of all nations were the Communists. "And, he said, as an anti-fascist he pays them tribute. "But the Government has them on trial."

He spoke of the vast significance of this trial to all colonial peoples. "This trial is part of Truman's imperialist drive on all the submerged peoples of the world now beginning their march to freedom. To deny

PAUL ROBESON

these Communists their rights is to set back the advances of the colonial peoples immeasurably."

It is impossible, Robeson concluded, to halt the ideas of Communists. "Those ideas," he said, "are held by millions over more than half the earth. Millions struggling for a better way of life hold those ideas, and it is utterly silly to try to stop them there, or here, or anywhere."

He said there are many kinds of people in the world, and true democrats must accept the right of all who hold Communist ideas to think as they please. "They should let them put those ideas to the test in peace."

He told me that a New York columnist wrote last week that he was going to Europe to live in Paris. Robeson scoffed at the lie. "I expect to go to Europe on invitation to appear at a number of concerts in a number of lands." The journey will carry him through France, other lands, "and I will visit Israel before I return."

He said he would not be gone long, for he must return shortly "to take my place on the battle-line for democracy here."

"This is my home and this is where I belong and where I must fight."

N.Y. State CP Names Negro Commission

Daily Worker N.Y. N.Y.

The State Committee of the New York Communist Party has announced the formation of a State Negro Commission. This body will continue the work of the previous Commission and will function until the next state convention.

Herbert Wheeldin and Hank Farash were designated chairman and secretary respectively of the newly-formed commission. Mew. 2-17-49

In making the announcement, William Norman, state secretary of the Party stated: 2-17-49

"Our Party's Marxist-Leninist position on the Negro Question must become the common knowledge and property of an ever-increasing number of workers and people generally. Coupled with, and as a result of this ideological contribution, our Party must intensify its activities in the developing Negro Peoples' Liberation Movement. The struggle against white chauvinism, the fight for the immediate needs of the Negro people: jobs, housing and civil rights as well as the over-all demand for full economic, political and social equality can greatly enhance Negro-white unity in the common struggle for peace and progress. The principal duty of the commission will be its assistance to the entire state organization in making the maximum effort toward the realization of these objectives."

Negro who broke with Reds asks police guard

The Tribune Los Angeles Calif

NEWARK — A 24-hour police guard has been placed around the home of Clifford Holmes following his confession to the local prosecutor that he was a Communist and that his life has been threatened because he has quit the party.

Holmes, who told authorities his fear was mainly for the life of his wife and child, said Communists had told him both his legs would be broken, and if that is not persuasive enough, his neck will be broken. Sat. 5-5-49

With his admission and appeal, Holmes made several charges and revelations of Communist practices and methods to the prosecutor.

He said Communists use sex as a means of involving young people in party work, and said youngsters of 15 are permitted sexual activity without reproach.

The party doesn't hesitate to destroy marriages for party good either, Holmes said. He called the Party "vicious" toward members who fall from grace, and said it has intensified its activity among minority groups.

Holmes said the local Communist party operates classes in methods of sabotage of U. S. institutions. Among organizations he accused of being Cmmunist is the Civil Rights Congress, which has branches in several cities and states.

34d 1949

WHAT AMERICA FEARS MOST

Afro American, Baltimore, Md.

All this hullabaloo in the Un-American Activities Committee, headed by Representative Wood of Georgia, has a psychological foundation in fear.

Everybody knows that the great masses of Americans are loyal.

Everybody also knows that Communism comes in only when the existing governments work excessive hardships on their citizens. These hardships may keep them poor, ignorant and starving as in Europe at present, or as in the far Southern States. The exploited and the oppressed everywhere are fully ripe for Communistic propaganda.

The sharecroppers in the Delta region of Louisiana, or the laborers in the turpentine camps in Florida, who are deprived of their vote, who are subject to the terror of the Ku Klux Klan and the lynching by mobs, may not seem ripe for revolution yet.

But nobody thought that the French peasant would revolt either or that the Russians, almost annihilated in the first World War, should stage a revolution which would enable them to defeat the Nazis in World War II.

There is no question about the fact that the stage is all set for a revolution of the oppressed some day unless this government in Washington compels the States to treat all citizens alike.

Paul Robeson may be a voice crying in the wilderness today, but what will happen when there are ten thousand Paul Robeson or two million or ten million?

All any oppressed masses need is leadership and the House Un-American Activities Committee is simply fearful that Mr. Robeson represents that type of leadership.

RACE BAN BILL CALLED BAR TO COMMUNISM

Times 7-21-49

WASHINGTON, July 20 (AP) — Elimination of racial barriers to American citizenship was supported today by Delegate Joseph Farrington, Republican, of Hawaii, as a defense for Pacific peoples against communism.

On the other hand, he told a Senate judiciary subcommittee, failure to erase the barriers would "strengthen the hand of evil forces of communism."

The subcommittee is considering a House-approved bill to permit naturalization of previously banned Orientals and set up annual immigration quotas. It also heard testimony from Y. B. Goto of Honolulu that elimination of the barriers was necessary to assure "American leadership in the Far East." Mr. Goto, who said he represented Hawaiian Japanese, told the committee:

"I can think of no more significant move than the passage of this bill to prove to the people of Japan and the Far East that the democracy we have been teaching them is a way of life which applies to all peoples of the world."

Mike Masoaka, representing the Japanese American Citizens League anti-discrimination committee, referred to failure of Congress a year ago to act on a similar bill and predicted:

"If this session repeats that failure, Japan may fall prey to the Communists.

Contract Held Up, Teacher Walks Off

Courier Pittsburgh Pa. Sat. 6-18-49

(Special to The Courier)

NASHVILLE, Tenn. — The possibility of a concentrated Communist effort to gain a toehold on the campuses of the Nation's leading colleges operating exclusively for Negroes was under serious consideration this week, following the walkout of a Fisk University professor who refused to state whether or not he was (or is) a Communist.

Associate Professor Giovanni Rossi Lomanitz, 28-year-old instructor in physics, left the campus when President Charles S. Johnson suspended his 1949-'50 contract, pending the outcome of a House Un-American Activities Committee probe into Lomanitz' past, according to Dr. Johnson. "He did not submit a formal resignation," Dr. Johnson said, "he just left."

HOUSE TESTIMONY

In Washington last Friday, a confessed former holder of a Communist card testified before the House Committee that he was "recruited" into the party by Lomanitz while both were working in an atomic laboratory at the University of California, Berkeley, about six years ago.

Dr. Johnson's account of the physicist's leaving was given by telephone from Daytona Beach, Fla., where Dr. Johnson was attending a regional council on education with other Southern college presidents.

"I asked Lomanitz if he was a Communist," Dr. Johnson recalled. "He didn't say he was or he wasn't. He said he hadn't done anything he was ashamed of." Lomanitz left Fisk about two weeks ago, according to the president.

WARNS OF SUSPENSION

"I had a conference with him and told him the contract would be suspended until I had a better understanding of the committee (House Un-American Activities Committee) investigation," Dr. Johnson said, adding that Lomanitz indicated he felt the contract should not be delayed on this ground.

"If the hearing had established the fact that there was no basis for any charge against him, I would have extended the contract for next year," Dr. Johnson said.

"We have no Communists on our faculty. I haven't the slightest suspicion that any member is of that political faith," the official said.

"We would consider such not a proper person for instruction of our students."

A member of the Fisk board of trustees, who asked that his name be withheld, declared that no proved Communist will be retained on the university faculty. He said that academic freedom does not extend to the point where an individual may be allowed to use a university chair to destroy the very system upon which American education is founded.

"However, instances like this," the trustee added, "have happened at many universities and one must act with caution. This must not become a witch hunt. But if an instructor is proved guilty of embracing communism, he must be dismissed immediately."

FROM CORNELL UNIV.

Lomanitz came to Fisk about four months ago from Cornell University from which he is expected to take a Ph. D. degree this month.

The educator was quizzed by Congressional spy-hunters on April 26. No evidence of questionable deals was produced. At Friday's hearing, he stood tense and silent in front of the witness he was charged with having "recruited" into the Communist party.

RED FAILURES HERE TOLD BY MINORITIES

Jews Anti-Communist, a Rabbi Says—Negro Publisher Insists Robeson 'Betrays His Race'

Times 7-14-49

By C. P. TRUSSELL

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, July 13 — The House Committee on Un-American Activities, at two public sessions today, provided witnesses for minority groups with a forum on which to defend their patriotism and declare that Communist drives to dominate them had failed.

Paul Robeson, Negro singer, was a principal target through hours of testimony. Mr. Robeson had declared affection for Russia and asserted that the American Negro would not take up arms in the event of a war between the United States and the Soviets.

Another Negero, Thomas W. Young of Norfolk, a publisher, declared that Mr. Robeson had broken the bond he once had with the Negro mind, had "betrayed his race" and could no longer be viewed as a spokesman for it.

It was suggested by Representative Francis E. Walter, Democrat, of Pennsylvania, that Mr. Robeson be subpoenaed. Mr. Young predicted that the committee could obtain from him "very little useful information" and warned that such a hearing might turn out to be "only a sounding board" for the views the singer has expressed on several continents.

Rabbi Benjamin Schultz of New York, executive director of the American Jewish League Against Communism, Inc., charged that there was "a deliberate Communist conspiracy to inflame religious and racial minorities" not only against the United States but against one another.

"The ultimate aim," the rabbi said, "is to throw this land into confusion, paving the way for a Stalinist revolution and conquest" in line with a "technique outlined" by Lenin.

Times

Anti-American propaganda featuring Russia's supposed backing of the Jewishness position on the Palestine question, Rabbi Schultz told the committee, "failed dismally."

Thurs 7-14-49

"Americans of Jewish faith remain anti-Communist," he continued. "Therefore the Soviet line changed abruptly about one year ago." It became "anti-Zionist and even anti-Semitic," he asserted.

Rabbi Schultz cited cases which he described as Communist efforts to set minorities against one another which had developed in New York, Detroit, Los Angeles, and at other points. He added:

"We Jews have suffered from discrimination for centuries. We have enough real trouble without having the Communists create trouble for us where it does not exist, or having them imagine troubles for us. The one sure thing about America today is that, through the democratic process, injustices are gradually removed."

"I am confident," he also said, "that no American and no true liberal will allow himself to be used for an international conspiracy which, if successful in the United States, would abolish the American way of life and substitute a slavery unparalelled in world history, signifying tragedy and death to Jews, Protestants, Catholics, whites, Negroes and all freedom-loving men on this continent."

Catholic Executive Testifies

George K. Hunton of Brooklyn, executive director of the Catholic Interracial Council of New York, told the committee of many fights by the council against Communist efforts to infiltrate its activities "with a view to domination of them."

Mr. Hunton charged that the Communists, while appearing to sponsor civil rights, were seeking to defeat civil rights measures in the hope of fomenting discontent among minority groups.

The committee received a letter from Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower, president of Columbia University. General Eisenhower had been requested to testify concerning the conduct of Negro troops in Europe, in the light of Robeson statements.

He said that he had testified previously about the loyalty, devotion to duty and endurance of American troops "on some of the most bitterly contested battle fields of history."

"In that testimony," he wrote, "I have never made any exception based upon racial deriviation or connection. I have not done so because no such exception was applicable or justified."

"I should like gratuitously to add," he said in conclusion, "that I have seen or experienced nothing since the close of hostilities that leads me to believe that our Negro

States Rights

Editor, The Advertiser:

I understand that rains have rendered nicity in proportion to population to enable them the roads muddy and almost impassable in to discontinue all state, county and municipal sections for weeks at a time. For example: Alabama's share of a $15,000,000,000 revolving fund would be about $320,000,000 . . .

Times

Real States Rights would take those sections out of the mud and also reduce taxes.

That statement may subject me to considerable ridicule. But the decisions of the United States Supreme Court are my authority.

My plan is for Congress to create a revolving fund to be distributed to the states

WILLIAM C. IRBY, SR.

Jacksonville, Ala.

Times 7-29-49

Courage vs Cowardice

Before you decide you are opposed to the frank and forthright statements of Paul Robeson regarding race prejudice and his reaction to second-class citizenship, you ought to weigh alongside the attitude of this aggressive personality the position taken by far too many timid blacks who are doing much to retard the progress of the race.

The Atlanta Constitution recently published the results of a survey made by four white youths who traveled all the way from Andover, Mass., to study the racial situation at first hand and talk directly with the blacks down in Georgia regarding their satisfaction or dissatisfaction in the environment where they live. Listen to what these youths reported as the indifference they discovered among the mass of Negroes respecting their every-day living:

"So many colored people seem not really interested in the whole question of civil rights and their own status.

"Most of them did not seem to mind segregation, but they thought that it would be better for all concerned to maintain it."

Of course the average Negro wants to get along smoothly. He is not looking for trouble when he strolls down the street, and it is quite natural for a few of them, when approached by a stranger, especially white boys in Atlanta, Ga., and interrogated about controversial questions such as segregation and social equality to steer aside from the subject on the simple theory that in doing so they are steering clear of trouble. You may not know this, but in states like Alabama, Georgia and Mississippi the Negro promptly gets into trouble if he exercises free speech and no one knows this better than the Negro.

Realizing this intolerable condition exists, one can readily account for the apparent indifference discovered by these Yankee boys, but the reaction of these Massachusetts youths to the apparent acceptance of demoted citizenship status is important. They came south hearing of segregation, disfranchisement and the mob, and assuming they were going to interview tear-dimmed citizens of sable hue, who would tell of the horrible conditions under which they lived. They have returned to Massachusetts feeling that things are not as bad as they had assumed, and surely they should not intrude where there is contentment among those whose rights have been abused.

Coupled with the misinformation they received from the blacks they were told boldly by the whites that what the Negro said because of fear of bodily harm, was in truth his natural reaction to an ideal bi-racial pattern of living they have created in the South, which of course includes segregation, jim crow, disfranchisement, illiteracy, malnutrition and joblessness. The northern youths were sent back home laboring under the false impression that the black man and woman dearly love the hopeless environment where they live.

Now the question for you to decide is whether it is better for the visitors who come among us to know the truth or to hide our thoughts. Do you recall the poem written by Langston Hughes, "The Mask"? It is time for the American Negro to take off the mask and let the truth be known. The thing that stings about Paul Robeson's approach to the race question is that he is doing on the world platform what the Negroes of Atlanta should have done on their domestic platform. You know it is written that it is the truth that sets men free. Why should you utter a falsehood when men ask you for the truth?

The real question for you to decide is whether you will fearlessly throw the pressure of black manhood and spirit into the atmosphere where you live or whether you want to follow the questionable path of Uncle Toming your way to the crumbs of present day civilization.

The Black Dispatch believes black men and women today can array more friends on the side of freedom and fair play by giving expression to genuine sensibilities and feeling than by hiding from the insults and indignites they suffer when friends arrive. We believe one Paul Robeson is more valuable than one thousand Uncle Toms who, after all, in many instances forget the common weal in their frantic endeavor to secure a few individual crumbs for their own selfish tables.

We recall several years ago when Dean Pickens and this writer stopped off one morning in a little Texas village between San Antonio and Houston, to inquire into a lynching that had occurred in the little hamlet two days before, we discovered an open frank unwillingness on the part of the Negro population to talk with strangers. The moment we landed in the town we were immediately under obvious observation by the whites, and it was only when we picked up a Negro on the outside of the town, who was going our way, that we discovered an inhabitant of the town who would talk. The question is, do you wish to preserve this fear and trembling existing in southern communities, or do you long for the day when as free men the blacks can seek redress of grievances and can exercise the right of petition and free speech? When you think upon the situation from this angle you get a better slant at the Robeson picture.

Only Remaining Communist Says She'll Carry On

Presiding Justice Cites 5 Lawyers For Court Contempt

NEW YORK, —(INS)— America's 11 highest-ranking Communist party officials were found guilty Friday of conspiring to teach and advocate the violent overthrow of the government and were immediately jailed to await sentencing.

Federal Judge Harold R. Medina cancelled the $5,000 bail of the defendents who face ten years of prison sentences and $10,000 fines each at the sentencing next Friday morning.

The jury of eight women and four men returned its verdict in a heavily-guarded courtroom after deliberating a little less than eight hours.

After dismissing the jury, Medina held the five active defense lawyers guilty of contempt of court for their conduct during the nine-months for trial, one of the most important in American history.

The jurist characterized their behavior as a "deliberate attack" on the administration of justice and sentenced them to jail terms ranging from 30 days to six months.

Communist party National Secretary Eugene Dennis, the chief defendent, who acted as his own attorney, was also adjudged guilty of contempt and given a six month prison term.

Medina ordered the contempt sentences to begin Nov. 15, but it is expected an appeal will be filed before that date. The defendants in the historic conspiracy case were given until October 24 to file briefs. The appeal motions will be argued October 28.

Ten minutes after the convicted Communists were on their way to prison, the only member of the party's ruling board still "At Liberty" declared the party will not go underground.

Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, the only member of the National Board not indicted by the government, said she will "carry on alone," William Z. Foster, National chairman of the party, was indicted with the 11, but was granted a severance due to a heart ailment. He is now confined to bed.

The jury, foremaned by a Negro, Mrs. Thelma Dial, received the ase at 3:54 p. m. Friday after listening to more than five million words of testimony.

Winston Bares Jury Bias at Boston Rally

Daily Worker – N.Y., N.Y.
Tue – 2-22-49

Special to the Daily Worker

BOSTON, Feb. 21. – Henry Winston, National Organization Secretary of the Communist Party, on trial in New York with other leaders of the Party, last night denounced the biased federal jury system before an audience of 1,500.

The rally in Ruggles Hall, which several city officials unsuccessfully sought to ban, heard Winston expose the fact that the New York federal grand jury had not included a single Negro in the past two years and only a few workers. This bias, Winston charged, was based on the theory of Judge John C. Knox that only the rich, "superior classes" are fit to judge and that workers should slave in the shops and let the propertied classes do the judging and ruling.

The great rally drew a public lament from Boston's Mayor Curley, whose rival Lincoln's Day rally on the same night, drew a total of only 12 people. Curley contrasted this with the 1,500 at the Communist Party rally, saying:

"On my way to Fanueil Hall I happened to go by Ruggles St., Roxbury, where a Communist meeting was scheduled. There were fully 1,500 people there. And I am sure if the hall could be expanded, there would have been 3,000."

TOO PATRIOTIC

Otis A. Hood, chairman of the Communist rally, commented on Curley's grief, stating that "the people of Boston are too patriotic to celebrate Lincoln's Birthday under the auspices of those who trample on our State and Federal Constitutions and spend part of their office term in jail (Mayor Curley served a term in jail) for defrauding the public."

Daniel Boone Schirmer, secretary of the Boston Communist Party, called for the impeachment of Roxbury Councilman Daniel F. Sullivan, who sought to bar the rally, urging the city to "break the lam" if necessary. The audience donated $1,800 in response to an appeal from Miss Ann Burlak.

Face to Face

Trotzkyist Poison

Under the Guise of Liberalism

By Benjamin J. Davis

Member, New York City Council

(342)

HENRY LEE MOON, public relations director of the NAACP national office, is not particularly outstanding except in his hatred of the Soviet Union, the Communists and in his ill-concealed admiration of the Trotzkyists.

The Worker

Therefore, his column in the Feb. 5, New York Age in which he pretended to speak against the persecution of the Communists, was little more than an eulogy of the Trotzkyists. As the Soviet Union demonstrated—for all mankind during the celebrated treason trials—Trotzkyism is not a political trend or a political party. It is gangsterism, disruption, wrecking, assassination and murder.

Discussing the trials of the Communist leaders. Moon tries to give the Trotzkyists the protective coloration of decency by calling them another brand of "Communists." He then proceeds to upbraid the Negro people for not rallying to the support of these agents of fascism when, during the recent anti-fascist war, they were caught betraying the country to Hitler. But the Negroes, like all other Americans, had too much good sense to follow any such ignominious and treacherous path.

Moon further advises the readers of the Negro weekly that civil liberties necessitates the defense of the so-called civil rights of the Ku Klux Klan. This, of course, is sheer idiocy. And the mere fact that such nonsense is uttered by a muddle-headed, pro-Trotzkyist liberal does not make it anything else.

Sun 2-13-49

THE NEGRO people, including the Communists, are committed to the fight to outlaw, disband and criminally prosecute the Klan. They are demanding that these hooded murderers should get the death penalty. If the bi-partisan Truman Administration was anything but a lackey of the pro-fascist monopolies and Southern Bourbons, it would heed these demands.

Trotzkyites are political gangsters who garb themselves in super-duper left phrases. They work deviously—as, for instance, through the slimy pen of Moon. The Negro people will no more defend the Trotzkyists than they will the Klan. Nothing **is more grotesque than fighting for the "civil right" of Hitler, of fascists, of hooded Kluxers to** murder and terrorize Negroes, workers, Jews, Catholics—and all others who are not "pure blood Aryans," whatever that means.

Moon, who has a long and notorious record of defending anti-Communist renegades and red-baiters would have preferred just to have written a column extolling the Trotzkiyists without paying even lip-service to the Communist trials. But he could not very well do so, because it is quite clear that the Negro people associate themselves with the Communists in this trial to the extent that the Big Business forces which are trying to outlaw the Communist party are the same ones which are intensifying the jim-crow oppression of the Negro.

Negroes will regard with suspicion any so-called radical, as Moon pretends to be, who does not take a stand against the pro-fascist attempt to illegalize the Communists, and against the corrupt, anti-Negro jury system in New York's federal court.

THE MAIN IMPORTANCE of Moon's scribblings is the extent to which he serves as a weathervane of the thinking in the top circles of the NAACP of which Moon is merely a hireling.

Could it be that Moon has been assigned the task by the NAACP palace guard on 40th Street of theoretically "justifying" the failure of the NAACP to speak out against the monstrous frame-up and discrimination against the Communists, two of whom are Negroes, Henry Winston and myself?

Sun 2-13-49

Has the NAACP national office been getting a few letters from its branches and members because it has been silent on the rotten, anti-Negro jury system in New York's federal court?

Moon's pro-Trotzkyist drivel does not answer these fundamental questions—it only raises bigger questions. Why, for example, does the national office of the NAACP maintain Trotzkyist and pro-Trotzkyist gnats on its staff, while firing such heroic giants as Dr. DuBois, an historic leader of the Negro people?

Why is there freedom for defenders of the Trotzkyist wreckers and Ku Kluxers in the national office, but none for anti-imperialists and other militant fighters against the increasing capitalist oppression of the Negro people?

The anti-Communists and red-baiters who have been digging a pit for the Communists are now collaborating with the Truman Administration to throw us in. But the Chinese people have a proverb which says in effect: those who dig pits for others are likely to fall in them, themselves. Judging from what is happening in China, the Chinese people know what they're talking about.

'Red' Probe Nets Teacher at Fisk

Afro American
Baltimore, Md.
Sat 6-18-49

Quits Post After Query on Affiliation

NASHVILLE, Tenn.—That the "Red witch hunt" is moving into colored educational institutions "by the back door" was evidenced here last week at Fisk University.

Notified to appear before the House Un-American Activities Committee about two weeks ago, Giovanni Rossi Lomanitz, 28, lost his job as associate professor of physics at the school after he refused to admit or deny that he was a Communist.

Charles S. Johnson, Fisk president, said that Lomanitz, who had joined the faculty at the university some four months ago after completing his work at Cornell for a PhD. degree, "did not submit a formal resignation. He just quit."

Named by Fellow Worker

The young professor, who was to have been awarded his degree this month, was summoned before the Un-American Committee, to answer charges made by a former associate of his at the University of California radiation laboratory that he recruited members for the Communist Party.

The worker, Robert Davis, said Lomanitz induced him and his wife to join the party in California while the two men were employed at the plant during the war.

REDS ACCUSED OF PLOTTING AGAINST SOUTH

Enquirer-Journal
Sun 4-17-49

Coming In Long-Drawn-Out Trial In New York

Georgian Says He was Trained Toward Helping Found 'A Negro Nation'

NEW YORK, April 19.—(AP)—A Georgia negro who said he was trained in Moscow testified Monday that a negro nation was to have been forged from America's Deep South by the flames of violent revolution.

William O'Dell Nowell, a Federal Government employe, told a jury at the conspiracy trial of 11 top Communists that he once was a student of revolution at the feet of party leaders in Russia.

There, he said, Red Army instructors schooled him in "the science of civil warfare."

Other instructors, he testified, lectured on "the violent overthrow of the capitalistic system and the establishment of a pro-munist revolution throughout the dictatorship."

It was to extend from Virginia to the Mississippi Delta, Nowell said—"the black belt of the South," where Communists claim-

Delta Included

Out of the blood bath, Nowell said, was to come a new Negro nation, conceived in violence and proletarian dictatorship.

Sensational Allegations Keep COMMY DEFENSE OBJECTS

ed negroes were in the majority.

"The revolution in the South," the witness went on in a hushed Federal courtroom, "would aid the Northern industrial workers in bringing about revolution in the North and hence throughout the whole country."

Nowell told Federal Judge Harold R. Medina and a jury:

"I objected to this segregation movement because it would isolate the negro in the South and use him as a tool to create revolution in the United States and because it would sacrifice these unsuspecting people, as they had the least understanding."

The defense objected strenuously to Nowell's testimony. Attorneys argued that the events he described took place years before the period covered by the indictments, which begins in 1945.

However, Judge Medina told the witness to continue.

ROBESON, DAVIS DUBBED REDS IN D. C. TESTIMONY

Daily Worker

Atlanta, Ga.

BY LOUIS LAUTIER

WASHINGTON, D. C. -(NNPA)- Both Paul Robeson, noted singer and actor, and John P. Davis, editor of "Our World" magazine, were dubbed Communists last Thursday on the unsupported testimony of an admitted ex-Communist.

Manning Johnson, 40, of New York City, who said he now is international representative of the International Retail Clerks Association, an affiliate of the American Federation of Labor, told the House UN-American Activities Committee, that both Robeson and Davis were Communists.

Prior to Johnson's testimony, the hearing, called to give colored persons an opportunity to refute the statement allegedly made by Robeson that colored Americans would not fight for the United States in a war with Soviet Russia, had moved along on a very high plane.

Both Lester B. Granger, executive director of the National Urban League, and Dr. Charles S. Johnson, president of Fisk, had testified concerning the unquestioned loyalty of colored Americans without an attempt to smear any individual.

Mr. Granger deprecated the hue and cry raised in the United States following the statement made by Mr. Robeson at a Paris "peace" conference inspired by Soviet sympathizers. "The furore would have been ludicrous if it had not been so tragic," he said. Sun. 7-17-49

NO ROBESON REFERENCE

Dr. Johnson read a scholarly essay in which he made no reference to Mr. Robeson.

"If we examine the familiar indices of national loyalty," he said, "the efforts and ambitions of American Negroes have at times been embarrassingly excessive.' His reference was to the demand of colored men for combat service in the armed forces in time of war and to the high rate of enlistment of colored men, making it necessary for the Army to restrict the number it would accept. Sun. 7-17-49

Mr. Johnson testified that he had been a member of the Communist Party for ten years, having terminated his membership in 1940. During the period of his membership, he served as a district organizer for the Communist party in Buffalo, New York, attended the Communist national training school in Communist headquarters in New York City, and was a member of the National Committee.

The branding of Mr. Davis as a Communist came at the afternoon session at which Mr. Johnson continued his testimony regarding the causes of his break with the Communist party. Sat. 7-17-49

SET UP BY REDS

Mr. Johnson testified that the National Committee of the Communist party decided to set up the National Negro Congress and assigned to James W. Ford the job of organizing that body and getting people to front for it.

A. Philip Randolph, who was not a member of the party, accepted the leadership of the congress, Johnson said adding that Davis(who "was a member of the party until the time I left, served as secretary of the provisional committee.

Johnson testified that the leaders of the congress did not know that it had been started by the Communist party, that they were only concerned with the general program.

The witness described the activities of the Congress up until Randolph's open attack on Communist domination of that organization and his resignation from the body.

Mr. Granger told the committee that the extent of Communist influence among colored people has been "grossly exaggerated."

the U.S. ex-Communist writer Richard Wright (*Native Son*) is another Davisite. Says Wright: "Can the peoples believe in the efforts of the U.S. for democracy and freedom when it is well known that the U.S. does not support her own democratic institutions?"

Courier Pittsburgh, Pa.

By George S. Schuyler

Views and Reviews

What Could Happen Here With the Reds in Charge

(This column represents the personal opinion of Mr. Schuyler and in no way reflects the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier.—The Editors)

BECAUSE most people are prone to accept what they are told rather than to consider the evidence, there has been widespread acceptance of the Bolshevik propaganda that so-called minorities are most protected and get their greatest opportunities for advancement under Red flag regimes. This line has been widely accepted by Negroes who care about such matters and it is not uncommon to hear colored apologists for the Communists declaring that Russia has solved the problem of minorities while all other countries have failed.

George S. Schuyler

Of course it should be pointed out in passing that issue is a phoney the whole minorities everywhere consists since every population of numerous groups, including the Wall Street minority, the Baptist minority, the college-trained minority, the trade union minority, and so forth. The most effective means of preparing the public mind for contention, division and strife is to constantly emphasize and play upon minorities. This is exactly why the Red propagandists have done so.

Sat. 6-18-49

IF YOU ARE interested in knowing what has happened to the Jewish so-called minority in the countries behind the Iron Curtain and would like to speculate on what might happen to the Aframerican minority if the Reds got control, I suggest a reading of "Jews Behind the Iron Curtain," a booklet issued by the Jewish Labor Committee in connection with its recent national convention in Atlantic City. This survey in mimeographed form was prepared by Dr. Emmanuel Patt and seems to be very thorough.

If you can read it and come away with any idea that any group can preserve its individualism and characteristics under the Communist steamroller, then you've got another thought coming.

* * *

THERE WERE FIVE million Jews in Poland, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Hungary and the Balkan States before the war, and they constituted 30 per cent of the world's Jewish population. They had built up a vigorous and impressive cultural life only to have it wiped out by the Hitler horror from which only about a million survived. About 250,000 were dragged off to Siberia by the Communist counterparts of the Nazis and about half died in the slave camps there.

The rest took advantage of the Soviet permission to regain Polish citizenship after the war and left the Red ragamuffin society in a hurry. They tried to create a new life in the eastern European countries "liberated" by the Reds and saddled wit Communist governments. What has hap pened and is happening to them is the bur den of Dr. Patt's sad tale. It is a stor of deception, double-crossing, robbery an death.

As he well says: "Communist totali tarianism, (is) extending its deadly gri to all aspects of community existence, de stroying all life and vitality, all democrati activity, in whatever it touches. Every thing non-Communist, everything with a independent life of its own, is being ruth lessly, systematically wiped out—commun ity enterprises, labor organizations, edu cational institutions, cultural movements. Everywhere we observe the same plan the same means and the same results."

* * *

INDEED, AS ONE follows the authoriliquidation of the Negro church, the from one Red-controlled country to the other, the story has a deadly monotony. There is a temptation to quote in detail but space will not permit. In brief, how

ever, what has happened to those Jews forcibly dissolved after forty years o the area that survexistence, sport clubs were ordered t throughout the area their names, nineteen hospitals comparable tchange nationalized," food sent to the starv institutions anwere the virtuaing Jews from compatriots abroad was the takinstolen, "stabilization" of currency ruined the stealinthose Jews who had any money. While 60 per cent of the general population was organization oworking, only 28 per cent of the Jews NAACP, wawere. Jews have not been able to recover property stolen from them by the Nazis

700 in Capital Assail Frameup Trial of 12

Daily Worker New York, New York

Tues-1-18-49

By Mel Fiske

WASHINGTON, Jan. 17.—Seven hundred civil rights fighters from 40 states today urged President Truman to defend and protect the U. S. Constitution by dismissing the indictments against 12 Communist leaders now on trial. In the national legislative conference called by the Civil Rights Congress, the delegates told the President in a unanimously adopted resolution:

"Three days from now you will take your oath of office to defend and protect the Constitution of the United States. We respectfully urge that you take that occasion to reaffirm the right of the American people to be the sole judge of the policies and programs of any political party."

Appearing before the conference were a score of victims of the 80th Congress and the Truman Administration.

Howard Fast, Harold Christofel, David Balint, Dorothy Forrest told the delegates who crowded into the AFL Laborer's Hall two blocks from the Capitol how Congressional committees, or Justice Department agents, or politicians were trying to block the American people's "road to freedom" by harassment, intimidation, deportations and arrests.

The conference was a prelude to the People's Freedom Crusade scheduled to knock on the doors of Congress tomorrow. CRC leaders expected close to 5,000 crusaders to arrive in the capital.

Reports from delegates throughout the nation highlighted the conference today. Delegates from the south told about KKK and police brutality. Union rank and filers took the microphone to tell how the Taft-Hartley Law cut unions down to company size.

Gus Harris, New Orleans, told of the murder of Robert Brooks in Gretna, La. Brooks' son, Royal, is also a delegate to the conference.

MALLARD CASE

Larkin Marshall, Macon, Ga., publisher and former candidate for the U. S. Senate on the Progressive Party ticket, condemned the jury verdict that freed the killers of Robert Mallard in his home state.

Rep. Vito Marcantonio (ALP-NY), said the indictment of the 12 Communist leaders is being used to "stifle the voices which fight for peace, progress and a decent America."

If Congress weren't in session, Marcantonio said, he would be at Foley Square today as one of the battery of defense attorneys in the case. **He pledged to make his position known on the floor of Congress.**

When a delegate moved the resolution for the quashing of the indictments against the 12, Marcantonio said he felt it was a "privilege" to second it.

"On the outcome of this trial hangs the issue of whether we will get housing or slums, price control or higher prices," he said.

"I personally do not believe," he added, "that the issue of the 12 Communist leaders will be settled in the courts. You just cannot get justice in a court which is stacked against you.

Marcantonio then described how the jurors were selected to guarantee they would be persons "whose interests lie with Wall Street."

Howard Fast attached tremendous significance to the acquittal of Robert Burke, the private detective who forced his way into the home of Communist leader Robert Thompson and threatened Thompson's seven-year-old daughter. Tues-1-18-49

Fast led off the panel discussion on thought control in the U.S.

The resolution adopted by the delegates also urged the quashing of the indictments against the 12 Communist leaders and demanded the withdrawal of the President's loyalty order.

The appearance of Paul Robeson, introduced as CRC vice-chairman, electrified the delegates. They rose and cheered and applauded the noted Negro singer.

Robeson wound up the conference with a moving tribute to the Communist leaders on trial.

"I am here as a friend of the finest fighters for the people," he said. "Who could be more American than Bill Foster whose whole life was given over to the working class?"

"Their freedom is my freedom, your freedom, freedom for all oppressed people. They represent the future. I am with them."

From the invocation delivered by Rev. Kenneth R. Forbes to the last speaker on the resolution on political minorities, the delegates were sparked by a spirit of struggle and a will for unity.

"We have one desire," Thomas G. Buchanan, Jr., CRC Washington legislative representative, said, "and that's to bring all the pressure we can muster to guarantee the bill of rights to all the people."

CRC chairman George Marshall warned the delegates that "enemies of democracy" were threatening to provoke "violence."

"Don't be provoked into any kind of act or statement that may discredit the conference and this Freedom Crusade," he appealed.

Marshall singled out Rep. John Wood (D.-Ga.) who addressed a letter to all other Congressmen about CRC's crusade. CRC countered by inviting Wood to the conference to explain the "acts of force and violence" taking place against Negro people in Georgia. Wood was not heard from after that.

Concern for the fight for civil rights legislation for Negro people, Mexican-Americans and against growing anti-semitism was centered in the conference's morning session.

ATTACK JIMCROW

Attacks on Jimcrow were made by George Murphy and Clark Foreman, Progressive Party leaders.

A Negro delegate from Cleveland was cheered when he told how five white delegates made a Childs restaurant manager backtrack on a refusal to serve him.

Demands for strong anti-lynching laws, the ending of poll-taxes, and end to discrimination in Washington and in the armed forces and Government services were made by the delegates upon the 81st Congress. Tues-1-18-49

2d Negro Woman Put on Red Jury In New York

Washington Post 34

New York, March 14 (AP)—A second Negro woman was called to the tentative jury today as the conspiracy trial of 11 top Communists ground into its ninth week.

Drawn from the jury panel as replacement for one of six persons excused from service during the day was Mrs. Ida F. Howell.

Mrs. Howell joins Mrs. Thelma Dial, a Negro who was the first prospective juror to be selected. Both may be eliminated either by defense or prosecution before the final jury is approved.

Defense attorneys had spent weeks before the process of selecting a jury began complaining to Federal Judge Harold R. Medina that jury-picking systems in the New York Federal district discriminate against minority groups, including Negroes.

It followed shortly after Medina had halted, at least temporarily, the parade to the witness stand of prospective trial jurors being staged by the defense lawyers in an effort to prove that the federal jury-picking system here discriminates against the poor and members of minority groups and in favor of the rich.

The charge of prejudice came up when a defense lawyer, Louis McCabe, was about to ask a witness his race.

Medina interrupted:

"I'll put on the record whether the witness is white or Negro. Don't you think that would be a little more sensible?"

McCabe asserted that the question "goes to the very heart of our contention that Negroes were excluded" from the jury panels in this district.

Says Question Shows Bias.

"Well, let us suppose," Medina said, "a witness may have a family in which Negro blood goes back four or five generations. Is it necessary to bring up such a sore spot?"

He referred to the first arrival of Spaniards in America and said he was not certain whether "I have Indian blood or not and I might feel a bit resentful if questioned about this."

Sacher then leaped to his feet and said:

"Negro blood is as good as any kind of white blood. The question put by your honor indicates prejudice on your honor's part."

Reds Accuse Jurist Of Anti-Negro Bias

Courier Journal Tue 1-28-49

New York, Jan. 27 (AP)—A charge of prejudice against Negroes was hurled today at the judge presiding over the conspiracy trial of 11 top U. S. communists, two of whom are Negroes. Lawson

Federal Judge Harold R. Medina immediately denied the charge, made by defense attorney Harry Sacher, and then asked:

"Do you move for my disqualification on that ground?"

"I do, your honor," replied Sacher.

"The motion is denied," Medina said.

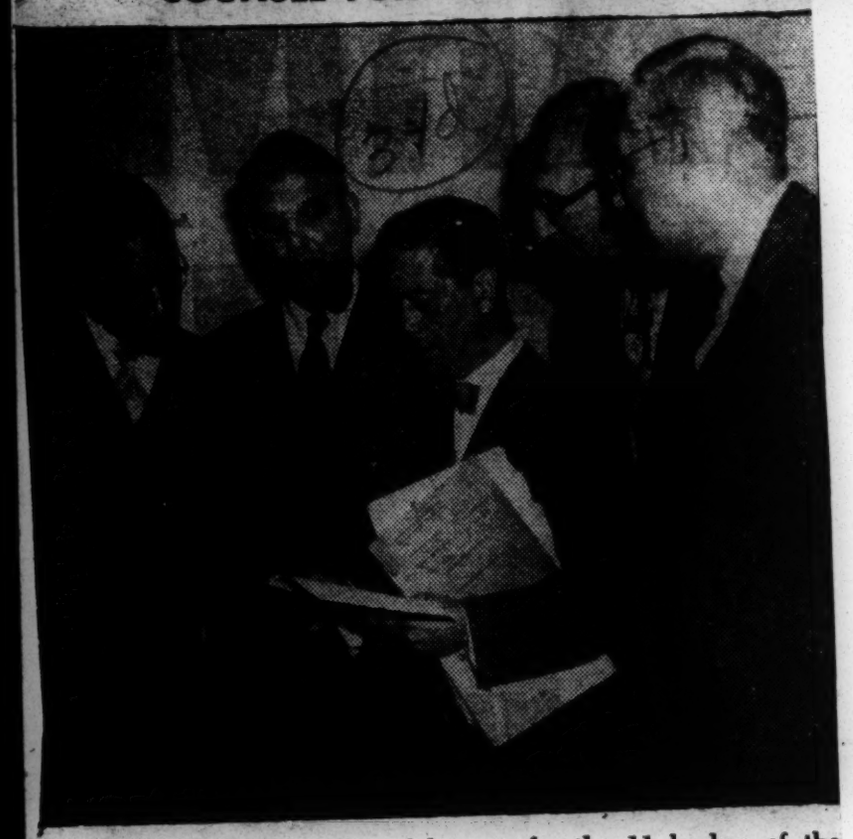
All Motions Denied.

Since the trial of the 11—all members of the American party's national committee—began January 17, the defense has made numerous motions seeking Medina's disqualification from the case on the grounds of bias and prejudice. All have been denied by Medina.

But today's accusation was the first specifically accusing the jurist of racial antagonism.

The matter arose over the question whether defense counsel should continue to ask witnesses their race.

COUNSEL FOR '12' CONFER



FIVE OF THE battery of lawyers for the 11 leaders of the Communist Party, who went on trial here yesterday, gather outside the courtroom in Federal Courthouse, Foley Square, to talk over strategy. Left to right: Leo Crockett, Maurice Sugar, Harry Sacher, Abraham Isserman and Louis F. McCabe.

—Daily Worker Photo by Peter

Negro Nation In Black Belt Planned By Red Revolt, Georgian Tells Court

Montgomery Advertiser

Tues 4-19-49

NEW YORK, April 18—(AP)—A Georgia Negro who said he was trained in Moscow testified today that a Negro nation was to have been forged from America's Deep South by the flames of violent revolution.

William O'Dell Nowell, a federal employe, told a jury, at the conspiracy trial of 11 top Communists that he once was a student of revolution at the feet of party leaders in Russia.

There, he said, Red Army instructors schooled him in "the science of civil warfare."

Other instructors, he testified, lectured on "the violent overthrow of the capitalistic system and the establishment of a proletarian dictatorship."

Montgomery Ala

Out of this blood bath Nowell said was to come a new Negro nation, conceived in violence and dedicated to extending the Communist revolution throughout the United States.

It was to extend from Virginia to the Mississippi delta, Nowell said—the "Black Belt of the South," where Communists claimed Negroes were in the majority.

"The revolution in the South," the witness went on in a hushed federal courtroom, "would aid the Northern industrial workers in bringing about revolution in the North and hence throughout the whole country."

Nowell told Federal Judge Harold R. Medina and a jury:

"I objected to this segregation movement because it would isolate the Negro in the South and use him as a tool to create revolution in the United States and because it would sacrifice these unsuspecting people, as they had the least understanding."

The prosecution brought Nowell to the stand as the trial entered its fourth month. He is an employe of the Federal Immigration and Naturalization Service in Washington, D. C.

He said the theory of the Negro state was taught to him at the Lenin Institute in Moscow. The party in the U. S. approved the Negro state in theory at a 1930 convention in New York, he added.

Nowell said he joined the party in Detroit in 1929 as an employe of the Ford Motor Co. His unit was not an "open" one, he said, and was made up of Ford employes.

The defense objected strenuously to Nowell's testimony. Attorneys argued that the events he described took place years before the period covered by the indictments, which begins in 1945.

The 11 Communist leaders are accused of organizing the party in the U. S. in 1945 to advocate the violent overthrow of the government.

Negro Witness Says Reds Kept 'Jim-Crow' List

N.Y. Herald Tribune

New York, New York

F. B. I. Undercover Agent in Ohio Tells of Party's Registration Procedures

Tues 5-10-49

By Walter Arm

William Cummings, Communist party official in Ohio and undercover agent for the Federal Bureau of Investigation for the last six years, testified yesterday that the party kept a "Jim-Crow" list of its members.

To prove it he produced a photostatic copy of his registration card for 1945 which bore blank spaces for the answer to the question: Negro—White? Mr. Cummings testified he did not answer the question and only filled in his name, but when the card was returned to him it bore a check after the blank labeled "Negro."

Eleventh government witness and fifth party member to reveal his true identity as an F. B. I. counterspy, Mr. Cummings began testifying at 12:40 p. m. against eleven party officials as their trial on charges of advocating overthrow of the government by force went into its seventeenth week.

As he testified about the racial grouping, defense attorneys—who had charged "discrimination" and "segregation" against the government for seven weeks during their challenge of the jury system—listened sullenly. The expressions of Councilman Benjamin J. Davis Jr. and Henry Winston, two of the defendants, and George W. Crockett jr., one of the defense staff, were impassive as they listened to a member of their own race.

Mr. Cummings testified he joined the party in February, 1943, after first speaking with agents of the F. B. I. He said he kept the F. B. I. notified of party activities in Ohio since then and was an active party member until the time he took the stand. He followed Thomas A. Younglove, an F. B. I. undercover agent in St. Louis. (James F. Forest, chairman of the party in Missouri, announced yesterday Mr. Younglove's "expulsion" and labeled him a "stoolpigeon and agent provocateur.")

The new witness testified that he was born in Florence County, S. C., that he attended high school there for two years and then moved to Toledo in 1930. He is the father of five children and works for the Toledo Electric Autolite Company, where he is chairman of the Fair Employments Practices Committee of his local of the United Auto Workers Union and chairman of the Communist party shop club. He was questioned by Irving S. Shapiro, special assistant United States Attorney General.

Mr. Cummings said he was a member of the Ohio State Committee of the party from 1944 to 1948 and was present vice-chairman of the Lucas County branch of the party. He observed, with a smile, that he still owed the party wto months dues for 1949.

The registration card, which was photostated by the F. B. I. and then returned to the party files in 1945, showed a series of questions to be asked of party members. They included sex, age, employed, unemployed, self-employed, housewife, length of years in the party, trade or occupation, industry, union member, national origin of self or parents, war veteran, "Daily Worker" subscriber, "Worker" (Sunday edition) subscriber?

Card Was Filled Out

Mr. Cummings said he had only filed in his name on the card but when he saw it again it bore his home address, his sex, his race and the information that he subscribed to the party newspapers. The other questions remained unanswered.

The witness also produced a list of names recommended by the party for posts as state committee members. The list underscored the government's contention that most party members use assumed names and showed a few notations where only the first name and last initial of a member was printed.

In several cases, Mr. Cummings testified, he had written the correct name of a member after his assumed name. He pointed to the name "Joe Kelly" and to the penciled notation after it "Joe Kress," and said: "Kress is his real name."

Tues. 5-10-49

The list also bore short descriptions of the persons nominated, such as "Ray Dennis, Negro leader Mine Mill"; "Eugene Duchan, Jewish work"; "Pete Margetich, shop worker, Croatian Ld."; "Lucille Blecher, student leader." Mr. Cummings was identified on the list as "Bill Cummings, Negro Auto Worker, City Secretary."

The list also bore the name of Gus Hall, now Ohio state chairman of the party and one of the defendants, and noted that he was "on leave—in service." As soon as Mr. Cummings began to testify, Hall moved from his regular seat at the end of the defendants' row to a chair almost directly in front of the new witness. Mr. Cummings will resume his testimony at 10:30 a. m. today.

34d 1949

Ferdinand Smith Says He's Forced To Leave Country

"I'm being forced to leave this country . . . no one will give me a job!"

The speaker was Ferdinand Smith who at one time held the position of executive secretary of the CIO National Maritime Union. A man who also was so highly regarded in governmental and naval circles that at a testimonial given in his honor at the Hotel Commodore, an Assistant Secretary of the Interior represented the White House and other bigwigs were present.

In $10,000 Bail

Last Thursday, after 37 days interment on Ellis Island, Smith was released in $10,000 bail after gaining a writ of habeas corpus signed by Federal Judge William Bondy.

The government arrested the 54-year-old Jamaica-born labor leader on July 6 and is seeking to deport him as an alien. At that time he was free in $3,500 for the same charge. Immigration authorities said the action was the result of Smith's failure to leave the country voluntarily before a June 4 deadline.

Smith, however, denies there was any deadline set. He also claims he is willing to leave provided two stipulations of the government are removed. The conditions are the government's request that he withdraw an injunction he has taken out and that he agree to deportation.

Methods of Force

"I'll not leave under such conditions," Smith said this week. He charged that "the Attorney General and the Department of Justice are using methods of force and violence against the non-citizen." These attacks, he said, "are being carried out by those same forces in American life who have sent the Klan riders and lynchers against my people, the Negro people."

The recent jailing of Smith marked the second time he has been arrested by the government as an undesirable alien. He charges that both times followed run-ins he had with Joseph Ryan, head of the International Longshoreman's Union. Smith recently helped organize the Harlem Trade Union Council and the latter sponsored the demonstration and "sit-down" strike against Ryan's "jim crow hiring procedures" in June in support of the nearly all-Negro Local 968.

It was shortly after this demonstration that Smith was re-arrested by FBI agents.

Must Negroes Turn to Communism?

To The News:

A recent letter to The News suggested that the Negro be a humble, meek and willing slave for the noble white man. To be satisfied with only menial and low paid jobs, often at lower wages than a white worker would draw for the same work. To be satisfied to live in shacks or tumbledown houses on the farm or across the railroad tracks. Not to complain if he is treated as inferior a little better than the white man's dog. To see his children given an inferior education often in abandoned white schools. To sing and be happy in his poverty and ignorance. All we whites know how happy the Negro is.

Now a few of us trashy whites, such as Mrs. Roosevelt, Harry Truman, Bishop Oxnam, Albert Einstein and about a million college teachers, scientists, doubt that because his skin is a little whiter one man is more moral or more intelligent than one with a darker skin. Furthermore, because our skin is white, we do not have the right to rob and exploit the colored or yellow-skinned man. In addition, it is no longer necessary in an age of plenty for us to do this in order to live well. We are in the power age which means our whole social system will collapse, as it did in 1929, unless there is a more equal distribution of goods.

We have been practicing this doctrine of race superiority in Asia for the last 300 years. As a result, the peoples of Asia are turning to Communism and driving the white man out.

There are a few of us whites who hope the Negro will not have to turn to Communism to secure freedom and economic justice. We know that we in America if we are halfway intelligent and can learn anything from experiences of the nations of Europe and Asia, will make the necessary social adjustments to live in a machine age.

The antics, wars and depressions of the last forty years do not speak highly for our social intelligence. I hope we can wake up and meet the challenge of a new age by granting economic and social justice to all.

J. HAYDEN MOORE SR.
Midlothian, Texas.

Communist

Riesel Uncovers—

What U. S. Reds Plan For 1950

EDITOR'S NOTE—The following article by Victor Riesel not only delineates Communist Party tactics and program for all of 1950, but also explains the background of undercover activity which will affect all American political organizations in the campaign for a new Congress. The facts were obtained from an unimpeachable source, which made the documentary evidence available to Mr. Riesel.

BY VICTOR RIESEL
Labor News Specialist

TO A GUARDED SECRET MEETING a few days ago, the Communist Party Politburo chiefs in Moscow passed on to their American agents newest instructions from the Russian Cominform on political tactics in this country for 1950.

What the latest plan is, I can reveal here for the first time.

Top American agents were slipped singly into the Communist national headquarters building at 135 East Twelfth Street, New York.

They were whisked one by one to the ninth floor.

There, agents of the party's Eastern Seaboard region met with their highest command.

They were told exactly what their international headquarters in Europe expects of them next year.

* * *

United Fronts Planned

IN LONG, TEDIOUS HOURS of instructions, they were directed to go out and organize "united fronts" with whomever would join them.

They were subjected to scathing criticism for having lost influence and were pepped up with advice about how they can rewin influence in the 1950 elections if they "get out" and invite all political parties.

They were directed to infiltrate the Republican as well as the Democratic Party's local clubs—and "build a bridge" between these units and Henry Wallace's "Progressive Party coalition." . . .

* * *

THE SEVERAL SCORE Communist agents and section-organizers were then directed to invade the CIO's Political Action Committee and the AFL's Labor League For Political Education in all American cities and towns. The purpose is to try to blend them into a political "popular front" behind the kind of "liberal" candidate who won't crusade aggressively against the extreme left.

* * *

Practice Is Reversed

IN SEEKING such a phalanx of voters, the agents are under compulsion and party discipline from now on to back such candidates, regardless of which political party nominates them. This is a reversal of the current, violence-inciting practice of naming their own candidate and then attempting to start riots around his rallies to win sympathy in working class districts.

* * *

Hoover Chief Target

THE TRAINED CROWD, summoned from as far South as Florida, sitting there in their ordinary business suits, looked much as any group might in a local school board session. They were pounded at with instructions to back the Progressive Party's new national fund drive. This dollar-digging ends next Jan. 30.

They were told bluntly that the Communists' Enemy No. 1 is FBI Chief J. Edgar Hoover—not only because of the effective counter-espionage the bureau does quietly, but because Mr. Hoover, sharply distinguishing between Socialists and endemic American radicals on one hand, and Communist operatives on the other, has smashed the Stalinist effort to smear the FBI as a "Thought Police."

Every Communist front is to be thrown into a drive to get Hoover fired and have the bureau's files opened.

Lost Power In CIO

AT ONE SESSION of this regional conference, there was much wailing about the Communists' lost power and prestige inside CIO.

"A united front in labor is needed as never before," one Politburo member shouted.

I'm sure it'll please Philip Murray to learn that the Communists nastily bit at each other over the tactics of their agents in the United Electrical Workers. These comrades were orally lashed again and again for their attitude of "resignation" in bolting the CIO convention in Cleveland, instead of staying in and fighting.

Before the boys at the Politburo parley parted one of the bosses commanded that the new Commie Third Labor Federation be postponed. Agents operating in the other 10 Communist-controlled unions were pithily told to stay in CIO and fight back, so their infiltration could last as long as possible. If possible, the United Front with other union chiefs must be forged.

Routine Outlined

BEFORE THE COMRADES (men and women) departed from New York they were instructed to go home and do the following:

Find the unemployed and weld them into neighborhood leagues.

Find Negro folk who are down on their luck, or in some sort of trouble, and sign them into the "front" organizations.

Go among the Puerto Ricans who are deluging the East and organize them along grievance lines.

"If you can't find grievances, get your unions to find them temporary jobs, especially in restaurants," the comrades were told.

Go among the nation's young people, the agents were directed—especially in the big industrial areas where the routine, monotous, assembly-line work is likely to make the youngsters restless. Encourage that restlessness. Organize them into Labor Youth Leagues (the greatest concentration today is in the Ford Company union).

"If you can't organize new fronts — capture old ones," the American Politburo chiefs said. "Then weave them all together into a huge monopoly of misery which will swarm out and vote as you direct it."

"Play down your Communist Party membership—get into Popular Fronts as you did in the 30s," was the parting advice.

* * *

Labor Youth League

EVEN IN THE FEW DAYS since the secret high echelon session, the Labor Youth Leagues have swung into action. Quiet since last May 28, when they were formally unveiled by party chiefs, to get to the kids of the country by a "broad mass appeal," they have just this week been assigned three new national organizers.

After new Labor Youth League chapters are organized, they will work closely with the Young Progressives and the official Communist Party "towards a Socialist future for America."

At the same time, party agents, now eager to win wide Negro support, will try to capture prominent Negro organizations.

* * *

Negro Leaders Horrified

BEFORE THE COMMUNIST high commanders dismissed their agents from the closely guarded session, they directed the sectional operatives to try and take over a Negro protest "mobilization," scheduled in Washington for Jan. 15 by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the Non-Communist Committee for a Permanent FEPC.

This rally is supposed to put right on the White House steps, and on the rolling lawns of the capitol grounds, a dramatic demand that the reconvening Congress pass a "Civil Rights Congress," telling it to stay away, and go save some one else.

This is a demonstration long-planned by prominent Negro leaders, and they are horrified by the Communists' efforts to take over and thus make it appear that a mob of Communist Negroes have descended on the nation's capital.

* * *

One of the "mobilization's" leaders, Roy Wilkins, national secretary of the N. A. A. C. P., sent a three-page letter to the Communists' community. To do this the community. To do this the minority. To make it seem from the need support of the minority list of names that all America has and they want to represent risen in defense of the Communists. Including women. The secret party. Negro groups, the Youth Leagues, the Puerto Rican barrelers, the Progressive "youth" and party-line guilds will be set up collectively as a joint "popular front" committee—and the Commies have already captured some Negro youth groups and they're out for the parent organization.

* * *

Civil Rights Chapters

But the comrades won't go. They have instructed also to fight against layoffs of women. So you'll find female fronts, too. (Copyright, 1949. Post-Hall Syndicate, Inc.)

THE COMMUNIST POLITBURO has ordered that a Civil Rights Congress chapter be rigged up in every

34d 1949 Communist

Another Phoney 'Rights' Group Starts Bawling

NEW YORK—Another one of those noisy, righteous, communist-front congresses starts here Saturday, "designed to provide an avenue for all Americans, regardless of political belief, to reaffirm traditional liberties of speech, press, pulpit and political advocacy." Courier-Journal

This one is signed by the usual 500 weary liberals, calloused from similar signatures, and would look fine except for a few minor details we will furnish as we go along. It is called the "Bill of Rights Congress," and that title too is of noble concept.

The only flea in the trousers of this fresh ideal orgy is that it is blood brother to the arts, science and professional conclave which was recently hissed out of town, and is composed of roughly the same people—liberal up top, for front purposes, traveler in the middle, and hard-bitten practicing communist on the lower, or working stratum. 7-13-49

According to some documents I just happened to find in the cloakroom, this meeting is shaped expressly to demand that the President of the United States fire Attorney General Tom Clark and F.B.I. Director J. Edgar Hoover. Louisville Ky.

Secondary aim is the construction of a "citizens" committee to investigate the F.B.I. One of the specifications is that nobody on this new investigative committee, which is to be appointed by congress, may have experience in public office. Mr. Paul Robeson, the disgusted Negro singer, is first choice to head the committee. Mr. Robeson, apart from his talents as an athlete, student, singer and actor, is also a vehement protagonist of communist Russia.

YOU COULD CALL this a whack back at the F.B.I., which has placed a considerable burr under the communist blanket in the last year or so. The indictment of the 11 communists now under trial for sedition before Judge Harold Medina, plus the introduction of evidence by the seven F.B.I. "spies" in commie cells, has made the F.B.I. exceedingly unpopular with the communists.

To this end, the "Bill of Rights Congress" has been convened.

It is headed by Paul J. Kern, former president of the Civil Service Commission of New York. Clifford Durr, former Federal Communications Commissioner, will be a principal speaker. Dr. J. Finley Wilson, grand exalted ruler of the Benevolent Order of the Elks of the world, will open the session. This is not the accepted Elks organization, but a Negro offshoot.

Among the sponsors are Albert Maltz, W. E. B. Dubois, Prof. Thomas I. Emerson, Paul Robeson, Ring Lardner, Jr., Howard Fast, Representative Vito Marcantonio, Dr. Harlow Shapley, Henry Wallace, Harry Bridges, Hugh Delacy, Ben Gold, John Abt, and George Marshall, chairman of the Civil Rights Congress, which paid the bail for

By Robert Ruark

Paul Robeson

the absconding Gerhardt Eisler.

Four members of the 11 communists on trial under Judge Medina are high-lit participants on the forum. They are Councilman Benjamin Davis, John Gates, Robert Thompson, and Irving Potash. Davis will speak on: "Where Was the F.B.I. When. . .", possibly referring to the shooting of the Reuther brothers.

GATES' TOPIC is "Ideas On Trial—Report From Foley Square." He will be helped along by Representative Marcantonio's speech, "The Underlying Pattern," and O. John Rogge's "65 Million Subversives." A Mr. Harold Christoffel, recently de-convicted for perjury concerning his membership in the communist party, when the Supreme Court decided a legal quorum was not present when he testified, will present a neat little number called "F.B.I.—Super Labor Spy."

The chairman of the panel on "Congress shall make no law abridging freedom" is none other than C. B. (Beanie) Baldwin, Henry Wallace's campaign manager. Prof. Thomas I. Emerson, the Yale law prof who once was called the head of the left-wing bloc in the national labor relations board, by The New Leader, has a declaration entitled "The Loyalty Order."

Some of the folks on panel 3, "Thought Control by Executive Order," are Abram Flaxer, chairman of the United Public Workers, Dr. Corliss Lamont and the lately famed Agnes Smedley.

The general aim of this fresh clambake of quasi-liberals, fellow-travelers and avowed communists is merely to discredit the F.B.I. and the Department of Justice, out of sheer chagrin, and to open the way for a broad publicity campaign aimed at smearing their functions as a national watchdog.

Same old bunch, same old story, same old routine.

Off The Bench

Long Delayed Justice Triumphs

By

JUDGE

WALTER B. JONES

IN A WALNUT-panelled federal court room on Foley Square in New York City Friday a long suffering and patient jury, one which had served for nine weary months as a part of the judicial machinery of its country, walked slowly into the jury box, headed by its foreman Thelma Dial, a Negro woman. A great American jurist took his place on the bench. In front of a long table just near the judge's bench stood the top 11 communists in the United States and their lawyers who are a disgrace to the legal profession and defendants who had done all in their power to urge the destruction of our free American government by force and revolution. It was close to 11:30 Friday morning.

Jones

"Madame Foreman, have you reached a verdict?", asked the court clerk.

"Yes," replied the capable and thoroughly American woman in a quiet but firm voice.

"How do you find?", asked the clerk.

Then there came from the lips of this jury foreman, speaking for herself and her fellow jurors, this verdict, the verdict that represents the conscience of America, the verdict that accords so righteously with all the facts of the case and all the law, a verdict that will become a milestone in our system of trial by jury:

"We find each and every one of the defendants guilty!"

And thus, after long and wearing delays, after toilsome and tiring court sessions, after annoyances and attempted intimidation, after an exhibition of the most nauseating defense tactics ever seen in an American court room, a free and brave jury, one bound only by its oath to do justice, stood in its place, with the sunlight of broad day streaming on them, in a court house of their country, open to the public, and rendered a verdict which will send to the penitentiary 11 of the most detestable, hypocritical, treasonable defendants who were ever indicted by a grand jury and tried by a petit jury.

THE GUILT of the Reds was clear at all times. They really offered no honest, worthwhile defense. They headed and directed a great criminal conspiracy and taught and advocated the overthrow of the United States government and the destruction of American democracy by force and violence. The Bible of these enemies of our country is William Z. Foster's book, "Towards Soviet America." In this book, and not one of the defendants nor the communist party in the United States has ever repudiated it, Foster wrote: "When a communist heads a government in the United States that government will not be a capitalistic government but a Soviet government, and behind this government will stand the Red Army to enforce the dictatorship of the proletariat." That paragraph shows plainly that the defendants wished to turn the United States over to the same sort of dictatorship they have in Russia today and that these defendants are Reds at heart.

These 11 communists, and all of their surly ilk, live in the United States, they enjoy the protection of our great government in all their rights, they have a freedom unknown in any other part of the world, they enjoy the best living conditions of any people in the world, living conditions brought about by a so-called capitalistic government, and yet while enjoying the benefits of this good government they are trying to tear it down. If these defendants convicted Friday, and by next week we hope deep in federal penitentiary cells are so strongly attached to the communistic form of government as exemplified by Stalin in Russia, why don't they go there to live? The worst punishment the law could visit on these traitors to their people and their country would be to deport them to Russia and make them live over there. But you could'nt get them in Russia if you pulled them with a 5-ton tractor.

Adrian Times 34d

THE CONVICTED communists and their crafty lawyers never fooled any one with their claim that their intention was merely to form a legitimate American political party through which they could urge economic and social reform in the present, with the idea of eventually removing the need for reforms by establishing a socialistic State by the ballot. This claim is deceit and evasion of the most stinking kind. The Communist Party in America as directed by the traitors convicted Friday has never been anything but a giant conspiracy against the very existence of the American government. The trial was not for the purpose of silencing a political party—it was a fight for the life of the country. When a foreign power attacks us from without we mobilize every weapon at our command, declare war, and go to the battlefields of the land, water and air to fight for our country's life, so we not only have the right, but it is our sworn duty to safeguard the institutions of liberty against destruction from the traitorous foes within our very gates.

thrown into the hoosegow a long time ago. Their conduct in the court room sided over the trial with a patience of Job and up-violated every canon of ethics. They were with the like, disgraced the profession which gave them their license, and sought to badger whole hearted approval of the American people and the lawyers of the country, a great judge and a fair jury in performing a long time

ing their duties.

These ill-smelling lawyers didn't want their clients to have a fair trial in the American way. They wanted them to be above the law. They wanted to intimidate and frighten the ministers of the law. They put pickets around the court house to raise hell and revile the court and jury. Judge Medina was too light on them. Ten years in the penitentiary for each of the lawyers wouldn't have been too much. Here's hoping the bar associations will disbar these communist lawyers from the practice of the law, and forever. American justice has triumphed, and our law stands firm for the preservation of our country and our liberties.

Members and Alternates of the Jury Which Will Try Eleven Red Leaders

Herald Tribune New York, N.Y. Oct. 3-19-49 34d

The jurors and alternates in the trial of the Communists. Left to right, seated, are Mrs. Thelma Dial, the foreman; Russell Janney, Mrs. Ida F. Howell, Miss Kathryn E. Dunn, George L. Smith, Mrs. Lillian Berliner and Patrick S. Reynolds. Standing, left to right, are Henry E. Allen, Mrs. Lillian Schlesinger, James F. Smyth, Mrs. Carrie L. Robinson, Mrs. Gertrude Corwin and, as alternates, Mrs. Jane Schultz, Mrs. Lillian Wolfe, Mrs. Diana E. Zagat and Mrs. aMtilda Dunn.

State Reds Depose Bronx Leaders For Bias Against Negro Members

The New York Times New York, N.Y. Thurs. 5-26-49

The State Committee of the Communist party cracked down yesterday on Bronx Communists who had discriminated against Negroes by refusing to admit htem to their clubs, to fraternize socially with them or to give them leading positions.

The committee, of which Robert Thompson is chairman, removed three top leaders of the Bronx organization, including th eveteran Communist and former state legislative representative, Isidore Begun, county chairman.

It also named a temporary administrator for the organization, censured the county committee as a whole, ordered it to give leading section and county posts to Negroes and directed a "purge" of members responsible for the discrimination. Thurs. 5-26-49

The action brought into the open a situation discussed at the 1948 convention of the Communist party. The discussion disclosed that some local clubs of the party not only failed to give the proper attention to Communist tactics to attract Negroes to the party but refused to admit them to membership.

In spite of several attempts to get it ot correct its position, "the county leadership continued to underestimate the decisive and significant character of the Negro liberation movement as a main facet" of the current Communist united front line, the State Committee's indictment of the organization said. Thurs. 5-26-49

It is charged that "personal attacks" on active Negro Communists "were permitted to go unchallenged," that there was "isolation of Negro comrades from party life and especially in the sphere of social activities," that Negro Communists were removed from leading party posts, there was a minimum of "struggle for Negro rights" and that complaints abut this were "stifled."

Those removed, besides Mr. Begun, were Robert Appel, county secretary, and Bernard Shuldiner, organizer of the Allerton section, the branch of the Bronx organization where the situation was said to be especially acute. Thurs. 5-26-49

The committee expressed confidence that the three would "rehabilitate themselves" quickly by deeds but said that if they did not they face additional action, presumably expulsion. The committee assigned Sam Wiseman as administrator and ordered that Negro Communists be taken into the county and section leadership.

Red Hunt in Florida Stirs Up Race Issue

The Washington Post Washington, D.C. Fri. 5-27-49

By Henning Held

Special to The Washington Post.

Tallahassee, Fla., May 26.—A special committee of the Florida Legislature is checking up on teaching in the State university system in search of any that smacks of Communist doctrine.

As the first phase, questionnaires were sent out to all faculty members of the University of Florida, Gainesville, and Florida State University and Florida A. & M. for Negroes, both here in the State Capital.

A non-Communist oath is part of the questionnaire, with faculty members required to have it notarized.

But the one question in the form, that has aroused most oppo-

original questionnaire, "Do you otherwise object to or oppose such laws?" was dropped completely.

These changes were also at the request of the presidents of three colleges at a hearing before the committee. They pointed out a very high percentage of their faculties are Northerners, brought up outside the Southern racial pattern and likely to be opposed to segregation.

Assistant Attorney General James Toney, who prepared the questionnaire for the committee, in a little vague why the segregation query is pertinent to the investigation of alleged communistic activities in the college, except to hint that it is Communist tactics to try to break down racial barriers.

He says now that the question is one of the least important in the entire questionnaire.

"The committee would jeopardize his job, the question was modified by dropping out the words, ". . . or expressed yourself as being . . ."

A supplemental question in the questionnaire, "Do you

with or convicted of a crime other than violation of traffic regulations or municipal ordinances.

Any who have are asked to give details.

Also asked is each faculty member's birthplace, date of naturalization, if foreign-born, foreign education, any participation in politics or a parade or demonstration of any kind in a foreign country. The professors, instructors and deans are to list organizations, clubs or associations they belong to now or formerly belonged to, including political parties, unions, churches, social, professional, business and fraternal or secret orders, societies or associations.

"Specially state whether or not you are now or ever have been a member of, employed by, or associated with, any organization Communist or other, that is prohibited by State or Federal law or that is subversive or un-American or that has been cited as such by the U. S. Department of Justice or any congressional committee on Un-American activities," reads another question.

The oath (which all public employes in Florida are now required to take under a 1949 statute) reads: "I, ———, a citizen of the State of Florida and of the United States of America, and being employed by or an officer of ——— and a recipient of public funds as such employe or officer, do solemnly swear or affirm that I will support the Constitution of the United States; of Florida; that I am not a member of the Communist Party, that I have not and will not lend my aid, support, advice, counsel or influence to the Communist Party; that I do not believe in the overthrow of the Government of the United States or of the State of Florida by force or violence; that I am not a member of any organization or party which believes in or teaches, directly or indirectly, the overthrow of the Government of the United States or of Florida by force or violence."

Some of the early bitterness of faculty members at being asked to take the oath evaporated with passage of the bill requiring all city, county, (including school teachers) and State employes in Florida to do likewise, and as State employes they had little choice.

But after the original investigation was authorized, State Representative Jerry Collins of Sarasota, now a candidate for Congress, put through a resolution to extend the investigation to all the privately operated colleges and universities in Florida as well.

The committee hasn't even begun on that phase yet and may ask to be given funds to extend the investigation for two years.

Several proposed resolutions for such an investigation floated around the House during its first few weeks in session.

The incident that brought about introduction of the original resolution was the appearance of some Florida State University students at a committee hearing on other anti-Communist legislation, including a bill to outlaw the party and require all members coming to Florida to register with the nearest sheriff within 24 hours.

The students argued against the loyalty oath, contending it could be used to persecute non-Communist minorities that might agree with some points of the Communist Party platform.

Committee members queried the students about their teachers and indicated an investigation should be held.

F. B. I. Undercover Agent

Associated Press

William Cummings in the Federal Building after continuing his testimony in the trial against eleven Communist party leaders

NEGRO AMONG THREE COMMUNISTS JAILED IN NEW YORK FOR CONTEMPT OF COURT

Cleveland, Ohio Sat. 6-11-49

NEW YORK, June 11—(Special)—An overdose of "monkey-business," on the part of three ranking Communists, on trial for sseveral weeks ,here resulted in the snapping of trial Judge Harold R. Medina's patience and their subsequent remand to jail on contempt of court charges.

The three CCommunist receiving the 30-day contempt sentence, included Harry Winston, a Negro high ranking Communist, who has played quite a role in the trials, Guss Hall and John W. Gates.

The court room bedlam broke loose after after Judge Medina had ordered defendant John W. Gates to jail for 30 days for persistent refusal to answer prosecution questions on cross examinations. All of Gates' 10 confederates jumped to their feet, and at the same time, Harry Winston, husky, Negro party organization secretary, was heard to shout something about "lynching." Whatever it was, Judge Madina said to him "I direct that you be remanded."

Guss Hall, bulky Ohio state chairman off the party, roared, he had seen "fairer justice" in police courts. The Judge eyed him over his spectacles and said: "Let's see, tha'ts Mr. Hall,. You are remanded for the balance of the trial," he said.

Remanding means that the dtfendants' bail is revoked, and that they must remain in jail all the time, except when the court is actually in session. All have been ffree on $5,000 bail while they were tried on charges of conspiring to advocate violent overthrow of the government.

The Cleveland Ohio Sat. 6-11-49

The Judge repeatedly stated that Gates, 35-year-old eaitor of the CCommunist naily Worker, could purge himself of contempt by agreeing to answer United States Attorney Jno. F. X. McGobey's questions, and denied all requests to stay his remanding orders, pending appeal to a higher court or to revoke them.

He declared: "I cannot pehmit a defendant who has taken the stand in his own defense, to choose what questions he will answer."

. . . . . .

Gates, Hall and Winston, were manacled together as they were taken to the federal house off detention when court quit for the weekend. A group of 30 persons cheered them as they entered the United States Marshall's van shouting: "keep up the good work."

. . . .

Gates, a short, sharp featured man, who fought with the republican army in the Spanish civil war, and with the United States army in World War II, balked at questions which would have required him to tell names of some of his party associates other than his codefendants. He told Medina he would become a "stool vigeon" if he gave the information.

McGobey had asked the names of persons who served with Gates on the Communistic party veterans committee, and who worked with him in preparing various publications.

The editor, at first, failed to answer "on the krounds of my rights, under the first and fifth amendments of the Constitution." The prosecutor at first, said he would accept such an answer, but the court ruled the defendant, Gates, must answer a similar quesion a moment later, and when the witness twice refused, said: "I adjudge you guilty of willful and deliberate contempt." Gates first declined to answer questions about the party positions of his co-defendants when his cross examinations began the day before, but he changed his mind after the judge had said he was in contempt and after the other 10 men on trial had agreed he should answer.

Then the dispute about queries on party other members, other than the defendants arose. Medina listened to arguments in chambers on the matter, read a 54-page brief and studied the question over night. When court opened next morning, he duly rovoked such questions were proper.

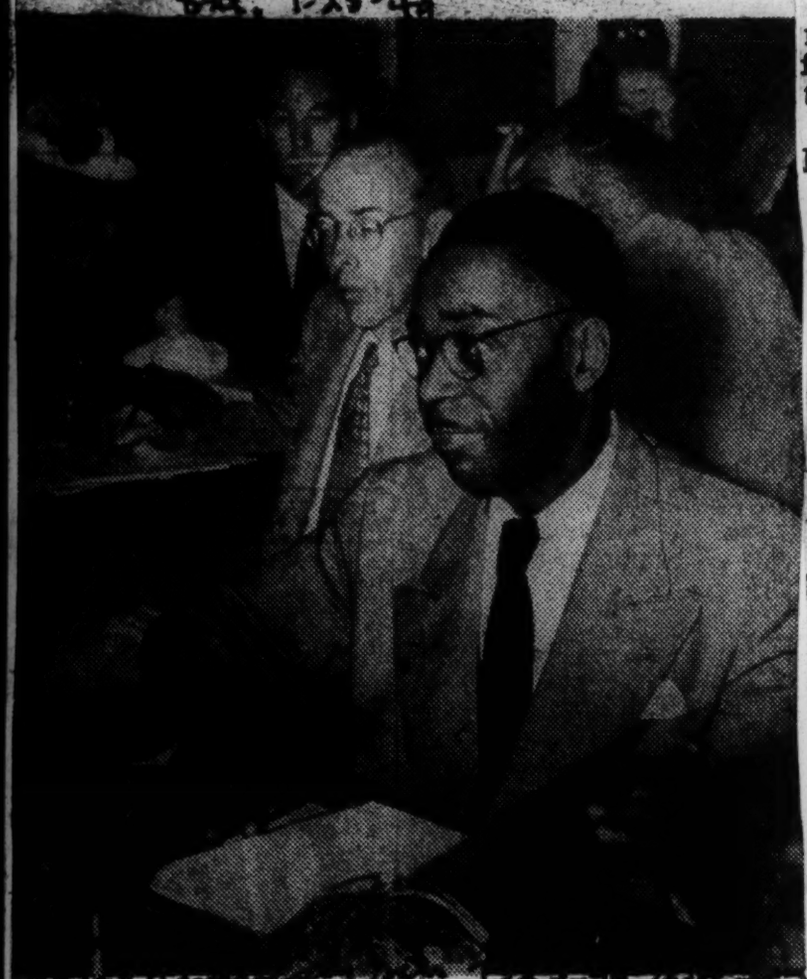
wugene Dennis, general secretary of the party, and one of those on trial, helped to quiet the co-defendants by urging them to resume their seats and "not to break out or call fo success. Gates any provocation." Dennis, who is serving as his own attorney, presented a long argument against the court's ruling, that Gates must answer. He declared that the government had a of its official "sinister objective" in asking the witness to tell about persons pay my dues in the party other than the defendants. Such testimony, he ar- receipts. ued, could make Gates an accomplice to the prosecution, in draggink in innocent persons."

Disclosure of their party activity "would" place anyone mentioned subject to being lynched in the south," Dennis declared. "No court, no legislative body can kill ideas, political doctrines, movements of the people, or the Communist party by force or compulson," he said.

In his unsuccessful effort to get Hall's remand set aside, defense Attorney Richard Gladstein argued that Hall was unduly rovoked, and that the words he used, "cannot and do any stretch of the imagination constitute contempt." jlry was not in the court room during the wrangle.

The editor's local party affiliations but met with little was called balk, McGohey attempted to find out a- Gates said he was a amember of the community Com- ub near his home in Sunnyside, Queens, in New Sork asserted he did not know where at met, or the names icials. Asked how he paid his dues, he replied: "I dues through my wife.My wife has not given me any

He Counted Red Noses



Alvin Stokes, who told the Un-American Activities Committee last Wednesday that there were only 1400 colored communists in America

WHERE REAL PROBE IS NEEDED

Afro-American Pat. 1-23-49

No editor from the AFRO-AMERICAN is going to appear before the House Un-American Activities Committee to testify to the loyalty of the colored race.

Baltimore

We are Americans like everybody else. Like Ivory Soap, our loyalty is 99 44/100 per cent pure, but we do not accept an invitation from Georgia's Representative Wood to discuss our patriotism with him. We would much rather discuss with Congress Mr. Wood's Americanism, Georgia is the home of the Ku Klux Klan and Governor Talmadge.

To this day there are no colored jurors permitted in the courts, in some sections of Georgia. Colored public schools get about one-fourth as much for their support as the white schools. No colored person can be a full citizen in Representative Wood's State.

Our civil rights is the only issue which we would be interested in having Congress discuss at this time.

Mr. Wood and his colleagues have been considering whether to invite Paul Robeson to appear before the Un-American Activities Committe and ask him whether he is a Communist or not.

Well, let's suppose Mr. Robeson is a Communist—so what? There are a lot of Communists in this country, colored and white.

Every colored person who has to live in Mr. Wood's state has incentive enough to turn to Communism. We are greatly surprised that more of them have not.

If anybody asks us, Paul Robeson's eye is on Georgia, not Russia. He is using Communism as a vehicle to get relief from jim crow. Georgia uses the Ku Klux Klan as a vehicle to maintain white supremacy.

Mr. Robeson's politics and Representative Wood's politics are different, but they are both politics.

Rushton, McCorvey Off McGrath Mailing List

Birmingham News Wed. 1-12-49

BY JAMES FREE
News Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON, Jan. 12—Names of Marion Rushton, Gessner T. McCorvey and Mrs. Carolyn Coots have been dropped from Democratic National Chairman Howard McGrath's mailing list.

Birmingham Ala.

Reason is their activities in behalf of the Dixiecrat ticket of Strom Thurmond and Fielding Wright.

Rushton, Montgomery attorney and Democratic national committeeman; State Democratic Chairman McCorvey, Mobile attorney, and Mrs. Coots, Attalla, were plumpers for Thurmond and Wright.

Mrs. Lennard Thomas, Montgomery, was the only Alabama party official whose name was left on McGrath's National Committee correspondence lists.

It was said the national committeewoman took no part in the States' Rights campaign, but was actually a Truman supporter throughout the presidential race.

* * *

NATIONAL COMMITTEE attaches here said that names of party bigwigs, including Gov. Thurmond, Dixiecrat presidential standard bearer in both South Carolina and Louisiana, also were being dropped from the mailing list.

1-12-49

In Mississippi, where Wright is governor, names of pro-Truman Democrats were substituted by the national committee chieftain for the States' Righters.

Chairman McGrath still could not be reached for a statement, but committee attaches said names of the Alabamians and other Southern states party officals had been dropped from the lists simply because national headquarters could not do business with them.

Any correspondence sent them, it was asserted, usually brought back "insulting letters."

* * *

MsGRATH HAS SAID he would ask the Democratic National Committee to refuse to recognize Thurmond, Rushton and other committeemen who revolted against President Truman as the national party nominee.

Democratic headquarters here also emphasized that Southern states which voted for Thurmond would not be barred from the Truman inaugural parade.

A National radio commentator had said no Dixiecrat state would be represented in the parade.

Not only Alabama, which will be represented by the university and Auburn bands, but Louisiana, Mississippi and South Carolina are expected to be represented in the line of march.

Race Loyal, Say Leaders At Hearing

Lexington Herald Sat. 1-23-49

WASHINGTON — The House Un-American Activities Committee was told in cold, blunt language by leading Negro spokesmen that whatever inroads made by the Communist Party in the Negro population of America are due to the stupid failure of this country to live up to her professions of democratic ideals.

Three prominent Negro Americans testified before the committee that members of their race are "too deeply rooted in the United States" to be disloyal to this country.

Chicago Def.

They were Lester Granger, executive director of the National Urban League; Dr. Charles S. Johnson, president of Fisk University, and Thomas W. Young, president and general director of The Guide Publishing Company, Inc. in Norfolk, Va., which publishes the Journal and Guide newspaper.

The Committee is hearing testimony on the loyalty of American Negroes. It also is exploring techniques used by the Communists to win Negroes to their side.

The hearings were touched-off by a statement reportedly made by Paul Robeson at the recent so-called Paris peace conference in which the singer is quoted as having said that American Negroes would not take up arms against the Soviets in case of war between Russia and the United States.

Granger deplored the hysteria which had attended Robeson's statement. He told the committee that it could serve this country better by "vigorously prosecuting" an inquiry into the activities of such organizations as the Ku Klux Klan and similar "black shirt" and "white sheet" groups wherever they may be found, rather than wasting its time probing Robeson's "reckless statement" on the American Negroes' loyalty.

Granger said there is no difference between the Communists who seek to destroy our democratic ideals and the American racists.

Granger testified that fewer than 2,000 Negroes were members of the American Communist Party. This figure was backed up by Alvin W. Stokes, also a Negro, who is an investigator for the committee, who placed the figure at 1,400.

The Urban League executive admonished that this number of Negro Communists, small as it is, "stands not as a testimonial to the recruiting skills of the Communist leadership, but rather as a sign of our failure to make good on our democratic professions."

The dramatic highlight of the hearings came when Manning Johnson, former member of the National Committee of the Communist Party, identified Robeson as a member of the Communist Party "for many years."

Johnson, who testified that he belonged to the party for 10 years — from 1930 to 1940 — and spent three years in its ruling echelon — told the committee that "we were told under threat of expulsion never to reveal that Robeson was a member of the party because his assignments were highly confidential and secret." Johnson testified that he had seen Robeson at party headquarters several times.

"There is not one iota of doubt that Paul Robeson was a Communist party member," Johnson stated. He said that Robeson was assigned to work among intellectuals, professionals, artists, and other middle-class persons "whom the party was trying to influence."

He said it was conceived by was engaged in "certain secret work in connection with his transcontinental concert work."

Bitterly, Johnson accused Robeson of having "delusions of grandeur" growing out of his title role in the movie "Emperor Jones" years ago, and wanted to be the "black Stalin" of America. He said the Communist party is encouraging that.

Johnson outlined for members of the committee the grandiose plan which the Communist party had and which he says still has for setting up a Black Republic in the South. The area which the party plans will extend over nine states from the eastern shore of Maryland into Texas.

The area, which is the old "Black Belt" would be seized by armed revolution, riots, and other forceful methods, Johnson said. He divulged that any individual or official — state or federal — who opposed the land grab would be "liquidated." Johnson said the plan envisioned that the area would "secede" from the Government of the United States, and a Moscow - dominated government would replace it.

When Chairman Woods asked if the party had considered what such an attempt would cost in human lives, Johnson said they didn't care if it cost one life or a million.

Johnson stated that the National Negro Congress was a Communist brainchild from the very beginning although it was not known. He said it was conceived by James W. Ford, the party's liaison man with Negroes. He said the party wanted a front, and therefore with great pains kept its hands under cover while their henchmen lined up respectable non-Communists to head and officer the Congress.

It was under this deceptive guise that A. Philip Randolph and other non-Communists got involved with what later was detected as a Communist front. Randolph withdrew from the presidency, and scores of other non-Communists quit the Congress.

Referring briefly to the Scottsboro case, he said the Communists strong-armed their way into the boys to have an issue which they could raise against the Government's witness in the Scottsboro boys," he declared. Gerhart Eisler case.

Johnson said he broke with the Party over the issue of his religious convictions, the establishment of the Black Republic in the South which he opposed on the grounds that it was simply an extension of racial segregation; and over the way the Communists exploited the Scottsboro boys. He presently is employed as international representative of the Retail Clerks International Association (AFL). Johnson has testified in numerous loyalty cases. He was witness in the Rep. Walter (D., Penn.) recom-

mended to Chairman Woods that Robeson be subpoenaed to explain his pro-Communist, "un-American" attitude. Woods said he would take the suggestion under advisement.

Young testified that he had heard Robeson declare his own personal disloyalty to the United States. He said it took place during a "smoker" given the singer in Norfolk in October, 1947.

He quoted Robeson as saying "if this country ever went to war against Russia, and my son took up arms to fight Russia, he no longer would be my son."

Stokes told the Committee that at a Welcome Home rally held for Robeson at Rockland Palace in New York City, he heard Robeson, Louis Burnham and Charles P. Howard deplore the lack of rebellion on the part of Negroes. There were approximately 5,000 persons present for the rally, Stokes said, of whom about 25 per cent were Negroes.

Chairman Woods read into the record a letter from General Dwight D. Eisenhower, praising highly the patriotism and loyalty of Negroes both during and since World War II.

Robinson Hits U.S. Bigots

Afro-American

Granger Says Bias Is Fodder for 'Reds'

Sat. 7-23-49

DR. JOHNSON HEARD

Baltimore, Md.

Hearing on Robeson Proves Boomerang

WASHINGTON

What was intended to be a frontal attack on Paul Robeson boomeranged against the House Un-American Activities Committee.

Instead of hearing tirades against Robeson, the Committee was told that lynchers are the real enemies of this country and that the lawmakers should and must work to make the ideal of democracy real.

Principal witness was Jackie Robinson, who proved here Monday that he could steal the bases in appearing before a Congressional committee just as easily as he can on the baseball diamond.

The Committee, which opened its probe on Wednesday, had called several of the race's leaders to refute these statements.

Like Jackie, they turned the tables on the probers and placed responsibility for the growing trend toward Communism and the accompanying "red" hysteria on this country's faliure to make the principle of democracy a practical one.

Jackie was invited here to appear before the House Committee to refute a recent statement Paul Robeson is alleged to have made in Paris that "colored people will not fight in a war against Russia."

When Jackie was called to "bat" Monday morning, after a postponement last Wednesday, he hit a slow "bounder" but it was muffed by the committee, and he got on base.

Committee Makes "Error"

The committee may be said to have made the error by calling Jackie "to the bat" in the first place, just as it did last week by having Lester Granger appear.

The Brooklyn Dodgers' stellar second baseman used his time to point out what is really wrong with America and what the white public should do to correct it. From there he went around the bases with ease with such statements as:

"The white public should start toward real understanding by appreciating that every single colored American who is worth his salt is going to resent any kind of slurs and discrimination because of his race and he is going to use every bit of intelligence such as he has to stop it.

"This has absolutely nothing to do with what Communists may or may not be trying to do and white people must realize that the more a colored man hates Communism, because it opposed democracy, the more he is going to hate any other influence that kills off democracy in this country.

"That goes for racial discrimination in the Army and segregation in trains and buses and job discrimination because of religious beliefs or color or place of birth."

You Can't Change Facts

Striking another blow for the cause of wiping out bias, Jackie stated:

"The fact that it is a Communist who denounces injustice in the courts, police brutality and lynching when it happens, doesn't change the truth of his charges.

"Just because Communists kick up a big fuss over racial discrimination when it suits their purposes, a lot of people try to pretend that the whole issue is a creation of Communist imagination, but they are not fooling anyone with this kind of pretense."

Have Been Stirred Up Long Time

Talk about Communists' stirring up colored persons to protest only makes present misunderstanding worse than ever.

"Colored people were stirred up," long before there was a Communist Party and they will stay stirred up long after the party has disappeared unless jim crow has disappeared by then as well."

Regarding the statement attributed to Mr. Robeson, Jackie said, "It sounds very silly, if he actually made it."

Then he added, "He has a right to his personal views and if he wants to sound silly when he expresses them in public, that is his business and not mine. He is still a famous ex-athlete and a great singer and actor."

Continuing his lambasting of the discriminatory policies in this country, Jackie averred, "No one has ever questioned my race's loyalty except a few people who don't amount to very much.

No One Can Speak for All

"There is no reason for the people to get scared because one colored person speaking to a Communist group in Paris threatened an organized boycott by 15 million members of his race. I can't speak for any 15 million people any more than any other person can."

Making further reference to Robeson, Jackie said that he and other Americans have too much invested in this country for their families and country's welfare for any of us to throw it away because of a siren song sung in bass.

Commended by Committee

After reading his prepared statement he was commended for it by members of the committee. Rep. Marvin M. Moulder (Dem., Mo.) told Jackie that it was not the purpose of the committee to question the loyalty of colored people but to find out how they feel about the Robeson statement.

He said further, "I think you rendered a great service to your people. We are proud of you."

Rep. Clifford P. Case (Dem., N.J.) asked about his military service and whether during that period he heard of any colored military personnel with any such philosophy as that purported to be advanced by Mr. Robeson.

Jackie said he spent 31 months in the Army at Fort Riley, Kansas and Camp Hood, Texas. "The only thing I saw or heard was that the boys wanted to get the war over with, to do the job they were sent to do and get back home."

Jackie said he had received numerous letters, wires and telephone calls asking him not to appear before the committee. Some were from Communist sympathizers and some were from people who had no interest in Communism. He said it was not easy to answer why he stuck his neck out despite advice to the contrary.

"I guess it boils down to a sense of responsibility," was the reason he gave. He was accompanied here by Mrs. Robinson.

Granger, Dr. Johnson Talk

Among those witnesses were Lester Granger, executive director of the National Urban League; Dr. Charles S. Johnson, president of Fisk University, and Rev. Sandy Ray, pastor of Cornerstone Baptist Church in Brooklyn, N.Y.

Mr. Granger advised the committee to worry less about Robeson and think more about democracy. Continuing, he said:

"The House Committee on Un-American Activities can make an unparalleled contribution to such an effort by instituting and vigorously prosecuting an injuiry into the activities of such organizations as the KU Klux Klan and similar 'black shirt' and 'white sheet' groups wherever they may be found."

Mr. Granger refused to smear any individual, as did Dr. Johnson, who in his testimony attested to the loyalty of colored Americans to their country.

Dr. Johnson told the committee that during his 25 years of working as a sociologist he had been exposed to the attitudes of no less than 100,000 colored families.

"It can be said categorically," he declared, "that however unhappy some of the individuals may have been, in stressful and provocative situations, no hint of disloyalty has been voiced."

He attributed this attitude not to fear, "For among them there were many who feared neither death nor disgrace."

Form of Government All Right

He added that "where there has been resentment it has been not against the form of government, but against those who misinterpret or sought to abuse the purpose and power of government and vitiate its cherished freedoms."

As evidence of the colored race's national loyality, Dr. Johnson pointed out how during World War II colored men enlisted in such large numbers that the Army found it necessary to restrict the number it would accept.

The Fisk president also explained to the group that many persons have joined or contributed to organizations, not because of any interest in other philosophies or forms of government, but simply because those organizations had advocated the removal of barriers to full citizenship.

Against Intangible Empire

The Rev. Mr. Ray, who is chairman of the Social Service Committee of the National Baptist Convention, Inc., told the Committee:

"The greatest threat to our democracy is not from without, but from our failure to extend its benefits to all who live in it. No foreign philosophy can gain dangerous footage in a functioning democracy."

Speaking for members of his denomination, he said, "We do seek to overthrow an intangible empire which exists within our government and many of our institutions throughout the land.

"It is that empire which shelters injustice, oppressions, exploitation, segregation, discrimination, ill-will and all of the inconsistencies which make for separation, tension and strife.

Reading from a prepared manuscript, Mr. Granger denied that there is any vast turning-out of colored following in response to an assumed Communist leadership of the colored population.

He told the group of probers that the colored American population will never accept or willingly endure any setup which forces upon them second-class citizenship.

Provided With Grievances

Such things as Klan floggings, lynchings and other forms of intimidation, Mr. Granger said, provide the colored population with additional grievances against the present way of life in this country and add impetus to the Communist cause.

Mr. Granger told the committee that authentic colored leadership in this country finds itself confronted by two enemies on opposite sides. "One enemy is the Communist whe seeks to destroy the democratic ideals and practice which constitute colored man's sole hope of eventual victory in may easily lead to a revulsion of feeling among the colored population which would be ideally suited to the purposes of the Communist Party. . . .

"We (of the Urban League movement) have never been afraid of Communist infiltration, for there is no room for anti-democratic idealism.

One of the witnesses for the Committee, Manning Johnson, a representative of the International Retail Clerks' Association, AFL, said that he had been a Communist from 1930 to 1940 and that he knew that Robeson was a member of the party.

A witness in the Gerhardt Eisler trial, Johnson, said further that other members of the party were told never to reveal that Robeson was a member. He also said that the singer was never permitted to attend conventions or other public meetings. His work was confidential, Johnson insisted.

Others who testified before the Committee were Thomas W. Young, president of the Norfolk Journal and Guide; George K. Junton, executive director of the Catholic Interracial Council of New York City, and Clarence B. Clark of Pittsburgh.

Harlem, East Side Overlooked In Jury Picking, Says Clerk

Montgomery Advertiser

Montgomery Ala.

NEW YORK, Feb. 16—(AP)—A government witness testified today at the trial of 11 high U. S. Communists that no federal jurors were drawn during 1947 and 1948 from the voting lists for six Harlem and lower East Side assembly districts.

During the same period, the witness testified under defense cross-examination, 7,825 jury notices were sent to persons whose names were taken from the voting lists for three assembly districts in the wealthy, so-called "silk stocking district" of Manhattan.

The witness was Joseph F. McKenzie, federal jury clerk here, who is the first person called by the prosecution to disprove defense claims that federal juries are "rigged" in favor of the rich against the poor and members of minority groups.

Still Seek Voiding

Because of this alleged discrimination, the defense argues, the indictment against the 11 members of the Communist Party's national committee should be voided. They are charged with conspiring to advocate overthrow of the U. S. government.

Before McKenzie resumed the stand, Federal Judge Harold R. Medina granted the left-wing American Labor Party permission to intervene in the trial by fixing a brief as "a friend of the court." The statewide party is headed by Rep. Vito Marcantonio.

Medina denied a request by the ALP counsel, George W. Fish, that he be allowed to make an oral argument. This started a brief wrangle between the judge and Fish.

The ALP had asked to intervene yesterday, saying it was vitally interested in the outcome of the defense's challenge to the jury system.

In his testimony, McKenzie said the possibility existed that names may have been selected from the voting lists from the Harlem and lower East Side areas. He added, however, that his records showed no notices were mailed to any of the names that may have been picked.

He also said, in response to a question by Medina, that he had no way of determining how many persons qualified for jury service from the number to whom notices were sent in the "silk stocking district."

Later, Medina denied a defense request that all questionnaires filled out by prospective jurors be impounded so that the defense could determine how many of them had a certain pencilled symbol marked on them.

Red Trial Jury Finally Picked In Ninth Week

Herald Tribune

Thur 3-17-49

Negro Housewife Foreman; Russell Janney Member; Four Alternates Needed

New York N.Y.

By Walter Arm

A jury of seven women and five men with a Negro housewife as foreman was finally selected and sworn in at 4:10 p. m. yesterday to try the eleven Communist party leaders on charges of advocating overthrow of the government by force.

The last juror picked was Russell Janney, theatrical producer and author of "The Miracle of the Bells," a story with a religious theme. He replaced Mrs. Eva Mendelsohn, wife of a real estate manager, who was removed from the box by the last peremptory challenge left to the defense.

Thur 3-17-49

After the jurors were sworn in—over the d fense objection that they were "not satisfied"—Judge Harold R. Medina excused them until tomorrow morning, when United States Attorney John F. X. McGohey, the prosecutor, is expected to make his opening statement. The judge announced that today's session would be devoted to the selection of four alternate jurors to be used in the event any of the regular jurors were forced, for some reason, to leave the case.

The four alternates—the maximum number allowed in a Federal court—will be selected because of the expected length of the trial, which has already lasted almost nine weeks. There are only fifteen seats in the jury box, and the judge ordered building carpenters to construct an extra one by morning. He allowed each side two peremptory challenges.

The official completion of the jury was signalized by Mr. McGohey when he waived the use of his last challenge and announced: "The jury as constituted is satisfactory to the government."

Herald Tribune 3-17-49

Defense Objects to Last

Defense attorneys did not agree with him and asked Judge Medina to excuse the jurors so they could voice their opinions. Richard Gladstein, Louis F. McCabe and Harry Sacher all objected to the judge asking the questions of the jurors and allowing only fifteen peremptory challenges — which was five more than usual. They asked for three more—two more—one more, and all their requests were turned down.

Then they announced: "The jury as presently constituted is unsatisfactory to the defendants and constitutes a denial of due process and denial of their constitutional rights."

Judge Medina replied: "I have made the most serious and conscientious endeavor to find out if any bias exists among the jurors, to make sure that no juror has any bias or prejudice whatsoever. I have done my best in the most conscientious manner I could and I do not believe that any juror is under any bias. I can do no more."

Just what the defense lawyers did not like about the jury they did not say, but it appears to be composed mainly of the very persons and groups they had argued for seven weeks were "wilfully excluded" from jury service.

Three Negroes on Jury

They had charged that among those excluded from jury duty were women, Negroes, workers and Jews. The jury of twelve includes all of these and, besides the foreman, has two other Negroes.

The jury:

Herald Tribune 3-17-49

1. MRS. THELMA DIAL, a Negro housewife and dressmaker whose husband is a band leader, of 545 Edgecombe Avenue.

2. RUSSELL JANNEY, writer and theatrical producer, of 320 East Seventieth Street, whose offices are at 56 East Forty-fifth Street.

3. MRS. IDA F. HOWELL, a Negro beautician whose husband is a taxicab driver, of 44 Edgecombe Avenue.

4. MISS KATHRYN E. DUNN, an unemployed securities clerk, of 425 Riverside Drive.

5. GEORGE L. SMITH, a Negro fur and real estate salesman, who was formerly a receptionist for the president of the Delaware & Hudson Railroad. He lives at 412 East 165th Street, the Bronx.

6. MRS. LILLIAN BERLINER, a housewife whose husband is a woolen salesman, of 4300 Broadway.

7. PATRICK S. REYNOLDS, a retitred beer salesman, of 245 East Twenty-first Street.

8. HENRY E. ALLEN, an unemployed civil engineer, of 110 East Eighty-seventh Street.

9. MRS. LILLIAN SCHLESINGER, a widow who works in the mail departmen tof the Franklin Simon & Co. specialty store and lives at 30 Seaman Avenue.

10. JAMES F. SMYTH, a wireman for Bell Telephone Laboratories who lives at 15 Stuyvesant Oval, in Stuyvesant Town.

11. MRS. CARRIE L. ROBINSON, a widow and office worker for an eye glass case company who lives at 601 West 160th Street.

12. MRS. GERTRUDE CORWIN, a housewife whose husband is a salesman, of 350 West Fifty-seventh Street.

Mr. Smith told Judge Medina that he was an election district captain. Mr. Reynolds said he was a member of the Holy Name Society. Mr. Smyth said he was a member of the American Legion and also a member of the Communications Workers of America, an unaffiliated union. All said there affiliations would not influence them in the case.

Judge Medina warned the panel not to read any newspaper accounts of the case or to listen to radio commentators, or engage in conversations about the trial. He told them: "You have been selected because your minds are free and open. I want you to say that way. Listen to the evidence in a fair and impartial manner and uphold the American way of justice."

Foreman of Red Trial Jury

Mrs. Thelma Dial

In Trial of 11 Communists Call Judge As Witness

Washington Post

Herald Tribune 3-17-49

New York, Feb. 28 (AP).—Counsel for 11 indicted American Communist leaders today subpenaed the senior judge of the New York Federal District to appear Tuesday as one of their witnesses.

They called on Judge John C. Knox to produce the text of a speech he made January 22 in Uniontown, Pa., defending the way Federal juries are picked here.

The system has been under fire by the defense almost continuously since the 11 members of the Communist Party's national committee went on trial January 17. As a result, no jury has been selected.

The Communists are charged with conspiring to advocate the overthrow of the United States Government.

Defense lawyers have been given until the end of the court session Tuesday by Federal Judge Harold R. Medina, the trial judge, to finish their arguments against the jury system. Medina also has set March 7 as the tentative date for the beginning of the actual prosecution.

Negro Woman Heads Up Jury To Try Reds

Washington Post

Thur 3-17-49

New York, March 16 (AP).—A jury of five men and seven women, including three Negroes, was chosen today after nine weeks to try 11 American Communist leaders on conspiracy charges.

They were sworn in by Federal Judge Harold R. Medina after the selection process had been completed with exhaustion of the 21 peremptory challenges allotted the defense and the Government. A Negro housewife is foreman.

The prosecution waived its final challenge. United States Attorney John F. X. McGohey said the 12 persons in the box were satisfactory.

Trial May Start Friday

Medina indicated the actual trial may begin Friday. He excused the 12 jurors until then and said Thursday would be devoted to selection of four alternates.

Composition of the jury was interesting in view of sharp accusations made by the defense attorneys in their unsuccessful challenge to the Federal jury system. This took up seven weeks of the nine since the trial began January 17.

The defense contended that many groups were discriminated against in jury-picking and said that prominent among these were women and Negroes. The judge ruled, however, that the defense failed to prove its contention.

Make-up of Jury

Mrs. Thelma Dial, Negro housewife and part-time dressmaker, foreman.

Russell Janney, theatrical producer.

Mrs. Ida F. Howell, Negro beautician.

Miss Kathryn E. Dunn, unemployed clerical worker.

George L. Smith, Negro salesman.

Mrs. Lillian Berliner, housewife.

Patric S. Reynolds, retired beer salesman.

Henry E. Allen, unemployed industrial engineer.

Mrs. Lillian Schlesinger, widow and department store clerk.

James F. Smyth, telephone wireman and assembler.

Mrs. Carrie L. Robinson, widow.

Mrs. Gertrude Corwin, housewife.

American Justice At Work

Birmingham News

On the 60th day after the beginning of the trial of 11 Communist leaders in New York on the charge of conspiring to advocate overthrow of the United States government by force, a jury was chosen and sworn in. Federal Judge Harold R. Medina has exhibited great patience. He has listened to bickering and heard testimony concerning the jury panels which many another judge might have had thrown out of court. But he has also been determined that the defense of the Communists shall have its full rights under the American judicial system. He has been goaded in hopes of an outburst of anger, but he has held his temper at all times. He has maintained judicial dignity, and he has made the attorneys respect the court. Bir. 3-18-49

What the defense tried to prove was that "women, workers and Negroes" were deliberately excluded from jury service and that without such persons on the jury the accused Communists could not get a fair trial. The testimony which Judge Medina listened to consumed seven weeks of the court's time. At last the judge said he had heard enough, that the lawyers had failed to uphold their contention that jury panels were composed largely of "the rich, the propertied and well-to-do."

* * *

The jury which was sworn in after several days of picking and questioning consists of five men and seven women, some of them workers, one of them unemployed, three of them Negroes. The foreman of the jury is a Negro housewife. Two of the jurors are salesmen, two are engineers, one is a stockbroker.

* * *

The manner in which the jurors were picked may give some indication of the course the trial will take.

Each side presented its challenges so that the effort was to select a jury not prejudiced toward either the political left or right.

The jurors were asked if they had ever been associated in any way with any one of the organizations on the United States attorney-general's subversive list or if they had had any association with such groups as the German-American Bund, the Ku Klux Klan or the Silver Shirts. They were asked if they ever read either Communist newspapers and magazines or sheets put out by the hate organizations. They were asked if they had formed opinions on the case from reading newspaper accounts of the trial in its early stages. "Search your souls," said Judge Medina, "before you answer." They were asked if they had ever been in government service or had relatives who had been, or whether they or their relatives or close friends had ever been questioned on loyalty by the FBI or the House committee on un-American activities.

Then the jurors were asked to listen to a long list of names, some provided by the defense, some by the prosecution, some by the Judge. Had they ever known any of these men and women? Had they read about them? Had they formed opinions about the activities of those whose names were presented to them? On the list were the names of many liberal leaders, many who have been in the public eye as suspected Communists or Fascists, many who have served on progressive committees, including men and women of prominence in the government.

Finally the judge read the charges to the prospective jurors. He warned them to remember that the defendants are charged, as members of the national committee, with "unlawfully, wilfully, and knowingly," conspiring "with each other to organize the Communist Party of the United States of America, a society group and assembly of persons who teach and advocate the overthrow and destruction of the government of the United States by force and violence." The judge told the jurors that the "case does not involve guilt by association."

When all this had been done, the jurors were accepted by both sides. They were sworn in. Judge Medina said: "I have done my best in the most conscientious manner I could and I do not believe that any juror is under any bias whatsoever. I can do no more."

The judge has faithfully followed the American tradition.

N. Y. Jurors Handpicked, Says Judge

Washington Post

Washington, D.C.

Voting Lists Were Not Satisfactory, Senior Member of U. S. Bench Testifies

New York, March 1 (AP).—Federal Judge John C. Knox, called as a witness by the defense in the trial of 11 high United States Communists, testified today Federal jurors here are "handpicked."

However, Judge Knox insisted that he has sought representatives of every economic and social group in the community" on juries here.

The defense subpenaed Knox senior judge of the Southern District of New York, as a part of its challenge to the jury system which has held back start of the actual trial of the Communist leaders for six weeks.

Judge Knox said he decided several years ago that the method of jury selection in this district needed revision.

"I thought I needed a more careful selection of jurors," he testified.

Sources Are Listed

He said his "handpicked" method consisted of using names from such sources as the Social Register, Who's Who in New York, lists of college alumni, and lists submitted by large business firms.

Judge Harold R. Medina, named by Judge Knox to preside at the trial, listened intently as Knox began his testimony.

The defense charges that the jury-picking method discriminates in favor of wealthy persons and against Negroes, women, laborers, persons of low income and others.

The Communist leaders are charged with conspiracy to advocate forcible overthrow of the Government.

Last Day for Challenge

By Medina's order, this was the last day for presentation of evidence by the defense in its jury challenge.

Judge Knox testified he had told a House of Representatives' committee in 1945 that an effort was made at one time to select jurors through voting lists.

This, he said, resulted in calling of many prospective jurors who could neither speak nor understand the English language. Many others, he added, "were proprietors of one-man business enterprises and to whom jury service would mean ruination."

Knox replied affirmatively when asked by a defense attorney if he once had said there were large numbers of "Negroes, immigrants and whatnot" in this district and that "if you went out with a dragnet" to choose jurors, "you might come up with a result no one might wish."

Criminals Held "Nuerous"

Medina then asked the witness: "Is there a large criminal population in the City of New York?"

"Quite a number, I should think," the senior jurist replied.

A defense lawyer then asked Knox whether he knew of any national workers, except those working for several specific corporations, who had been picked as grand jurors.

Medina sustained an objection to this question, commenting that he did not know how a judge could tell by looking at a jury whether its members were manual workers or not.

Later in the day Judge Medina brought to a halt defense challenges to the jury selection system.

"The case is closed," he said He previously has ordered that the actual trial start next Monday.

The challenges have delayed selection of a jury since the trial opened January 17.

What Minorities Believe

Negroes' Rejection of Communism, Faith in Democracy Affirmed

New York Times

To the Editor of The New York Times:

Permit me a word of praise for your editorial of March 16 on the strategy of Negro Americans working for what they are entitled to in the way of civil rights. Thur 3-24-49

Intelligent Negroes are doing just what you suggested in avoiding Communist organizations and propaganda. After they had captured the organization from its founders, the Communists set up a special "innocent front" and "transmission belt" for Negroes in the National Negro Congress, but Negroes stayed away from it so effectively that the Communists had to wind it up. In an effort to duplicate the organization of which I have the honor to be chairman and which includes the most progressive AFL and CIO unions in this city, Communists during the war organized a Negro Labor Victory Committee, but Negro labor was aware of the trap and avoided it.

New York N.Y.

The biggest propaganda organization on behalf of Negroes, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, is not controlled by Communists or by their fellow-travelers or dupes; on the contrary, it is so intelligently anti-Communist that the Communists are constantly attacking it in The Daily Worker and in the weekly edition of that paper.

Negroes are joining organized labor in increasing numbers. The two unions with an almost completely Negro membership, the United Transport Service Employes (CIO) and the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters (AFL), are headed by men well known for their vigorous anti-Communist stand, namely Willard Townsend and A. Philip Randolph. Negroes are also well represented in other unions, such as the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union and the United Automobile Workers, both of which are also strongly anti-Communist.

Despite a great play for the Negro voter during the recent Presidential campaign, the Wallace camp—in which Communists and their fellow-travelers and dupes played a dominant role—failed completely to attract Negro voters. This was especially noticeable in the South, where Negroes, as far as they could vote, contributed so definitely to President Truman's defeat of the Thurmond forces.

Of course, white voters also have a duty in this respect. Republicans as well as Fair-Deal Truman Democrats promised affirmative action to strengthen the civil rights of minority groups. Yet many Republicans joined with the Dixiecrats to overturn Vice President Barkley's ruling against the filibuster. This, of course, is grist for the Communist mill. Albeit, Negroes will continue to rely upon democracy, as against totalitarianism, as the means of making progress and realizing justice.

FRANK R. CROSSWAITH,
Chairman, Negro Labor Committee.
New York, March 17, 1949.

Canadians Eject Red Advocate

Chicago Tribune

TORONTO, Ont. (ANP) — A three-man board of inquiry of the Canadian Immigration Department ordered the deportation of William L. Patterson, executive secretary of the Civil Rights Congress, and one-time congressional candidate on the Communist ticket here last week, after finding him guilty of "advocating the overthrow of the Canadian Government."

Chicago-born Patterson was formerly an assistant director of the Abraham Lincoln School, Chicago, which was forced to close because of its alleged Communistic teachings. In issuing the deportation order, the board said:

"He believes in and advocates the overthrow by force of the government of Canada and of constituted law and authority and he believes in and is opposed to organized government and teaches the unlawful destruction of property."

Bal 1-11-49

Patterson was scheduled to address a public meeting here last Wednesday, but was refused permission to speak. His prepared address was read by a member of the CIO United Electrical Workers Union.

American Justice At Work

Birmingham News

On the 60th day after the beginning of the trial of 11 Communist leaders in New York on the charge of conspiring to advocate overthrow of the United States government by force, a jury was chosen and sworn in. Federal Judge Harold R. Medina has exhibited great patience. He has listened to bickering and heard testimony concerning the jury panels which many another judge might have had thrown out of court. But he has also been determined that the defense of the Communists shall have its full rights under the American judicial system. He has been goaded in hopes of an outburst of anger, but he has held his temper at all times. He has maintained judicial dignity, and he has made the attorneys respect the court. Bri. 3-18-49

What the defense tried to prove was that "women, workers and Negroes" were deliberately excluded from jury service and that without such persons on the jury the accused Communists could not get a fair trial. The testimony which Judge Medina listened to consumed seven weeks of the court's time. At last the judge said he had heard enough, that the lawyers had failed to uphold their contention that jury panels were composed largely of "the rich, the propertied and well-to-do."

* * *

The jury which was sworn in after several days of picking and questioning consists of five men and seven women, some of them workers, one of them unemployed, three of them Negroes. The foreman of the jury is a Negro housewife. Two of the jurors are salesmen, two are engineers, one is a stockbroker.

* * *

The manner in which the jurors were picked may give some indication of the course the trial will take.

Each side presented its challenges so that the effort was to select a jury not prejudiced toward either the political left or right.

The jurors were asked if they had ever been associated in any way with any one of the organizations on the United States attorney-general's subversive list or if they had had any association with such groups as the German-American Bund, the Ku Klux Klan or the Silver Shirts. They were asked if they ever read either Communist newspapers and magazines or sheets put out by the hate organizations. They were asked if they had formed opinions on the case from reading newspaper accounts of the trial in its early stages. "Search your souls," said Judge Medina, "before you answer." They were asked if they had ever been in government service or had relatives who had been, or whether they or their relatives or close friends had ever been questioned on loyalty by the FBI or the House committee on un-American activities.

Then the jurors were asked to listen to a long list of names, some provided by the defense, some by the prosecution, some by the Judge. Had they ever known any of these men and women? Had they read about them? Had they formed opinions about the activities of those whose names were presented to them? On the list were the names of many liberal leaders, many who have been in the public eye as suspected Communists or Fascists, many who have served on progressive committees, including men and women of prominence in the government.

Finally the judge read the charges to the prospective jurors. He warned them to remember that the defendants are charged, as members of the national committee, with "unlawfully, wilfully, and knowingly," conspiring "with each other to organize the Communist Party of the United States of America, a society group and assembly of persons who teach and advocate the overthrow and destruction of the government of the United States by force and violence." The judge told the jurors that the "case does not involve guilt by association."

When all this had been done, the jurors were accepted by both sides. They were sworn in. Judge Medina said: "I have done my best in the most conscientious manner I could and I do not believe that any juror is under any bias whatsoever. I can do no more."

The judge has faithfully followed the American tradition.

N. Y. Jurors Handpicked, Says Judge

Washington Post

Washington D.C.

Voting Lists Were Not Satisfactory, Senior Member of U. S. Bench Testifies

New York, March 1 (AP).—Federal Judge John C. Knox, called as a witness by the defense in the trial of 11 high United States Communists, testified today Federal jurors here are "handpicked."

However, Judge Knox insisted that he has sought representatives of every economic and social group in the community" on juries here.

The defense subpenaed Knox senior judge of the Southern District of New York, as a part of its challenge to the jury system which has held back start of the actual trial of the Communist leaders for six weeks.

Judge Knox said he decided several years ago that the method of jury selection in this district needed revision.

"I thought I needed a more careful selection of jurors," he testified.

Sources Are Listed

He said his "handpicked" method consisted of using names from such sources as the Social Register, Who's Who in New York, lists of college alumni, and lists submitted by large business firms.

Judge Harold R. Medina, named by Judge Knox to preside at the trial, listened intently as Knox began his testimony.

The defense charges that the jury-picking method discriminates in favor of wealthy persons and against Negroes, women, laborers, persons of low income and others.

The Communist leaders are charged with conspiracy to advocate forcible overthrow of the Government.

Last Day for Challenge

By Medina's order, this was the last day for presentation of evidence by the defense in its jury challenge.

Judge Knox testified he had told a House of Representatives' committee in 1945 that an effort was made at one time to select jurors through voting lists.

This, he said, resulted in calling of many prospective jurors who could neither speak nor understand the English language. Many others, he added, "were proprietors of one-man business enterprises and to whom jury service would mean ruination."

Knox replied affirmatively when asked by a defense attorney if he once had said there were large numbers of "Negroes, immigrants and whatnot" in this district and that "if you went out with a dragnet" to choose jurors, "you might come up with a result no one might wish."

Criminals Held "Nuerous"

Medina then asked the witness: "Is there a large criminal population in the City of New York?"

"Quite a number, I should think," the senior jurist replied.

A defense lawyer then asked Knox whether he knew of any national workers, except those working for several specific corporations, who had been picked as grand jurors.

Medina sustained an objection to this question, commenting that he did not know how a judge could tell by looking at a jury whether its members were manual workers or not.

Later in the day Judge Medina brought to a halt defense challenges to the jury selection system.

"The case is closed," he said. He previously has ordered that the actual trial start next Monday.

The challenges have delayed selection of a jury since the trial opened January 17.

What Minorities Believe

Negroes' Rejection of Communism, Faith in Democracy Affirmed

Newark Evening News

To the Editor of The New York Times:

Permit me a word of praise for your editorial of March 16 on the strategy of Negro Americans working for what they are entitled to in the way of civil rights.

Intelligent Negroes are doing just what you suggested in avoiding Communist organizations and propaganda. After they had captured the organization from its founders, the Communists set up a special "innocent front" and "transmission belt" for Negroes in the National Negro Congress, but Negroes stayed away from it so effectively that the Communists had to wind it up. In an effort to duplicate the organization of which I have the honor to be chairman and which includes the most progressive AFL and CIO unions in this city, Communists during the war organized a Negro Labor Victory Committee, but Negro labor was aware of the trap and avoided it.

The biggest propaganda organization on behalf of Negroes, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, is not controlled by Communists or by their fellow-travelers or dupes; on the contrary, it is so intelligently anti-Communist that the Communists are constantly attacking it in The Daily Worker and in the weekly edition of that paper.

Negroes are joining organized labor in increasing numbers. The two unions with an almost completely Negro membership, the United Transport Service Employes (CIO) and the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters (AFL), are headed by men well known for their vigorous anti-Communist stand, namely Willard Townsend and A. Philip Randolph. Negroes are also well represented in other unions, such as the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union and the United Automobile Workers, both of which are also strongly anti-Communist.

Despite a great play for the Negro voter during the recent Presidential campaign, the Wallace camp—in which Communists and their fellow-travelers and dupes played a dominant role—failed completely to attract Negro voters. This was especially noticeable in the South, where Negroes, as far as they could vote, contributed so definitely to President Truman's defeat of the Thurmond forces.

Of course, white voters also have a duty in this respect. Republicans as well as Fair-Deal Truman Democrats promised affirmative action to strengthen the civil rights of minority groups. Yet many Republicans joined with the Dixiecrats to overturn Vice President Barkley's ruling against the filibuster. This, of course, is grist for the Communist mill. Albeit, Negroes will continue to rely upon democracy, as against totalitarianism, as the means of making progress and realizing justice.

FRANK R. CROSSWAITH,
Chairman, Negro Labor Committee.
New York, March 17, 1949.

Canadians Eject Red Advocate

Chicago American

TORONTO, Ont. (ANP) — A three-man board of inquiry of the Canadian Immigration Department ordered the deportation of Charles L. Patterson, executive secretary of the Civil Rights Congress and chairman of the Congressional Committee on the unlawful destruction of property.

Patterson was scheduled to address a public meeting here last Wednesday, but was refused permission to speak. His prepared address was read by a member of the CIO United Electrical Workers Union.

Chicago-born Patterson was formerly an assistant director of the Abraham Lincoln School, Chicago, which was forced to close because of its alleged Communistic teachings. In issuing the deportation order, the board said:

"He believes in and advocates the overthrow by force of the government of Canada and of constituted law and authority and he disbelieves in and is opposed to organized government and teaches

COMMUNIST TRIAL HERE TO CONTINUE WITH FOSTER OUT

34

Defense Holds Up Proceedings by Arguments That Leader's Presence Is Vital in Case

New York Times

JURY SYSTEM IS ATTACKED

New York New York

Absence of Minority Groups From the Panel Is Alleged—No Picketing Attempted

Wed 1-19-49

By RUSSELL PORTER

Eleven members of the Communist party national board were ordered yesterday to stand trial without the presence of William Z. Foster, national chairman.

All twelve have been indicted for conspiracy to teach and advocate the overthrow of the Government by force and violence and to organize the Communist party to that end.

The order severing the Foster case from the others was issued by Federal Judge Harold R. Medina. He also overruled defense motions to dismiss the Foster indictment and to postpone the trial of the others to see whether Mr. Foster, who is ill, would recover enough to take part.

Defense counsel then blocked immediate opening of the trial itself by starting an attack on the entire jury system of this Federal district. They asked Senior Judge John C. Knox to supersede Judge Medina in hearing this motion, but Judge Knox referred them back to Judge Medina. Then they asked Judge Medina to disqualify himself and all the judges in this district from hearing the motion.

Judge Medina indicated after long argument that he was ready to overrule the disqualification motion but gave the defense further time to argue the case this morning.

Jury Discrimination Charged

Defense counsel announced they would demand the voiding of the indictment and the quashing of the trial-jury panel on the ground that the jury system in this district excluded Negroes and other racial and social minority groups.

The panel of 525 talesmen from which the jury is to be selected was excused yesterday until Thursday morning, except for eighty-six persons directed to appear today in case preliminary argument proceeded more rapidly than yesterday and the day before.

Wed-1-19-49

Judge Medina denied a defense motion to exclude armed policemen from the court room. He also denied renewed defense motions to remove all police from the court house and its vicinity. There were fewer police in evidence about the court house yesterday and smaller crowds than on Monday, but the police said they had about as many men in the vicinity.

No picketing was attempted yesterday. Spectators in the court room were quiet and orderly.

Louis F. McCabe, counsel for Mr. Foster, protested against the severance of the Foster case. Physicians' reports, he said, showed Mr. Foster was suffering from heart trouble that would make it dangerous to his life to stand trial at this time. But if if Mr. Foster is to be tried at all, his lawyer said, he should be tried with his fellow-defendants.

Foster's Help Called Essential

Mr. McCabe is also counsel for Eugene Dennis, general secretary of the Communist party, and Henry Winston, its organizational secretary. He said their interests would be prejudiced if they had to go to trial when Mr. Foster, as national chairman of their party, was too ill to confer with them at length and help them with their defense.

Attorneys for all the other defendants made similar arguments. Harry Sacher, attorney for City Councilman Benjamin J. Davis Jr., John Gates, editor of The Daily Worker, and Irving Potash, vice president of the Fur and Leather Workers Union, CIO, contended that Mr. Foster's testimony was "absolutely essential" to the defense.

Wed-1-19-49

This was particularly true, Mr. Sacher said, because the Communist party was on trial, not merely the eleven defendants. Its national chairman, he said, "should not be required to lay down the flag at this critical time."

Judge Medina said the case might have repercussions, but that he was concerned with the guilt or innocence of the defendants as individuals, not as members of a party.

Abraham J. Isserman, attorney for John Williamson, labor secretary, and Gilbert Green, Illinois state chairman of the party, cited newspaper editorials that he said laid stress on the broader issues.

"I'm not going to be influenced by what any newspaper tells me the issues are or are not," replied Judge Medina. "I'm the one to decide what the issues are and I'm going to do it with every bit of fairness that's in me."

Mr. Isserman asserted that the indictment itself showed that the Communist party was on trial in the case. The one common characteristic of all the defendants, he added, is that they are members of the party's national board.

Wed 1-19-49

"To make them go on trial without their national head," he said, "amounts to decapitation. This is a crippling blow to the defense."

"I still say," Judge Medina declared, "that the issue before me concerns the guilt or innocence of these individuals in the crime of which they are charged."

Foster Evidence Unlikely Soon

United States Attorney John F. X. McGohey, who had moved the severance of the Foster case, said the physicians' reports indicated that Mr. Foster would not be able to come into court either as a defendant or as a witness for a long time. If the trial of the eleven was postponed, he said, at the end of the waiting period another defense application for delay could be expected.

Denying the case was being "rushed to trial," as charged by the defense, he pointed out that six months had elasped since the indictment. He said the defense had had plenty of time to make motions and prepare for the trial. It also had had warning since November, he said, that the prosecution would ask for a severance if Foster's illness prevented his standing trial.

Mr. McGohey heatedly denied defense charges that he planned to use "liars and stool pigeons" as witnesses, and that Mr. Foster's aid was needed to combat such tactics. He said he had made careful investigation of the credibility of all prosecution witnesses.

Holding that Mr. McGohey had made an "impressive" argument, Judge Medina ruled in favor of the prosecution on the severance motion.

Postponement Is Refused

Richard Gladstein, attorney for Robert G. Thompson, New York State chairman, and Gus Hall, Ohio chairman, of the Communist party, then asked for thirty days or even fifteen days' postponement. Judge Medina flatly refused to grant any continuance.

Mr. Gladstein then began his attack on the jury system. Judge Medina gave him a ten-minute recess to present his motion to Judge Knox. This was done through a clerk of the court, who reported back that Judge Knox had refused to have anything to do with it.

Defense counsel then argued before Judge Medina that the jury system in this district violated the constitutional rights of the defendants to a fair trial. He said that it resulted in both grand and petit juries that were the "tools" of the hich and propertied classes and that excluded the poor, the workers, members of certain racial and social groups, and members of minority parties like the Communist party.

He contended that the Communist party was a spokesman for these excluded groups and that it was regarded as antagonistic by the groups from which juries are selected. Consequently, neither the jury that returned the indictment nor any jury that may be chosen to hear the trial, he said, could be held to be impartial.

Two of the defendants, he pointed out, are Negroes, and others are workers and union officials ,thus, he said, belonging to the groups discriminated against.

Mr. Goldstein argued that neither Judge Medina nor any judge sitting in this district could give an unbiased decision on a motion attacking the jury system, since they were all responsible for it.

Judge Medina denied this. He himself, he declared, bore no responsibility for the jury system, for it was already in existence when he was appointed to the bench in 1947. He also said that it should be a "reasonable assumption" that he would be "true to my trust" in deciding an issue even if other Federal judges were involved.

If there were any deliberate discrimination, he said, he would regard that as a very serious matter.

"But," he said, "that depends on the evidence."

Judge Sees No 'Armed Camp'

In denying the defense motion to remove the police from the court house, Judge Medina said he had seen no evidence of the "armed camp" alleged by the defense.

On the contrary, he said, the police precautions seemed to him to be "entirely reasonable and proper." He said he had been grateful for police help in getting through the crowd in front of the court house Monday when going to lunch.

Wed-1-19-49

12 Communist Leaders To Go On Trial Today

High Officials Accused Of Seeking Forcible Overthrow Of The U. S.

First In History

Mon. 1-17-49

Hearing Due To Last For At Least 2 Months; Postponement Sought

NEW YORK, Jan. 16—(AP)—Twelve high Communist party leaders including Party Chairman William Z. Foster go on trial Monday accused of working for forcible overthrow of the U. S. government.

Federal authorities said it would be the first such trial of Communist Party officials in this country.

U. S. District Attorney John F. X. McGohey expects the federal court trial to last at least two months.

Each man was indicted on two charges. Maximum penalty on each charge would be 10 years in prison and a $10,000 fine.

Defense attorneys already have tried an array of unsuccessful moves to get a new postponement of the case. They have announced they will challenge the jury panel Monday on the ground it is composed of the "rich, propertied and well-to-do."

Another possible source of delay is a medical report on Foster to be opened by Judge Harold Medina, scheduled to preside at the trial. Foster has a heart ailment.

Given One Delay

Judge Medina granted one postponement last November because of Foster's condition. McGohey has announced he will seek to proceed without Foster if the doctors hold that the party chairman cannot stand trial now. However, the defense lawyers plan to argue that all 12 men must be tried together.

The 12 officials were indicted last July 20 by a federal grand jury which spent 18 months investigating alleged subversive activities and Communist espionage.

The only other indictment it returned was against Alger Hiss, former State Department official charged with prejury to conceal evidence of espionage.

The Communist leaders were indicted under the Smith Act, a sedition law passed in 1940 ... the only peace-time sedition law in American history since 1798." Eugene Dennis, general secretary of the party; John Williamson, The Union asserted it is wholly party trade union secretary; Jacob Stachel, education secretary; Communist philosophy. Irving Potash, manager of criticized the government's decision to prosecute on the CIO Furriers Joint Council; the case "rests solely on the utterances and publications of Henry Winston, party educational secretary; Benjamin Davis, the Communist Party, New York City councilman; John Not a single overt act of any sort is charged." Gates, editor of the Daily Worker; Defendants besides Foster are Robert G. Thompson, chairman of the

Criticized By Union

The American Civil Liberties Union has declared it considers the trial "an unwarranted use of the Smith Act, a Communist newspaper;

New York state Communist Party; Gilbert Green of Chicago, district chairman of the Communist Party there; Carl Winter of Detroit, chairman of the Michigan state council of the Communist Party; and Gus Hall of Cleveland, chairman of the Ohio Communist Party.

All 12 men are members of the Communist Party's national board.

4 'COLORED' LISTS FOR JURIES SHOWN

New York Times
Wed 3-16-49

Witness at Communists' Trial Says Also Many Women Were Eligible for Panels

New York N.Y.

DEFENSE COUNSEL CHIDED

34

Judge Objects to 'Extravagant' Charges Designed to Stir Spectators to Laughter

By RUSSELL PORTER

Existence of four "colored" lists of prospective jurors for 1941 in the Federal jury clerk's office was shown yesterday by counsel for the eleven Communist leaders. Three of the lists came from the Federal Grand Jury Association.

Joseph F. McKenzie, jury clerk, told about the lists. He also testified that several thousand women have been on the jury lists in the last three years. He said the system of selecting jurors was changed at the beginning of 1947.

Judge Harold R. Medina in comments from the bench emphasized the 1947 change and the absence of testimony about separate "colored" lists since 1941. He said these lists did not seem to show much, and that the records clearly indicated there was no discrimination against women.

The defense charges unconstitutional discrimination in the jury system through exclusion of Negroes, women, Jews, manual workers, poor people, and members of the American Labor and Communist parties. It is seeking to void the indictment and quash the trial-jury panel, on the ground that the system makes impossible a fair trial by an impartial jury.

By its challenge to the jury system the defense for more than four weeks has postponed the beginning of the actual trial on charges of organizing the present Communist party in 1943 to advocate the forcible overthrow and destruction of the Government.

Defense Aim Not Clear

Defense counsel in yesterday's proceedings did not reveal the significance they attached to the "colored" lists. In previous testimony about Negro jurors, the Government has contended it has shown Negroes were not excluded, but the defense has argued that "token" representation was a cover for discrimination. The judge has pointed out several times that mere "disproportion" does not prove discrimination, but deliberate and systematic "exclusion" must be shown.

Testimony about the "colored" lists was drawn from Mr. McKenzie by Richard Gladstein of defense counsel on cross-examination.

The clerk was called Tuesday by Frank H. Gordon, special assistant to the Attorney General. This was after Judge Medina temporarily cut short the defense case on the ground of "wilful, deliberate and concerted" delay, and directed the Government to begin its case. At that time Mr. McKenzie said he had never discriminated against any one in the selection of jurors for reasons of race, color, creed, sex, or political, social or economic status.

Wed 2-16-49

Mr. McKenzie was under cross-examination all day yesterday. At first he seemed a somewhat reluctant witness, answering slowly and cautiously. Later in the day he appeared to gain confidence, and talked more easily, looking the defense lawyer straight in the eye across the rail from the witness box. He is a middle-aged man with black hair graying at the temples, and has been jury clerk since 1940.

The four "colored" lists containing fifty-two names were put in evidence after Mr. McKenzie identified them among papers subpoenaed from his office by the defense. The first list contained the names of thirteen men with Harlem addresses, mostly business and professional men, and was marked "colored list" at the top of the page and "Returnable March 7, 1941" at the bottom.

Five names were followed by the letter "E," meaning eligible for jury duty, and one with the letter "D," meaning deferred or disqualified, according to the witness. There was a notation: "Kindly send for the above."

Mr. McKenzie said this list was not made up by his office but was submitted by some one with the suggestion that those listed would make qualified jurors. He said he had no record or recollection of who submitted the list.

He said the three other lists came to him from the Federal Grand Jury Association. One was dated June 2, 1941, and contained a note at the top that it had been submitted to that association by some person whose identity did not appear. This lead was headed, "colored women," and contained the names of four Harlem welfare workers.

A third list, dated April 28, 1941, came from the Federal Grand Jury Association, was headed "colored persons" and contained the names of thirty-one men. These included Lester Granger of the Negro Urban League; Henry K. Craft, executive secretary of the Harlem branch of the Y. M. C. A.; Lionel Barrow, president of the New York branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Others on the list included accountants, teachers, lawyers, physicians, business men, government officials, and the like.

The fourth list was dated June 17, 1941, was headed "colored persons—men," and came from the same association with the names of four men.

'Aura of Mystery' Decried

In the cross-examination Mr. Gordon, a broad-shouldered young war veteran, protested on behalf of the Government against an "aura of mystery" being thrown around the "colored" lists. He urged the witness be asked what was done with the lists. Mr. McKenzie then testified notices were sent to the Negroes listed to come in to the jury clerk's office for qualification as jurors.

The judge brought out that there was no way to tell from the lists themselves "how many Negro jurors there are and how many there are not." He also brought out that the witness had not "procured" the lists, but had merely "received" them when they were submitted to his office.

Mr. McKenzie said he had not received any list of recommendations from the Federal Grand Jury Association since 1943, but continued to receive letters from it submitted by individuals whom from time to time it suggests for jury duty.

Wed 2-16-49

Official records read by Mr. McKenzie showed 9,162 men and 1,358 women on the peti jury lists, and 1,946 and 237 women on the grand jury lists at the end of 1946.

In January, 1947, he said, 6,813 men and 1,664 women were available for petit jury service, and 1,844 men and 240 women for grand juries.

At the end of 1948 there were 8,868 men and 1,874 women on the petit jury lists and 1,852 men and 277 women on the grand jury lists.

Mr. McKenzie testified "Poor's Diroctory of Directors," "The Engineers' Directory," university and college alumni records and a special telephone dirtocry arranged by addresses, were used at times to help in making up jury lists. He denied "The Social Register" or "Who's Who in New York" were used.

Judge Medina denied a number of objections made by Mr. Gordon to the cross-examination on the grounds of irrelevancy. The judge said several times he did not understand the reason for certain lines of questioning, but that he wanted to give the defense considerable "latitude" and "fair opportunity" to develop its case.

Several times, however, he chided defense counsel for making "extravagant" charges for no apparent purpose except to rouse laughter or other reaction among the spectators. A number of these indicated their sympathy with the defendants. After twice directing Mr. Gladstein to desist from this without avail, the judge looked at him sternly and said:

"I may tell that you and your colleagues are determined to make these proceedings disorderly, but if you expect me to begin shouting at you or whacking with the gavel, you're not going to see me do it. But I ask you to cease."

Representatives of the American Labor party and the San Francisco chapter of the National Lawyers Guild asked the judge for permission to file briefs as "friends of the court." He indicated he would grant this if the papers were put in proper order.

The judge received a visit in his chambers from a delegation of nine women, including a Communist party official. He said they talked about women as jurors but he did not discuss the pending case with them.

Negro Housewife Heads Jury

Washington D.C.
Tri 3-18-49

Associated Press WIREPHOTO

MRS. THELMA DIAL, Negro housewife and parttime dressmaker, is foreman of a jury of five men and seven women chosen to try 11 American Communist leaders on conspiracy charges in New York

86 Are Excused As Jurors for 11 Reds' Trial

Herald Tribune
Wed 3-9-49

No Lawyers' Arguments for First Time; Defendants Assailed by a Talesman

New York N.Y.

By Walter Ar[illegible]

Eighty-six persons, eight of them women, were excused from sitting as jurors yesterday at the slow-moving trial of eleven Communist party leaders. Not a juror has been selected.

The talesmen asked to be excused after Judge Harold R. Medina told the panel of 170 that the trial, now in its eighth week in United States District Court would last "two months or more."

The entire day was devoted to the questioning of prospective jurors who wished to be excused and was notable for one other fact—it was the first time since the case began on Jan. 17 that the five defense attorneys made no arguments.

All eighty-six talesmen said that lengthy jury service would work a financial or personal hardship on them and one, Joseph Young, added he also wished to be excused "because of my absolute contempt of the individuals concerned."

Rebuked by Court

Judge Medina sternly excused Mr. Young, and warned the other talesmen against such outbursts.

"It is not proper for jurors to make such statements when they are being examined," he said. "It is not fair to the defendants and not fair to the governmnt. I will ask such a question concerning prejurice but you may merely answer in the affirmative or negative."

Wed 3-9-49

On the motion of United States Attorney John F. X. McGohey he ordered the remaining talesmen to "put that statement out of your mind." He added: "We have our American traditions to observe. Seeing that these defendants get a fair jury is our job."

Most of the other prospective jurors said their jobs would be threatened if they served more than two weeks. Two of these were Negroes, and one of them, R. Woodhouse, said he was superintendent of Stuyvesant Town.

One Scheduled to Marry

Some of the other reasons given were: Robert J. McKim said he had to prepare the annual report of his corporation; N. Culin, an architect, said he was in the middle of an important housing project; Wilbur Pyn said he was a translator o fOriental languages for the Federal Bureau of Investigation; Mrs. Edith Levy said she had to take care of her ninety-five-year-old mother-in-law, and Albert Lustig said he was scheduled to be married in April.

Thomas Murtha was the only juror questioned wh said he would be glad to serve "if the jury would not locked up for the duration

"I have become grevious fatigued by the work," he said, "and as soon as I feel able to do so we will return to the regular routine."

At the opening of trial Judge Medina announced that during the selection of jurors he would cut the court sessions a half hour at each end and start at 11 a. m. and finish at 4 p. m. daily.

TOP-RANKING AMERICAN COMMUNIST LEADERS leave federal court at New York Friday after being sentenced and fined. They were convicted of criminal conspiracy to teach the overthrow of the United States government by force. Clockwise, from left, are Henry Winston (hidden by wagon bars), Jacob Stachel, Carl Winter, Robert Thompson, Irving Potash, Benjamin J. Davis Jr., Eugene Dennis, Gilbert Green, John Williamson and Gus Hall. —WIREPHOTO by The Associated Press.

Conviction Of Reds Leaves Party Facing 'Fight For Life'

By ART EVERETT

NEW YORK, Oct. 15.—(AP)—Eleven of the nation's top Communist leaders were behind bars today with their Communist Party in America facing a fight for its life.

They were convicted yesterday as plotters of violent revolution against the country they professed to love.

The historic verdict, which defense lawyers said would be promptly appealed, cast a heavy shadow over the future of the Communist Party in this country.

Says Party Made Illegal

The Communist Daily Worker, of London, Eng., said the verdict has virtually made the party "illegal in the United States."

"For the first time in the history of the U. S.," said the Worker, "it has been declared a crime merely to be a member of the Communist Party."

However, the Communist Daily Worker, in New York, said the party "has not been outlawed" and that the American people would defend its "absolutely constitutional right" to continue to function.

In an editorial for its weekend edition, the Worker said that "pro-Fascist forces" would use the decision for "further assaults" on American liberties, and added: "The press is already saying that this verdict outlaws the Communist Party, but this is not true. All such talk is intended to frighten the people."

Underground Trek Denied

Miss Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, a party national committee member, denied that the verdict would drive Communists underground. She said the party will still operate as usual.

But some reaction in Washington was that the verdict put the party outside the confines of law. There also were demands for stronger crackdowns on communism.

Representative Harrison (D.), Virginia, of the House un-American activities committee, said the verdict confirmed that the "Communist Party is an illegal conspiracy."

Representative Velde (R.), Illinois, a member of the same committee, urged that the verdict spark a "crusade to wipe out forever the remaining forces of subversion and espionage" in the U. S.

Across Capitol Hill, Senators Mundt (R.), South Dakota, and Ferguson (R.), Michigan, were expected to use the verdict to try to pry through the Senate new Communist-registration laws in the next session.

U. S. Tribunal Has Final Say

But it appeared that the customary appeals would forestall the hour of decision for the Communist Party. The final say rests with the U. S. Supreme Court.

The verdict, conceived in the government's indictment of July 1948, and born in the labor of a historic and bitter nine-month trial, was perhaps destined to grow into one of the most important single decisions in American law.

The Smith Act, under which the 11 were tried, may come in for review by the Supreme Court. Passed in 1940, it makes it a crime to advocate the violent overthrow of the U. S. government.

Leveled at the 30-year-old Communist Party for the first time, the statute brought its leaders face to face with the possibility of up to 10 years each in prison and $10,000 fines.

They will hear their sentence next Friday.

Bail Refused by Court

Federal Judge Harold R. Medina refused them bail. They went to jail within the hour of their conviction.

The judge then sentenced their leader, Eugene Dennis, and their five lawyers to jail from 30 days to six months for contempt during the 39-week trial. The sentences begin Nov. 15.

Then the dapper, graying 61-year-old federal judge went to his Manhattan apartment for a martini and his first real rest in nine months. He said he had a vacation in mind.

"And I'm still glad I'm a judge," he said with a smile.

Meanwhile, the shaken Communists trained their heaviest verbal barrage on the verdict.

"Unless this verdict is reversed," said Dennis, who acted as his own attorney, ". . . it will have a devastating effect on the liberties and lives of millions of Americans . . ."

He called the trial a frameup and said "our party will continue as ever to function."

William Z. Foster, ailing chairman of the party, said his members were not "dismayed by this scandalous verdict." He added it will be fought in higher courts and before the "masses of the people."

Foster was to have been tried with the other 11 leaders. But illness prevented his trial at this time.

Foley Square Quiet

The tumult echoed across America. But in tiny Foley Square, a patch of green in downtown Manhattan, it was strangely quiet.

Foley Square is outside the federal courthouse where Judge Medina conducted the trial since last Jan. 17.

There, pro-Communist pickets frequently surged in mass protests, their voices raised in chants against judge and jury.

Inside yesterday, a Negro housewife, Mrs. Thelma Dial, stood before a packed courtroom in a breathless silence and said in low, tense tones:

"We find each and every one of the defendants guilty."

Her 10-word verdict beheaded the Communist Party in America, lopping off at one strike 11 men at its top.

Court Turns on Lawyers

Then, an instant later, Judge Medina, 61, his voice soft but his heart steeled by weeks of abuse, turned on the five lawyers for the defense and on Dennis.

One by one he ticked off for them sentences for contempt. His sudden action left the attorneys gasping for an instant before they broke into a chorus of vain protest.

The judge had promised to punish them during the trial days when he said they were wearing down his mind and body with their arguments.

John F. X. McGohey, the U. S. attorney who led the prosecution, built his case around the 1945 rebirth of the Communist Party in America. He said the defendants reshaped the party, dancing to Moscow's tune in a return to ideals of violence.

The party had been disbanded briefly and replaced by a Communist political association to help win the war.

McGohey was showed under telegrams of praise for his conduct of the trial. Among them was one from his big boss, Attorney General McGrath.

GUILTY AS CHARGED—These 11 top-ranking Communists of the United States were found guilty today of conspiring to teach violent overthrow of the government. From left to right (front) are: Robert Thompson, Henry Winston, Eugene Dennis, Gus Hall, and John Williamson. At rear: Jacob Stachel, Irving Potash, Carl Winter, Benjamin Davis, John Gates and Gilbert Green. They are pictured in New York. (Associated Press wirephoto.)

11 Top R[illegible] Throws [illegible]

Commie Leaders Plotted To Teach Overthrow Of U.S.

BY JOSEPH MURPHY AND ED CREAGH

NEW YORK, Oct. 14—(AP)—Eleven top-ranking leaders of the American Communist Party were convicted today of conspiring to teach the overthrow of the U. S. government.

Handcuffed, the defendants in the historic nine-month trial were hustled off to jail to await sentencing Monday from today. They face up to five years in prison and a $10,000 fine apiece.

In a dramatic sequel, Federal Judge Harold R. Medina found Defendant Eugene Dennis and five other lawyers guilty of criminal contempt for their courtroom conduct. He imposed jail sentences ranging from 30 days to six months.

* * *

COMMUNIST LEADERS promptly announced both the conspiracy convictions and the contempt sentences would be appealed.

They also declared the Communist Party "will continue as ever to function, increasing its fight in the interests of the working people, carrying to the nation its message of peace, freedom and social progress."

Besides Dennis the defendants in the trial were:

Jacob Stachel, 48, director of the propaganda and education division.

Gilbert Green, 43, Illinois chairman.

John Gates, 36, editor of The Daily Worker.

Benjamin Davis, Jr., 46, New York City councilman.

[illegible] City councilman.

Gus Hall, 39, Ohio Chairman.

Irving Potash, 46, CIO Fur Workers Union official.

Robert Thompson, 34, New York state chairman.

John Williamson, 45, labor secretary.

Henry Winston, 38, organizational secretary.

Carl Winter, 43, Michigan chairman.

Prosecutors estimated that the trial, which began last Jan. 17 and was one of the longest criminal trials in American history, cost the government $1,000,000. The cost to the defense was estimated at $500,000.

THE JURY OF EIGHT women and four men, receiving the case late yesterday, returned its verdict at 11:28 a.m. (EST) after seven hours' deliberation.

To a tense, packed courtroom, the Negro foreman, Mrs. Thelma Dial, announced:

"We find each and every one of the defendants guilty."

There was a moment of dead silence.

Not one of the defendants showed a sign of expression.

Harry Sacher, one of the defense lawyers, demanded that each juror be polled on the verdict for each defendant.

Wearily, Judge Medina—who has sat rocking behind his high bench for month after month of wrangling and speech-making—gave his consent.

The jury was polled: "Guilty . . . guilty . . . guilty"—until it sounded like a dirge.

* * *

THEN IT WAS MEDINA'S turn.

One by one, with little show of the anger that has boiled in him repeatedly, he told the defense lawyers that their hour of reckoning had come.

He accused them of wilfully obstructing the progress of the trial by constant arguments and interruptions—"working in shifts," he declared, "accompanied by shouting, snickering and sneering."

Sacher he ordered jailed six months. The same sentence was imposed on Richard F. Gladstein, of Francisco, and on Dennis, who has acted as his own lawyer.

George W. Crockett, Jr., a Negro, of Detroit, drew four months; as did Abraham J. Isserman, of New York. The lightest sentence, 30 days, went to Louis F. McCabe, of Philadelphia.

All the lawyers objected strenuously. Sacher declared that the sentences "can only have the effect of intimidating the bar of America."

But their arguments were of no avail.

When it was all over, the Communist bigwigs were handcuffed in pairs, loaded into a van with three other federal prisoners—Italian stowaways—and whisked off to the federal house of detention.

They were silent, but even before the verdict was given they had drawn up a statement as though anticipating that the word would be "guilty."

* * *

DECLARING THE COMMUNIST Party would continue its activities, they said the verdict "comes because the Truman administration and its Republican allies, obeying their Wall Street masters, are determined to dragoon the nation onto the path of a war for profit."

And they added: "The infamous verdict of this Hitler-like trial will, of course, be promptly appealed to the higher courts."

In Washington, there was applause on the House floor when Rep. Quinn (D., N. Y.), announced that the 11 had been convicted.

"The verdict firmly established the fact that the Communist Party has for its purpose the overthrow of the government by force and violence," Quinn said.

And Atty. Gen. McGrath, at the Justice Department, called the verdict "gratifying."

Throughout the trial, U. S. Atty. John F. X. McGohey contended that the Communist Party was reorganized in 1945 on orders from Moscow as a secret conspiracy to undermine and overthrown the U. S. government.

The defense was that the Communists from a legitimate political organization working for the establishment of socialism by legal means.

William Z. Foster, chairman of the Communist Party, is to be tried on the conspiracy charge later.

He was indicted with the 11 others but was granted a postponement on grounds of a heart condition.

5 WOMEN PLACED ON TENTATIVE JURY IN COMMUNIST TRIAL

New York Times

Group Drawn by Lot Negro Who Will BE Foreman if She Is Not Replaced

N. Y. N. Y Thur. 3-10-49

2 MEN EXCUSED FOR BIAS

Page 1

Composition of Body Subject to Change Under Challenges, Examination by Court

By Russell Porter

A tentative jury was chosen by lot yesterday in the trial of the eleven Communists, but is composition is subject to change under examination by the court and challenge by opposing counsel.

Two of the twelve members were excused after admitting they might be unable to give an impartial verdict, one because he was a member of certain Catholic organizations and the other because he knew two of the grand jurors who indicted the Communists.

After the two were replaced, the jury box contained seven men and five women, including a Negro woman as Juror No. 1, whose card fell first from the jury wheel. If she remains on the jury she will be the foreman.

Federal Judge Harold R. Medina directed the prospective jurors to keep their minds opens and free from bias. He urged them to search their minds and tell him anything that might make it impossible for them to be fair.

The judge spent all day questioning the prospective jurors as to whether they had any prejudice for or against the prosecution or with conspiracy to orgainze the present Communist party in 1945 to advoate the overthrow and destruction of the Government by force and violence.

When court was adjourned until this morning, the tentative jurors in the box were:

Mrs. Thelma Dial of 545 Edgecombe Avenue, housewife and former dressmaker, whose husband is a musician. Mrs. Dial's name was the first one drawn.

Mrs. Martha E. Walker of 347 West Seventeeth Street, housewife and former clerk, whose husband is a chauffeur for the Socony-Vacuum Company.

Robert Von Goeben of 117 Edgemont Avenue, Scarsdale, accountant of 50 Broad Street.

Edward R. Hallquist of 445 West Twenty-third Street, salesman for the Bigelow Sanford Carpet Company, 140 Madison Avenue.

Mrs. Myrtle Fensterheim of 1478 Walton Avenue, the Bronx, housewife, whose husband is a Post Office clerk.

Robert Wright of 395 Oliver Place, the Bronx, a service man for the Consolidated Edison Company.

Charles Zulanch of 1130 Colgate Avenue, the Bronx, unemployed,

Henry E. Allen of 110 East Eighty-seventh Street, an unemployed industrial engineer.

Edward P. Nelson of 2253 University Avenue, the Bronx, an engineer with the Western Electric Company at Kearny, N. J.

Mrs. Mollie Singer of 1014 College Avenue, the Bronx, wife of a chauffeur.

Hannibal K. Kerr of 49 East Seventy-eighth Street, retired stock broker. Thur 3-10-49

Mrs. Gertrude Corwin of 350 West Fifty-seventh Street, housewife, whose husband is a salesman.

Not Jury the Defense Pictured

The prospective jury did not conform to the picture of a typical jury in this Federal district painted by defense counsel in their futile seven-week attack on the jury system that ended last week. According to the Communists, the Federal jury system excludes women, Negroes, manual workers, poor people and Jews in favor of "the rich, propertied and well-to-do" residents of Park Avenue and similar neighborhoods.

After the court finishes its sifting of the panel, both the prosecution and defense counsel will be able to challenge individual occupants of the jury box. The defense has ten peremptory challenges, the prosecution six.

The two persons excused from the jury box were Raymond P. Reese Jr. and Thomas Johnston. Mr. Reese said he knew Andrew Coakley, Columbia University baseball coach, and Benjamin Brush of New Rochelle, who were members of the grand jury that indicted the Communists. Mr. Johnston said he formerly belonged to the Holy Name Society, and now belongs to another Catholic organization.

Mr. Reese was replaced in the jury box by Mrs. Singer and Mr. Johnston by Mr. Nelson.

The twelve who were seated in the jury box were chosen from eighty prospective jurors who filled the part of the court room ordinarily reserved for spectators. William J. Borman, clerk of the court, turned the wheel in its six-sided, dark wooden box on his desk in front of the bench.

As the white cards, a little larger than ordinary business cards, dropped out on his desk, he read off the names. Those drawn came up to the front of the room and stepped up into the jury box.

When twelve were in the box, all looking very serious and conscious of the historic nature of the occasion, Judge Medina began the questionin. He first asked whether any juror know or had had any dealings with the defendants, their lawyers, the Government's legal staff, or members of their families.

Fail to Recognize Lawyers

United States Attorney John F. X. McGohey and his four assistants, seven of the eleven defense lawyers who were present in court, and all eleven defendants stood up so that the jurors could get a good look at them. This was done at the direction of the court. None of the jurors recognized any of them.

A similar question. with similar results, was asked about a group of lawyers who have appeared for various Communist clients from time to time.

The judge also read lists of several hundred names of individuals, organizations and publications, some submitted by the prosecution and some by the defense, to find out whether prospective jurors knew the mor had had dealings with them. Except for Mr. Reese and Mr. Johnston, none of the prospective jurors said they had any such connections as would affect their judgment.

Some of the persons whose names were on the lists may appear as witnesses in the trial. The lists included names of Communists, fellow-travelers, former Communists, anti-Communist labor leaders, Trotskyites, Socialists; Communist and Communist front organizations, veterans and patriotic organizations, religious and business groups; pro-Communist and anti-Communist newspapers, magazines and books.

Those who had served in the armed forces said this did not result in and bias. So did several who had had Government jobs in the past, most of them as post-office clerks.

The judge read the indictment to the jurors and emphasized the defendants were not charged merely with being Communists or members of the Communist party or with guilt by association, but with specific conspiracy to violate the Smith Act. He read parts of the Smith Act and asked if any jurors had any prejudice against that

Names Submitted by U. S. Among the names on a list submitted by the Government were those of Whittaker Chambers and Elizabeth T. Bentley, confessed former couriers for Communist spy rings; Alger Hiss, former State Department official indicted for perjury in connection with the Chambers espionage case; Gerhardt Eisler, alleged former chief Soviet agent in this country; Earl Browder, former head of the Communist party in the United States; Representative Vito Marcantonio of New York, who testified for the Communists in the challenge to the jury system, and J. V. Peters, also known as Alexander Stevens, a leading Soviet agent in America.

A list of names submitted by the defense included those of Louis F. Budenz, former editor of The Daily Worker, who became a Catholic in 1945 and joined the Fordham University faculty; Benjamin Gitlow, former head of the Communist party, who has broken with it; A. A. Berle Jr., former Assistant Secretary of State, now chairman of the Liberal party; Michael J. Quill, president of the Transport Workers Union, CIO, and Joseph Curran, president of the National Maritime Union, CIO.

Mr. Kerr of the tentative jury recognized the name of Frederick V. Field on the Government's list of persons with Communist affiliations and said he was a friend of the Field family but this would not affect his judgment.

Some jurors said they belonged to the American Legion, the Liberty and Americans for Democratic Action, all of which were on the list, but this did not preju-

law. Not admitted any.

Judge Medina told the jurors not to read newspaper or other articles about the trial, listen to the radio about it, or talk about it, but to keep their minds like a clean "sheet of paper" until they hear the evidence. Defendans must be presumed innocent, he added, until their guilt is established beyond reasonable doubt.

Picketing of the courthouse by Communists and their sympathizers continued while the jury was being selected. The pickets carried signs attacking "rigged" juries and demanding the dismissal of the indictment.

TAKE PROTEST TO JUDGE MEDINA

A delegation from the New York County Commmunist Party protests to Federal Judge Harold Medina his refusal to accept a deposition from ailing Communist national chairman William Z. Foster. Left to right: Ben Simonowski, press director; Armando Roman, waterfront organization secretary; Mercedes Arroya, Lower Harlem organizer; Josh Lawrence, waterfront organizer; Juan Emmanuelli, editor, "Liberacion"; Esther Cantor, legislative director; Everett Thomas, Harley youth director, and Herbert Wheeldin, Harlem region organizer. —Daily Worker photo by Peter

Reds Planned Negro Nation In South, Court Is Told

By the Associated Press.

New York, April 18.—A Georgia Negro who said he was trained in Moscow testified today that a Negro nation was to have been forged from America's Deep South by the flames of violent revolution.

William O'Dell Nowell, a U. S. Government employee, told a jury at the conspiracy trial of 11 top Communists that he once was a student of revolution at the feet of party leaders in Russia.

There, he said, Red Army instructors schooled him in "the science of civil warfare."

Other instructors, he testified, lectured on "the violent overthrow of the capitalistic system and the establishment of a proletarian dictatorship."

Objected to Movement.

Out of this blood bath, Howell said, was to come a new Negro nation, conceived in violence and dedicated to etxending the Communist revolution throughout the United States.

It was to extend from Virginia to the Mississippi delta, Nowell said—the "black belt of the South," where Communists claimed Negroes were in the majority.

"The revolution in the South," the witness went on in a hushed federal courtroom, "would aid the Northern industrial workers in bringing about revolution in the North and hence throughout the whole country."

Nowell told Federal Judge Harold R. Medina and a jury:

"I objected to this segregation movement because it would isolate the Negro in the South and use him as a tool to create revolution in the United States and because it would sacrifice these unsuspecting people, as they had the least understanding."

Taught At Lenin Institute.

The prosecution sent Nowell to the stand as the trial entered its fourth month. He is an employee of the Federal Immigration and Naturalization Service in Washington.

He said the theory of the Negro state was taught to him at the Lenin Institute in Moscow. The party in the U. S. approved the Negro state in theory at a 1930 convention in New York, he added.

Nowell said he joined the party in Detroit in 1929 when an employee of the Ford Motor Company. His unit was not an "open" one, he said, and was made up of Ford employees.

The defense objected strenuously to Nowell's testimony. Attorneys argued that the events he described took place years before the period covered by the indictments, which begins in 1945.

Says Stachel Headed Group.

However, Judge Medina told the witness to continue.

Nowell said he first went to Moscow in 1929 as an official representative of the American Communist Party. He attended an anniversary celebration of the Russian revolution.

In 1931, he testified, he went back again to attend the Lenin Institute. He said Jacob Stachel, one of the 11 defendants, headed his group of students.

Another defendant, Irving Potash, shepherded his group aboard ship and told them "not to use our correct names and not to visit back and forth in the staterooms," Howell added.

In London, Nowell said, Potash told the group "not to appear in indoor crowds . . . not to go about in groups, not to use our proper names, and told us to be in at a reasonable hour."

Met Eisler In Moscow.

At the Lenin Institute in Moscow, Nowell continued, he met Clarence Hathaway, onetime editor of The Daily Worker; Gerhart Eisler, currently facing deportation proceedings in this country, and others.

A fellow student at the institute, the witness said, was Gus Hall, another defendant who is Communist Party chairman in Ohio.

As a tune-up for the Moscow classes, Nowell testified, he attended a three-week Communist Party school in Detroit in 1930.

One of the teachers, he said, was Stachel, who "lectured on the Negro question."

The 11 Communist leaders are accused of organizing the party in the U. S. in 1945 to advocate the violent overthrow of the Government.

Quit Party In 1936.

Nowell said he was attacked at a party convention in Cleveland in 1934 for criticizing Communist tactics "in trying to use the Negro people."

He was ousted as a member of the Detroit district bureau of the party, he said, and as a member of the Detroit district secretariat.

The 44-year-old, Georgia-born Negro said he later took charge of the Detroit chapter of the National Negro Congress.

He said he quit the party entirely in 1936.

Judge Medina refused to delay cross-examination and the defense began putting questions to Nowell before court adjourned for the day.

Nowell, who said he had been a resident of Detroit since he was 18, told of getting his Washington job four months ago without having to take an examination.

Beware Of Communist Dominated Unions Negro Labor Leader Warns

BY ROBERT W. KINCEY
News Staff Writer

A nationally-known Negro labor leader admonished a mass meeting at Bessemer last night that white and Negro alike must work together to build a better America for all.

Such objection, communism. The Communists want the to create these conditions all over the world in order to take advantage on frustration, of them and destroy those nations that stand for peace, equal opportunity for all, the freedom of the individual, the dignity of man and freedom of religion."

The T. C. I. red ore workers voted in favor of representation by the Steelworkers after a bitter fight in which their former union, the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, was accused of being Communist dominated

bor organizations are interested in the Marshall plan. Such objection, communism. The Communists want fighting his problem and are at the said, was to create these conditions all over tempting to bring him 'a new free-for-all' on the world in order to take advantage of the poor people, on frustration, dom. poverty of people, of them and destroy those nations that stand for peace, equal and on dissention. opportunity for all, the freedom of man

He warned that the nation's workers, and especially the Negroes, are treading upon dangerous grounds when they follow the false and hollow doctrines from abroad; that only in a free American labor movement lies their economic salvation.

"Rarely does the average worker, white or Negro, understand that the Communist Party's interest is not a local interest nor a community interest but is, in fact, an attempt to carryout the foreign policy of the Soviet Union."

"These Communists in the labor movement," he declared, "did not tell the American worker that the spending of $5,000,000,000 to $6,000,000 a year for aid to war-torn countries not only helped the poor people who were victims of the war, but gave direct help to American working men in that it stepped up production and provided a continuation of full employment."

* * *

THE SPEAKER WAS Willard Townsend, top-ranking official of the CIO, international president of the Transport Service Employes and a member of the CIO executive board.

There are, Townsend said, people in our own communities representing organizations whose sole aim is to confuse and play one against the other as pawns in a game of international intrigue.

And he bluntly described them as members of the Communist Party.

"The Negro worker is particular," Townsend said, "has been led to believe that Communist-dominated la-

* * *

THE FUTURE OF TRADE unions, the speaker said, go far beyond personal grievances of white and Negro workers.

"Not that these grievances are not important, not that they do not deserve consideration and just settlement, but the question that faces us when the Communist Party knocks at our door, is whether it is worth risking destruction of our democratic land with all the hope it holds out to every citizen on the chance that means loss of freedom, denial of the dignity of man, even, of Christianity."

* * *

TOWNSEND ROUNDLY scored opposition by the Communists of aid to the European nations through

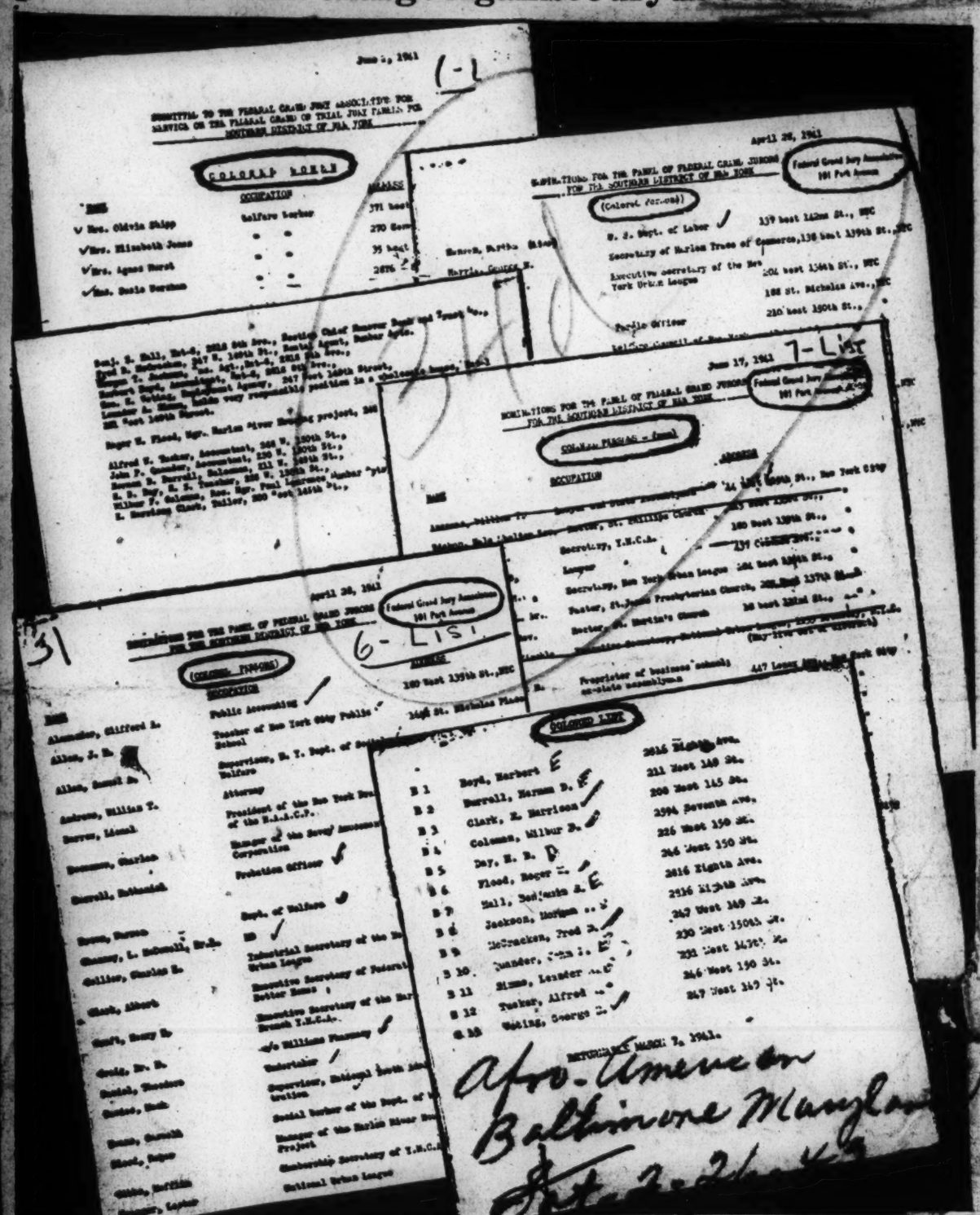
* * *

TOWNSEND TOLD his listeners them red ore miners who the United Steelworkers ent election in which steel en as the bargaining representative of some 5,000 T. C. I. red ore workers that:

"The Communists' opposition to the Marshall plan and their running of Henry Wallace for president were part of a well-organized plan directed from Moscow.

"Only when people are hungry, oppressed and frustrated do they embrace the false doctrines of

Special Lists Back Charge Against Jury in Communist Trial



These lists of colored persons qualified for Federal jury duty in New York were brought in as evidence by the defense in the trial of 12 leading Communists in New York City last week. Two of the Communists are Benjamin Davis, New York City Councilman, and Henry Winston, Communist organizer. Their lawyers say that the indictments against the 12 Communists ought to be dismissed, because colored people and members of certain political groups are not called to serve on the jury which issued the indictments. The lawyers offered the lists above to show that Joseph F. McKenzie, a jury clerk, segregated the names of colored people who could serve. Mr. McKenzie admitted that in 1947 and 1948 he did not call a single person from Harlem to serve on the jury, although jury notices were sent to over 7,000 persons in the three richest white districts in Manhattan. Sat-2-26-49

Smearing Negroes

Black Dispatch, Oklahoma City, Okla.

The government trial of twelve Communists in New York City takes on a sinister and misleading aspect when attempt is made to show that there is a clear and present danger of a Negro uprising in the South, but this is exactly the picture drawn before the American public when witnesses such as William O'Dell Nowell are placed upon the stand who testify to such fantasies and wild rumors having no basis in fact. 4-30-49

It is the impression of the Black Dispatch that a number of persons just now are capitalizing upon good government jobs and in industry by telling of former membership in the Communist party and fabricating a tissue of lies, which in this latest instance will do the Negro great damage. Communists launched an ambitious campaign in the South some ten or fifteen years ago, and they preached the gospel of racial equality and fair play, a point where the black citizen is most vulnerable, because of the reactionary South. But despite this fact the Communist party made slight progress in organizing Negroes. At the present time Communist organization in the South is at its lowest ebb.

Despite this fact, in its frantic effort to convict twelve Communists, government witnesses drag out before the public gaze at this late date a futile progra mof Communist effort that has been buried and in the grave for a decade. They paint a lurid, false picture of Negroes fashioned out of pure fiction. 4-30-49

We believe the United Negro and Allied Veterans of America struck the bull's-eye of logic and reason last week when they issued the following statement:

"We, the United Negro and Allied Veterans of America, view with grave concern the testimony of the Negro witness, William O'Dell Nowell, Tuesday, Auril 19, 1949, in the trials of the 12 Communist leaders in New York City.

"It has been a common practice of American big business to coerce and to intimidate the Negro people and labor by hiring stooges, strike-breakers and scabs to prevent the Negro people and labor from fully realizing their democratic rights.

"The Negro people have a stake in the trial of the 12 Communist leaders: One of the defendants is Henry Winston, an honorably discharged veteran of World War II, and another, Ben Davis is an outstanding attorney and New York City councilman, both of whom have been and are still in the forefront of the struggle for the rights of Negro veterans and the Negro people. 4-30-49

"While the Negro people continue to be persecuted through jim crow, police brutality and lynching, the government seeks to use Negroes as stooges, requiring them to give testimony which will intensify the persecution of Negroes in the United States, which is comparable to persecution of the Jews in Germany under Hitler.

"We demand that the mock trial of the 12 Communists be terminated, and the expense and energy be used for the purpose of tracking down lynchers, police brutalizers, and the Ku Klux Klan.

"UNAVA invites all organizations, Negro and white, to join in this protest, through resolutions, letters and telegrams to the President and Attorney General of the United States."

Three Communists Jailed

New York Herald Tribune

While the Hiss trial was proceeding swiftly in the United States District Court in New York, another trial in the same building was dragging along in its sixth month. Eleven leaders of the American Communist party were being tried before Judge Harold R. Medina on charges of preaching the overthrow of the government.

The Communists and their attorneys have resorted since the beginning of the trial in January to tactics of delay, befuddlement and disorder, apparently with the idea of making a mockery of the American judicial system. Judge Medina has been resolutely patient with them. On Friday, however, he cracked down. New York, N.Y.

Another defendant, Henry Winston, there he would let the attorneys do as they pleased in court that the trial was and deal with them afterward.

One of the defendants, John Gates, editor of "The Daily Worker," refused to answer upon shouted in "a monstrosity." Judge Medina sentenced a question as to the authors of an inflammatory Communist pamphlet directed to him to jail for the duration of the trial. A third defendant, Gus Hall, yelled that this was "like a kangaroo court." The judge sentenced him to jail for the duration. Eugene Dennis, general secretary of the Communist party, tried to make himself a martyr, too, but the judge refused to jail him because he was acting as his own counsel. Medina said he would let the defendants out of jail if they promised to behave themselves. Dennis said he would not promise. Gates, who worked in private industry and he would not be a stool pigeon. Judge Medina directed him to answer, and Gates still refused. The judge then sentenced him to thirty days in jail. Jan. 5-49

Eleven Guilty Communists

The defendants naturally will appeal to the United States Supreme Court. Probably they welcome this decision and opportunity. The Federal Court judgment undoubtedly will affect the life of the Communist Party of the United States. Judgment which may be rendered by the high court could have an effect still greater, still more likely to approach conclusiveness. Of course, no judgment is wholly conclusive, for any court may reverse itself in later years.

This is a case which deserves and undoubtedly will receive the most meticulous study by legal scholars. It may be expected that it will become a classic case for study by law students, and certainly by their tutors. In time we should have available detailed opinions of legal experts. Formulation of new facets to the concept of free speech, to the concept of justifiable restriction on that right, again may be in progress.

It needs no emphasis here that the jury's decision is welcome to Americans generally. There is, however, need for us to consider the terribly precious twilight area which we now may see perhaps being entered crucially. The Supreme Court may make it clear whether this judgment is merely in conformity with previous rulings, whether it is, in essence, a free speech issue, whether it concerns that issue at all. Undoubtedly legal scholars will go deeply into the question.

This verdict is a real and may be considered, in its ultimate effect, an intended warning of this federal government to the Soviet Union that, while laws of our country are intended to assure the fullest freedom, they are not to be considered guarantees permitting any and every practice a foreign power may seek to direct within our borders under the protection of our own covenants providing for human liberty.

Judge Medina's long and grueling ordeal is over. The jury in his Federal Court announced yesterday that it had found "each and every one" of the 11 defendants guilty. Sentence is to be pronounced on the Communists next Friday.

Judge Medina moved swiftly, as soon as the verdict was announced, to find five of the Communists' lawyers guilty of criminal contempt. He promptly sentenced them to jail terms of from 30 days to six months.

The judge had put up with much. He had held himself in an amazingly close check. The lawyers' actions on which he based criminal contempt citations occurred at various and frequent times during the long 39-week trial. His private election to withhold the citations was an extended act of fairness. He sought to make it absolutely clear during the conduct of the trial that every opportunity was open to the defense. He did not want such citations in the court's record for jury consideration directly or indirectly. Such restraint was, of course, typical of the judge's many evidences of intent to stay beyond any reasonable criticism. He is well beyond it.

* * *

The 11 Communists were found guilty of conspiring to teach overthrow of the United States government by force. That had been the whole issue, of course. Judge Medina in his instruction to the jury had emphasized that no "ism" was on trial. Men were on trial not for party membership, but for individual actions of conspiracy directed toward one unlawful end.

It was the job of the jury to determine whether that purpose had been established—that there was conspiracy, that it was toward the end of violent overthrow of this government.

11 Reds File Appeal Plea

Formal Motions Made After Sentence Passed

NEW YORK, Oct. 22 (AP)—For a trifling $5 apiece, America's 11 convicted Communist leaders last night bought back a slim chance for freedom.

They were sentenced to prison yesterday by Federal Judge Harold R. Medina. Their terms range from five years for 10 of the men, to three years for the 11th. All were fined $10,000 each.

They spent more than $500,000 fighting conviction during their nine months trial for conspiracy to advocate overthrow of the U. S. government.

Then they launched an appeal, asking from the same government they so loudly criticized all the legal rights of review that the U. S. offers any condemned man.

Headed For High Court

Their formal motions for appeal appear headed for the U. S. Supreme Court. But it may be months—conceivably years—before the high court gets the case. Normally the U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals reviews the case first.

As each motion for appeal was filed last night, a $5 fee was paid in accordance with the law.

Their last ditch fight for freedom began less than an hour after Federal Judge Harold R. Medina gave them the maximum punishment for their crime.

Medina spared only one. He was Robert G. Thompson, who got off with three years instead of five. The 34-year-old New York State Communist chairman won the Distinguished Service Cross for gallantry as a U. S. Army sergeant in the Pacific war. Judge Medina eased his penalty because of this war record.

Judge Medina refused all pleas for bail when they asked their freedom while their cases are appealed. He has kept the 11 behind bars since they were convicted Oct. 14. He sent them back to federal detention cells after they were sentenced in the tense hush of his packed courtroom.

His action set a great crowd of more than 1,000 demonstrators outside the federal courthouse to chanting "we want bail—we want bail."

Guilty Of Conspiracy

The conviction of 11 Communist leaders in New York on Friday presumably inaugurates a sweeping new policy of dealing with men who conspire to destroy our democratic system by force and violence. For many years such groups have been permitted to operate with little molestation on the theory that freedom is the best bulwark of freedom. Now the foremost conspirators, convicted of organizing the Communist Party to teach and advocate the overthrow of the Government with the evil intent of bringing about its destruction, are probably on their way to prison. In the present context of world affairs, the Administration is no longer willing to permit a tightly organized and conspiratorial agency, drawing its inspiration and a large measure of its strength from the Soviet Union, to operate freely within our "marketplace of ideas."

It is not yet possible to determine the full meaning of the new policy, and it probably will not be for several months to come. The Communist leaders have been convicted under the Smith Act, which forbids conspiracy knowingly or willfully to organize a group or society of persons who advocate destruction of the Government by violence. The constitutionality of this act is yet to be tested before the Supreme Court. Its wisdom in actual practice is yet to be established. Final judgment as to the new policy may well be reserved, therefore, until its consequences may be seen in better perspective. Meanwhile, however, there will be widespread satisfaction that the Department of Justice presented its case against the Communist leaders so ably and thoroughly and that our process of justice has been so scrupulous in disentangling the crime of conspiring to teach overthrow of the Government from the civil liberties that we all cherish.

It is of the utmost importance that the people understand what Judge Medina and the jury in his court have done and what they did not do. The Communist Party was not on trial; nor were its teachings, literature or the rank and file of its members. Judge Medina made it unmistakably clear that under our system of law guilt is personal and that none of the defendants should be found guilty merely by reason of the fact that he was a member of the Communist Party. It follows that the Communist Party was not outlawed. Indeed, the Communist Party appears to have been left free to carry out all of the peaceful objectives that its leaders outlined at such great length at the trial.

The judge was also at pains to point out that the Smith Act "does not prohibit the teaching or advocacy of peaceful change in our social, economic or political institutions, no matter how fundamental or far-reaching or drastic such proposals may be." Unless a minority has the right to express its views, he said at another point, "the democratic process as we understand it here in America would cease to exist." Consequently, he charged the jury that "if the defendants did no more than pursue peaceful studies and discussions or teaching and advocacy in the realm of ideas, you must acquit them." The guilty verdict was reached only because the teachings and activities of these men were tainted by the intent of destroying the Government by force. The jury found that they had taken advantage of American freedom to promote a criminal conspiracy.

Some fear is being expressed that the verdict will drive the Communist Party into wholly secret operations. We should not forget that its activities, like an iceberg at sea, are already largely submerged. The trial brought forth an abundance of evidence about secret schools, false names, devious ways and general falsification as to Communist aims and activities. All this was supplemented by Aesopian language or double talk designed to keep the public from understanding what the party hierarchy has been up to.

Judge Medina drew a sharp distinction between the charges against the Communist leaders and the teaching of a university course on the principles and implications of communism. In one instance we have open, frank and democratic discussion characteristic of a free society. In the other we have secret plotting to destroy freedom and usher in dictatorship by violent methods. It was partly because the Communist leaders were operating in the dark that the case was brought and that a verdict of guilty has been returned. We think the central fact to remember is that a blow has been struck, in a trial of scrupulous fairness, at a conspiracy operating underground. If prosecutions under the Smith Act go no further than this, it is difficult to see that any constitutional rights will be abridged.

11 Top U. S. Communists Convicted Of Conspiracy; 5 Of Their Lawyers Jailed

Sentence To Be Passed Next Friday With Maximum Penalty Of 10 Years In Prison And $10,000 Fine Each

NEW YORK, Oct. 14—(AP)—Eleven of America's top Communists were convicted today of a plot to advocate violent revolution in the United States.

They were handcuffed, hustled into a guarded van and whisked off to jail within an hour to await sentence next Friday. They face maximums of 10 years in prison and a $10,000 fine each.

A jury reached its guilty verdict in seven hours.

Before the stunning impact of the verdict wore off, Federal Judge Harold R. Medina grimly turned to the five defense attorneys and the top defendant, Eugene Dennis, who argued his own case, and sentenced each to jail for contempt during the nine-months trial.

The court ordered the lawyers to begin on Nov. 15 terms varying from 30 days to six months.

It was a dramatic ending to a stormy, bitter trial, perhaps the longest federal criminal case in American history.

Five defendants went to jail for contempt at one time or another as Judge Medina strove to halt wrangling that he said threatened his health and his reason.

Amid the 39 weeks of turmoil, Judge Medina never used his gavel once. But when things got out of hand he called on U. S. marshals to bring order to his first-floor courtroom.

He accused the defense lawyers today of "working in shifts to badger the court."

Also working in shifts outside on many a day of the trial were noisy pro-Communist pickets. They reviled Medina and American justice with slogans and placards. As late as last night, they still lingered in Foley Square where the courthouse stands.

Judge Medina refused a defense request to free the defendants on bail of $5,000. Eight have been free on such a bond. The other three have been behind bars during out-of-court hours since their bail was remanded

The jury's verdict and the court's action were a smashing one-two blow to the Communist party in America.

Defense Attorney Harry Sacher said the jury's verdict and Judge Medina's contempt sentences will be appealed. The U. S. Supreme Court will be the final judge.

The defendants were ready with a statement—prepared in advance of the verdict.

They blamed it on President Truman, Wall Street, the Republican party and war profiteers.

They said the Communist party would continue despite "the infamous verdict of this Hitler-like trial."

In Washington, congressmen applauded when the verdict was announced on the House floor.

Attorney General Tom Clark, now a Supreme Court justice, started the case in 1948 to try for a clear-cut court ruling that the Communist party in America was a revolutionary band.

Rep. Quinn (D-NY) said the verdict firmly establishes just that.

Attorney General McGrath called the outcome of the trial "gratifying." He would say no more although bombarded with questions about the long-run effect of the verdict.

Whether the verdict would give the government a lever to virtually outlaw the party remained to be seen.

Defense Attorney Richard Gladstein said the purpose of the verdict was to outlaw the Communist party in this country.

"What the effect will be depends on the American people," he added.

Another defense lawyer, George W. Crockett, Jr., said during the trial that its purpose was "to outlaw the Communist party."

However, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, a Communist national committeewoman, joined the defendants in pledging that the party "will operate as usual." She said it would not go underground.

For the first two months of the trial, perhaps the longest federal criminal case in history, the defense argued that the cards were stacked against it. Negroes and other minorities had little chance to get on the jury, they said.

Today it was a Negro, Mrs. Thelma Dial, who pronounced their fate.

She led the jury into the crowded, tense courtroom at 10:27 a.m. (CST) after seven hours of deliberations. The case went to the eight women and four men at 2:53 p.m. yesterday.

"Madame Foreman, have you reached a verdict?" asked Court Clerk William Borman.

"Yes," said Mrs. Dial in a low voice.

"How do you find?"

"We find each and every one of the defendants guilty," she replied.

Silence gripped the courtroom. The defendants gave no show of emotion.

Robeson Group Maps Program To Aid 11 Reds

Protest Is Planned To U. N. Committee

New York, Oct. 17 (AP)—A group including singer Paul Robeson and novelist Howard Fast announced today a three-point program of aid to the 11 Communist Party leaders who have been convicted of plotting against the U. S. Government.

Their program, announced at a news conference, includes:

1. A protest, to be delivered in person, to the United Nations Commission on Human Rights.

2. Raising funds for bail should the convicted men be admitted to bail.

3. An attempt to get assurance from U. S. Attorney General J. Howard McGrath that no political party will be driven underground.

The group is known as the Nonpartisan Committee to Defend the Rights of the 12 Communist Leaders. William Z. Foster, indicted with the others, but not yet tried, is the 12th party leader.

Sidesteps Query on Russia.

Besides Robeson and Fast, those at the news conference were O. John Rogge, attorney and supporter of Henry A. Wallace, and Paul Ross, vice-chairman of the American Labor Party.

Robeson called the Communists' trial "American Fascism's effort to take over the world as Hitler did."

A reporter asked if a Communist would get more justice in America than a capitalist would get in Russia.

"That has nothing to do with this situation," the Negro baritone replied.

Earlier, Foster said his party "will continue to function as an American working-class political party" despite the conviction of the 11 leaders.

'That Gang' Wants Hoover, Clark Fired; Red Robeson Rants

NEW YORK, July 18—(AP)—Rep. Vito Marcantonio told a "bill of rights" conference yesterday the indictment of the eleven top Communist leaders now on trial here was a "vote-getting proposition."

The left-wing American Labor Party congressmen from New York City devoted much of his speech to an attack on President Truman.

The sponsors included Henry A. Wallace, Progressive Party president nominee last year, and Paul Robeson, the Negro singer.

The 1,300 conference delegates from 33 states were invited to join a "national picketline" outside the Federal Building today to demand the release of three of the 11 Communist leaders who are being kept in jail between court sessions.

The three — Gilbert Green, Gus Hall and Henry Winston—lost their freedom on bail for contemptuous conduct in court.

The 11 Reds are on trial on charges of conspiracy to advocate overthrow of the government by force and violence.

SAYING THE CURRENT CONGRESS has not passed "a single piece of civil rights legislation," Marcantonio declared: "And this from Harry Truman and his party—I withdraw the word—Harry Truman and his gang."

Robeson told the conference "we Negro people, we Progressives, we Communists, we little people" will be in the forefront of the "struggle of the American people—the people who are losing their rights."

He said "we're going to reach out for some of this great land that belongs in the hands of the American people. We have found a weapon with which to fight." The weapon, he said, "originated with a man named Marx," the Communist.

THE CONFERENCE adopted a resolution demanding the removal of Attorney General Tom Clark and FBI Chief J. Edgar Hoover.

Also demanded by resolution were: Repeal of the Smith act, under which the 11 Communist leaders are on trial; revocation of national and state loyalty orders; restriction of the FBI to investigation of criminal activities, abolition of the House un-American activities committee. They demanded an end to deportation for political beliefs, elimination of discrimination in the armed forces and in public housing, repeal of the Taft-Hartley act, restoration of the Wagner act and enforcement of the Norris-La Guardia anti-injunction act.

Clark Foreman, executive director of the conference, announced it had received a report saying the Ku Klux Klan "warmly supported" the election of Gov. Herman Talmadge of Georgia last year.

Georgia, the report said, is "the worst state in the union."

Foreman said the ten-page report concerned Georgia lynchings and an alleged relationship between the Klan and the Georgia state administration. The report he said, was prepared by a "distinguished Georgia state administration."

Communist

Text of Indictment of 12 Communists

New York Times

Following is the text of the indictment on which the twelve Communist leaders go on trial today.

The grand jury charges:

1. That from on or about April 1945 and continuously thereafter up to and including the date of the filing of this indictment, in the Southern District of New York, and elsewhere, William Z. Foster, Eugene Dennis, also known as Francis X. Waldron Jr., John B. Williamson, Jacob Stachel, Robert G. Thompson, Benjamin J. Davis Jr., Henry Winston, John Gates, also known as Israel Regenstreif, Irving Potash, Gilbert Green, Carl Winter, and Gus Hall, also known as Arno Gust Halberg, the defendants herein, unlawfully, wilfully, and knowingly, did conspire with each other, and with divers other persons to the grand jurors unknown, to organize as the Communist party of the United States of America a society, group, and assembly of persons who teach and advocate the overthrow and destruction of the Government of the United States by force and violence, and knowingly and wilfully to advocate and teach the duty and necessity of overthrowing and destroying the Government of the United States by force and violence, which said acts are prohibited by Section 2 of the Act of June 28, 1940 (Section 10, Title 18, United States Code), commonly known as the Smith Act.

2. It was part of said conspiracy that said defendants would convene, in the Southern District of New York, a meeting of the National Board of the Communist Political Association on or about June 2, 1945, to adopt a draft resolution for the purpose of bringing about the dissolution of the Communist Political Association, and for the purpose of organizing as the Communist party of the United States of America a society, group, and assembly of persons dedicated to the Marxist-Leninist principles of the overthrow and destruction of the Government of the United States by force and violence.

3. It was further a part of said conspiracy that said defendants would thereafter convene, in the Southern District of New York, a meeting of the National Committee of the Communist Political Association on or about June 18, 1945, to amend and adopt said draft resolution.

4. It was further a part of said conspiracy that said defendants would thereafter cause to be convened, in the Southern District of New York, a special national convention of the Communist Political Association on or about July 26, 1945, for the purpose of considering and acting upon said resolution as amended.

5. It was further a part of said conspiracy that said defendants would induce the delegates to said national convention to dissolve the Communist Political Association.

6. It was further a part of said conspiracy that said defendants would bring about the organization of the Communist Party of the United States of America as a society, group, and assembly of persons to teach and advocate the overthrow and destruction of the Government of the United States by force and violence, and would cause said convention to adopt a constitution basing said party upon the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

7. It was further a part of said conspiracy that said defendants would bring about the election of officers and the election of a National Committee of said party, and would become members of said party, and be elected as officers and as members of said National Committee and the National Board of said committe, and in such capacities said defendants would assume leadership of said party and responsibility for its policies and activities, and would meet from time to time to formulate, supervise, and carry out the policies and activities of said party.

8. It was further a part of said conspiracy that said defendants would cause to be organized clubs, and district and state units of said party, and would recruit and encourage the recruitment of members of said party.

9. It was further a part of said conspiracy that said defendants would publish and circulate, and cause to be published and circulated, books, articles, magazines, and newspapers advocating the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

10. It was further a part of said conspiracy that said defendants would conduct, and cause to be conducted, schools and classes for the study of the principles of Marxism-Leninism, in which would be taught and advocated the duty and necessity of overthrowing and destroying the Government of the United States by force and violence.

In violation of Sections 3 and 5 of the Act of June 28, 1940 (Sections 11 and 13, Title 18, United States Code), commonly known as the Smith Act.

At Last the Trial Really Starts

The Constitution

Finally, nine weeks after their trial began, a jury has been selected and sworn in for the trial of the 11 Communists charged in New York with advocating violent overthrow of the U. S. Government. Atlanta Ga.

The Communists have used every delaying tactic possible. Particularly have their attacks centered upon the jury system, claiming that the process of selection was such that it was impossible for them to get a fair trial. Fri. 3-18-49

We have marveled at the patience of Federal Judge Harold R. Medina. He has gone to great lengths to insure a fair trial. He has endured the exasperating delay, the foul accusations and the false arguments of defense attorneys with a fine impartiality that should make us all proud of our judicial system.

But the jury selected is exactly the kind the Communists claimed they could not get. It is described by the New York Times as being comprised mostly of "poor or middle-class persons." It includes a Negro woman foreman, two other Negroes, two unemployed and two manual workers. Fri. 3-18-49

We are glad the jury represents such a cross-section. The Communists, in getting exactly what they asked for, cannot now complain that the jury was stacked against them. And at last the trial itself is ready to begin.

COMMUNISTS:

Figures Can Lie

Cleveland Ohio

For eight days Prof. Doxey Wilkerson, faculty head at the Marxist Jefferson School of Social Science in New York City, had put on a one-man show. Leading Federal Judge Harold R. Medina through an endless maze of 149 tables, charts, maps, and other exhibits, Wilkerson, a Negro, was testifying as an "expert" on the American jury system. With slide rule, bulging brief case, and scratch pad and pencil, the ex-education director for the Communist Party in Maryland and Washington, D. C., was "proving" statistically that "manual workers," among others, were purposely excluded from jury duty in favor of "executives."

His conclusion: that the eleven Communist national committeemen, on trial in New York for conspiracy to teach and advocate the forcible overthrow of the United States Government, could not be judged fairly by a jury composed of the "rich, propertied, and well-to-do."

Last week, under relentless cross-examination, Wilkerson's statistics blew up in his face. Alternately mopping his brow and shifting his horn-rimmed glasses, he conceded that:

▶ His classification of jurors as "executives," supposedly based on the Census Bureau's definitions, included such small businessmen as butchers, bakers, cobblers, and tailors, all listed by the bureau as craftsmen or manual workers.

▶ Of his "executives," 26.5 per cent made less than $30 a week. "A great many" of his "manual workers" earned much more.

▶ The eleven defendants themselves, who could not get a fair trial from "executives," would all be listed as "executives" except for one Red editor who would be classed as a "professional."

At the week end, after a four-week parade of legalistics had blocked the opening of the trial itself, Judge Medina accused the Communists' counsel of trying to "make a mockery of justice." He served notice he would prevent further "willful, deliberate, and concerted delay."

Girl Aide of FBI Testifies Of 7 Years as Communist

New York Times

By RUSSELL PORTER

A girl photographer from Greenwich Village testified at the Communist trial yesterday that she had spent the last seven years in the New York Communist movement as an undercover agent of the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

The new surprise witness was "front" organization known as the Photo League. This is on the Los Angeles Calomiris, who has the Attorney General's subversive list. radio at 9½ Jane Street and spe- Miss Calomiris told how the claimed in animal pictures. She party used false names for mem- and the had been active in the bers, underground cells, secret party and had become financiabers, meetings, secret schools and other conspiratorial devices in teaching the need for violent revolution to set up a Soviet dictatorship. Since the present prosecution began, she said, the party has stopped issuing membership cards. She said old cards had been destroyed.

The witness identified four of the eleven defendants as men she had had dealings with on party business. They were John William- was questioned by Edward C. Wallace, labor secretary; City Council- lace of Government counsel. She man Benjamin J. Davis Jr., legisla- was a slight young woman with tive chairman; Robert G. Thomp- black cropped hair and an air of son, New York State chairman, quiet composure. and Gilbert Green, Illinois chair- She appeared unconcerned at man. the expressions of mingled surprise and distaste that her appearance evoked from the defendants and their adherents, who daily

All eleven defendants as mem-

take up a large part of the public section of the court room.

When the defendants she identified made derogatory gestures after she walked up to them and pointed them out, she smiled and shook her head in a pitying way as she walked back to the witness stand with a confident air.

She leaned forward and answered back with flashing eyes when defense lawyers tried to heckle her, and she made it clear she was not afraid of their efforts to attack her, like every previous witness, as a "spy."

Soon after she took the stand the FBI issued a public statement lauding her for "patriotic assistance to the United States Government." Wed. 4-27-49

Miss Calomiris said she became a member of the Communist party in 1942 as a result of her membership in the Photo League. She was asked to join the party, she said, by Sidney Grossman, then director of the Photo League; Leona Saron, Communist branch organizer in the 10th Assembly district, and Marion Hillie.

At first she did not accept. Then, she said, she received a visit from the FBI. Later, when the invitation to join the party was repeated, she joined.

She said she made regular reports to the FBI on party activities "from the very day I joined" right up to the present. She was still a party member up to the time she took the stand.

Miss Calomiris said she gave her right name to the party but her name was not used publicly.

"I was told by Grossman and Miss Saron to take an assumed name," she said, "and used the name of Angela Cole."

At the time she joined, she said, the party was "partly underground," and was divided into "cells" on a "group system" for reasons of "security." No records were kept. Instead, she said, the group "captain" was responsible for such information.

Soon after joining, she said, she attended a meeting of 1,000 to 1,500 persons at which new members enrolled in a recruiting drive were welcomed. Mr. Green told the recruits, she said, they would be taught the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

These principles proved to be those of violent revolution as taught at party schools she attended, according to the witness. She first attended a new members' course and later a special Marxist course at the New York Workers School in Communist party headquarters, 35 East Twelfth Street. Miss Saron, her branch organizer, recommended her for the second course. Wed. 4-27-49

In the second course, she testified, a lecturer named Francis Franklin taught the necessity of violent revolution to put socialism into effect.

She quoted him as saying that all existing agencies and machinery of capitalistic government must first be smashed so that the dictatorship of the proletariat could be set up, and that this would bring in socialism.

"He said socialism could not be achieved by evolution," she testified.

The witness said she received a diploma after attending the second course. After the FBI made a photostat copy, she regained possession of it in time to turn it over to her branch organizer, Miss Saron, who asked for it.

She said she also had to turn her party cards back, but managed to get them to the FBI to be copied before she handed them over to the party membership director in her branch.

"This was the regular practice in the party," she said. "The cards were destroyed or burned. In one case, the membership director tore up my card in my presence."

During the war when the Communist party was dissolved temporarily and the Communist Political Association was set up for cooperation between communism and capitalism, she said, the whole form of organization changed.

"Branch organizers became chairmen," she said. "We had a recording chairmen and kept minutes for the first time, and I held that office in my branch, the West Midtown branch. We called ourselves brothers and sisters or friends, instead of comrades. Our meetings were no longer secret. We were allowed to bring in friends. In fact, the whole neighborhood was invited.

"The Communist Manifesto and all the Marxist-Leninist books were cleaned out, and we got new books and leaflets by Earl Browder, then head of the party, in favor of class cooperation instead of class war."

"This all changed again in 1945, when the Communist party was reconstituted. The office of recording secretary was abolishhed, all our former titles were renewed, and study of the Marxist-Leninist 'classics' was resumed."

She said the party also went back to 1945 to secret meetings and the use of the traditional revolutionary salutation of "comrades."

Miss Calomiris said members of her branch were "stunned" and "embarrassed" and thrown into "confusion" by the 1945 publication of an article by Jacques Duclos, French Communist leader, which preceded dissolution of the political association and reconstitution of the party. This article attacked Browderism and demanded a return to Marxist-Leninist principles by American Communists.

After the national board or Politburo publishhed a resolution supporting Duclos and opposing Browder, she said, all her branchh members came out for Duclos except one man, who backed Browder.

"What happened to this man?" she was asked.

"He was expelled," she said.

Federal Judge Harold R. Medina decided that testimony of William Z. Foster, the party's national chairman, could be taken by deposition. This reversed a previous ruling.

Judge Medina appeared tired after Monday's stormy session in which he temporarily left the bench to stop defense counsel from arguing contrary to his directions. In another clash with defense counsel yesterday he said:

"This continual wrangling is wearing me down so that I don't see how I can finish this trial. Something has to be done to stop it." Wed. 4-27-49

IT HAPPENS IN NEW YORK

Afro-American

The trial of 11 Communists on charges of conspiring to overthrow the Government has been going on in New York for a month, and the jury has not been selected yet.

Federal Judge Harold R. Medina, an excellent gentleman, has been so patient and so bedeviled by the Reds' lawyers that we have been looking forward every day to see him crack down on them.

This led us to suspect that everything wasn't "jake" in New York's method of selecting jurors and that the same shenanigans practiced by the S-O-U-T-H are rampant in New York, and that is just what testimony showed last week.

Attorneys defending the Communists brought to the stand a jury clerk in the Southern District of New York who testified that during the years 1947 and 1948 no colored jurors were called from Harlem or from the East Side.

At the same time, 900 jurors came from a silk stocking district, 2,850 from Fifth Ave. and 4,075 from the well-to-do Washington Heights section. Baltimore Md.

And, to add insult to injury, even in New York the jury clerk testified that he had been instructed to put "C" for colored after the names of colored prospective jurors.

It's a kind of dirty business that the Reds have uncovered.

PURSUIT OF DEMOCRACY

The Comintern Overlooks The Negro's Faith in American Democracy

Pittsburgh Courier

By MARJORIE McKENZIE

THE testimony of William O. Nowell, self-confessed former Communist, as a Government witness at the New York trial of eleven top party leaders, must have shocked many people. He said that as a former party officer and as a student at the Lenin Institute in Moscow in 1931 and 1932, he had opposed Comintern policy for the establishment of a separate Negro nation in America's black belt from Virginia to the Mississippi Delta.

M. McKenzie

Though this policy has been an open plank in the platform for nearly twenty years, most people, Negro and white, have not realized it.

There are several reasons why a position, which on the face of it is so contrary to popular opinion regarding Communist theory and practice about race relations, should be so little known. In the first place, when the policy was formulated, Communists were not as important in the United States as they are today and nobody paid much attention to what they said and did. Pittsburgh Pa.

THE NEGRO PRESS, which would have taken up the matter rather fulsomely, had not come into its own as the forceful conscience keeper and molder of public opinion that it has become in the last decade. Actually, the Negro press has referred to the Communist program for the South in recent years, but since it was reporting history and not news, scant attention has been paid to the information.

The fact that the party line has dictated such a solution to the problems of the South is a fascinating idea to explore. There are certain elements in the Southern situation to which the Communists have caught on.

They see, as do many others, that social change in the South can come only with a major overhauling of the society. And their plan for a Negro nation does reflect an understanding of the need in an oppressed people for retribution and for punishment of the oppressor. Bost. 4-30-49

BUT THE SOLUTION does not sparkle; it only glimmers because the Comintern has not sensed fully the yearnings of the Negro people. This accounts in large measure for the failure of the American Communist party to attract appreciable numbers of Negro recruits.

There seems to be no doubt that the Communist ideology frees the individual from racial prejudice. However, the establishment of a Negro nation probably would not have, for Communists, any racial meaning in the usual sense. They would see to it as a political step, as a means to an end, as a method for dealing with other sections and problems.

If the Negro people of the South had to be sacrificed to the overall victory of the American proletariat, so be it. A lot of liquidation would be going on elsewhere which would involve white Americans considered incapable of indoctrination. Pittsburgh Pa.

BUT TO HAVE a revolution, you have to have revolutionists, and to get THEM you have to make your program and your objectives seem more desirable than life itself. The only people who would conceivably agitate for a Negro nation in the South are Southern Negroes. And what do they want? Acceptance. They want to live in the South in the very way that has been denied them.

But that isn't all. The victory would be sweet only if the white oppressor had to live with it too. He would not be adequately punished for the years of his hatred and evil by banishment; he must stay and endure the triumph of his victim. Bost. 4-30-49

Here lies the Communist fallacy. Perhaps if the party ever became strong enough it could impose a Negro nation on the South. At that point it would not need to, nor do I think it would want to. It will never stimulate the Southern Negro worker to revolt for a Negro nation, nor will it attract a significant Negro membership, until it has a clearer idea of the strength of petit bourgeois striving and greater understanding of the yearning over denied democratic freedoms in the Negro people, North and South.

* * *

THIS IS OUR faith and our motivation. This is the good and the beautiful and it must be lived and tested before it can be relinquished for still another ideal. The Comintern has counted too much on our bitterness and overlooked our faith. It has been too far away to see that we count the prize within our grasp. Perhaps there is "error" on both sides.

JURY EXAMINATION IN RED TRIAL BEGUN; COURT IS PICKETED

New York Times 3-8-49

Judge Questions and Excuses First Three of Panel, Which Includes Women, Negroes

DISMISSAL PLEA IS DENIED

Defense Presents 22 Motions in Day—Medina Limits Its Challenges to 10

By RUSSELL PORTER

The trial of the eleven Communists finally began yesterday after a seven-week delay caused by their futile attack on the Federal jury system.

Judge Harold R. Medina started his examination to determine the fairness or bias of prospective jurors late in the afternoon and excused the first three called before court adjourned for the day. All three pleaded family or business hardship.

Defense counsel spent most of the day arguing a series of motions that the judge characterized as largely "stalling" to prevent or delay the selection of a jury. He denied most of them but took some under advisement. Those denied included a demand for the dismissal of the indictment on the ground that President Truman's attack on two American Communist leaders as "traitors" would make it impossible to have a fair trial.

The eleven are charged with conspiracy to organize the Communist party in 1945 to teach and advocate the overthrow and destruction of the Government by force and violence.

Hundreds in Demonstration

Several hundred Communists and sympathizers demonstrated in front of the court house at the noon hour to mark the start of the actual trial. They chanted slogans and carried banners asking that the defendants be freed, and walked back and forth around a little "island" in Foley Square.

A heavy police guard was on hand, and there was no disorder. Uniformed court house attendants kept unauthorized persons out of the corridors near the court room, and the general public was barred during the selection of the jury. Space ordinarily reserved for the public was set aside for prospective jurors.

In the court room, after hearing the sixteenth of the day's twenty-two motions, the judge said:

"This must be almost the world's record for motions."

He then announced that he intended to begin selecting the jury in the afternoon, and directed bailiffs not to let prospective jurors leave the adjacent jury room.

"I'm beginning to get the impression," he told defense counsel, "that you gentlemen are trying to keep talking so long we won't be able to get the jury in today."

A short time later the judge ordered the prospective jurors to be brought in immediately, and said any further argument must be postponed.

60 of Panel in Court Room

Sixty members of the current panel were brought into the court room. They included many women and several Negroes, despite the defense charge in its challenge to the jury system that women and Negroes, among other groups, were excluded from jury lists.

Judge Medina explained to them that the trial might last "several weeks, perhaps two months or more," and asked those to stand up who wanted to be excused for reasons of business or family hardship. About half rose. Fifteen were led to the jury box, where the judge questioned the first three individually.

A woman school teacher, a man who said he was the "key man" in his business and a woman who insisted on giving her explanation privately to the judge were the ones excused. The others were directed to return this morning.

The judge announced that he would screen the jury panel first to eliminate all who had legitimate hardship excuses before proceeding with more detailed questioning of prospective jurors. He ruled that he would examine all prospective jurors himself on the basis of questions already submitted to him by defense and Government counsel and modified by him, and that the defense would be limited to ten joint peremptory challenges, the minimum provided by law. He denied defense motions to permit counsel to question jurors and to increase the number of challenges.

President Truman's denunciation of William Z. Foster, national chairman, and Eugene Dennis, general secretary, of the Communist party for saying they would support Soviet Russia in a war with the United States, was brought into the case by George W. Crockett Jr. and Harry Sacher of defense counsel. Mr. Crockett said this was one of several "prejudicial" recent happenings that would be bound to affect the public mind in such a way as to make it impossible to select an impartial jury for any "forseeable" time to come.

Mr. Dennis is one of the defendants. Mr. Foster was indicted with the eleven but his trial was deferred because of illness. All twelve are members of the Communist party national committee.

Mr. Crockett charged other "prejudicial" statements had been made by Attorney General Tom C. Clark, the House Un-American Committee, Cardinal Spellman, Bishop James P. De Wolfe of the Protestant Episcopal Church, H. R. Knickerbocker, radio commentator, and the press in general.

Denying this motion to dismiss the indictment, Judge Medina said it seemed to him to have been made for some purpose "outside the courtroom," rather than to persuade the court.

Defense Seeks Dismissal

Abraham J. Isserman of defense counsel moved dismissal of the indictment on constitutional grounds. He argued the indictment was void because it failed to allege any overt acts or to establish any "clear and present danger" to justify interference with free speech and free press.

Judge Medina asked him if he contended that the Government must show, to prove "clear and present danger," that the defendants had actually "assembled forces under arms."

The lawyer said no, but that the Supreme Court had held in the deportation case against Harry Bridges, West Coast union leader charged with Communist affiliation, that "the degree of imminence must be extremely high." Judge Medina asked just how much had to be shown to prove "clear and present danger" in the opinion of defense counsel, but this was not answered.

Judge Medina denied this motion after cutting short the argument as "repetitious" and rebuking Mr. Isserman for "shouting" at him.

Denying another motion for a ninety-day postponement because of alleged "public hysteria" against the Communists, Judge Medina said he was sure a fair and impartial jury could be obtained. He chided Richard Gladstein of defense counsel for saying in the argument on this motion that the defendants were being tried solely for "teaching and advocating Marxist-Leninist principles."

"You leave out the words 'the overthrow the destruction of the Government by force and violence' after 'teach and advocate,'" the judge reminded him. "I'm going to tell the jurors, so there'll be no misunderstanding about this, that these defendants are not being tried merely because they're Communists or because of their associations, but each one is specifically charged with the organization of the Communist party with specific intent as charged in the indictment. I'm going to read the indictment to them."

Davis Asks for Recess

Judge Medina took under advisement a motion to adjourn court this afternoon to permit City Councilman Benjamin J. Davis Jr., one of the defendants, to attend a meeting of the City Council.

Mr. Davis said expulsion proceedings were hanging over him in the City Council and something might come up in this connection today. United States Attorney John F. X. McGohey said he would get in touch with Council officials overnight to see if some arrangement could be made by which Mr. Davis could attend the meeting without interfering with the trial.

The judge announced he would not allow defense counsel the latitude when a jury was present that he allowed during the preliminary proceedings. This means, he said, there will be no more "absenteeism" of defendants or defense counsel, no more "long-winded and repetitious" arguments, and no more arguments at all on objections to his rulings except when he specifically permits such arguments.

NEGROES DENY BAN CHARGED BY REDS

New York Times

Women Tell of Serving on U. S. Juries—Court Assails New 'Stalling' by Communists

By RUSSELL PORTER

Two Negro women testified at the trial of the eleven Communists yesterday that in the last few years each has served several times on Federal juries. In qualifying for jury duty, they said, neither was asked about her financial standing. They were called to the stand as Government witnesses to refute the defense charge that women and Negroes are systematically excluded from Federal juries.

The eleven defendants are charged with conspiracy to organize the present Communist party to advocate the forcible overthrow and destruction of the Government. They have postponed the beginning of the trial itself by attacking the Federal jury system as illegal and unconstitutional.

Voiding of the indictment and quashing of the trial-jury panel are sought on the ground that, besides Negroes and women, Jews, manual workers, poor persons, and members of the Communist and American Labor parties are excluded from Federal juries.

William J. Borman, former jury clerk, denied on the stand that he had ever discriminated in the selection of jurors for reasons of race, religion, sex, political affiliations, social position or economic status. He is the second official who has so testified. The other is Joseph F. McKenzie, present jury clerk, who was on the stand all last week.

Missing Pages Explained

Mr. Borman cleared up the mystery of the "seven missing pages" that arose during defense cross-examination of Mr. McKenzie. He said he tore out the pages from an old and discarded book when he substituted for Mr. McKenzie while the latter was in the Army in 1942. He said he did so because the pages had extraneous matter on them, and he wanted a fresh book to keep a new set of records.

Judge Harold R. Medina denied a defense motion for the appointment of a special master to sift virtually all the records in the jury clerk's office. He said this might take two years; that he was trying to find some "reasonable" way to end the challenge to the jury, in view of past delays and the failure of the defense to introduce evidence substantiating its charges.

The judge said the evidence shows "list after list" of Negroes, many Jewish names, thousands of women, and a "tidy" number of manual workers on the jury rolls.

One of the Negro women who testified was Miss Elizabeth Watkins, a trained nurse, of 331 Convent Avenue. She wore a black fur coat as she sat in the witness chair and answered questions asked by Frank H. Gordon, special assistant to the Attorney General, and later by George W. Crockett Jr., Negro defense counsel from Detroit.

Miss Watkins said she volunteered for jury duty in the Federal court in 1942 and was accepted. She served on juries in 1943 and 1945 and, when called again in 1948, was excused because she was on a case at City Hospital.

Ban on Women Denied

The other Negro witness was Mrs. Sarah E. Walker of 357 West 115th Street, widow of a druggist. She said she had been the first Negro district captain in the Monongahela Democratic Club. As a political worker, she said, she knew women were accepted as jurors were marked "c" for "colored" and he had interpreted this to mean that segregation of Negroes existed for purpose of discrimiation.

The Government attorney also brought out that the women lived in the eleventh and thirteenth assembly districts in Harlem. On cross-examination of Mr. McKenzie, defense counsel had shown that some qualification papers of Negro jurors were marked "c" for "colored" and he had interpreted this to mean that segregation of Negroes existed for purpose of discrimiation.

The Government attorney also brought out that the women lived in the eleventh and thirteenth assembly districts in Harlem. On cross-examination of Mr. McKenzie, defense counsel had shown the voting lists of these districts were not used in sending out jury qualification notices between 1945 and 1948. It has also been shown that once jurors are qualified their names remain on the list and they are usually called every two years. The lists are kept complete by the addition of new names from time to time.

Mr. Borman, the former jury clerk, is no w sitting in Judge Medina's court as a deputy court clerk. When the prosecution called

him to the stand, he walked swiftly to the witness chair.

He said he had worked as jury clerk between July 1942 and April 1943. Following instructions given by Mr. McKenzie, to pick names at random from the voting lists, he said, he selected every tenth name from one assembly district after another and sent jury qualification notices to all assembly districts in Manhattan and the Bronx.

Mr. Borman said he had qualified "plenty" of Negroes for jury duty. He identified a list of 380 names headed N. S. as a "Negro Special" list that had been used in Special Sessions Court and borrowed for the Federal jury clerk by the Federal Grand Jury Association.

Under cross-examination by Richard Gladstein of defense counsel, Mr. Borman denied he had been guided in his work as jury clerk by a 1941 report on the jury system in this Federal district made by Leland S. Tolman.

Mr. Gladstein then produced the record of another trial in which Mr. Borman had testified, and read a question and answer indicating that he had said at that time he had used the Tolman report as a guide.

Charging this was unfair cross-examination. Mr. Gordon for the prosecution insisted on the reading of the next question and answer to show how the first answer had been qualified. This was done. It showed that Mr. Borman had denied that his use of the Tolman report meant that his sources of possible jurors were college and club directories and other special lists, and had testified his main source of names was the voting lists. Fri-2-25-49

The defense contends the use of special directories has "loaded" the jury lists in favor of the "rich, propertied and well-to-do."

JURY IS COMPLETED AT TRIAL OF 11 REDS

New York Times

7 Women and 5 Men Include 3 Negroes, 2 Jobless, 2 Toilers

Thur 3-17-49

4 Alternates to Be Picked

New York N.Y.

By RUSSELL PORTER

A jury was completed and sworn in yesterday in the ninth week of the trial of the eleven Communists charged with conspiracy to organize the Communist party for advocacy of the violent overthrow of the United States Government.

The jury consists of seven women and five men. Three are Negroes, including the woman foreman. Two have names frequently considered Jewish. Two are unemployed. Two are manual workers. Most of the jurors seem to be poor or middle-class persons.

As a whole, the jury appears to be a representative cross-section of the New York melting pot. It is the kind of jury that defense counsel, in their futile seven-week attack on the Federal jury system here, said could not be obtained because of discrimination against Negroes, Jews, women, manual workers and poor people in favor of the "rich, propertied and well-to-do." Thur 3-17-49

Russell Janney, theatrical producer and author of the novel, "The Miracle of the Bells," was the last juror chosen. Then Judge Harold R. Medina gave the jury brief instructions on the importance of a fair and impartial trial under "our American traditions of justice."

The judge announced that four alternate jurors would be chosen and various legal motions heard today. Opening statements to the jury will begin tomorrow, with United States Attorney John F. X. McGohey leading off with his statement of what he intends to prove. Thur 3-17-49

The members of the jury are:

Foreman, Mrs. Thelma Dial of 545 Edgecombe Avenue, Negro housewife and part-time dressmaker, wife of a musician.

Russell Janney, of 320 East Seventieth Street, writer and theatrical producer.

Mrs. Ida F. Howell of 44 Edgecombe Avenue, Negro housewife and worker in a beauty shop, wife of a taxicab driver.

Miss Kathryn E. Dunn of 425 Riverside Drive, unemployed clerk.

George L. Smith of 291 Edgecombe Avenue, Negro salesman of fur coats and real estate.

Mrs. Lillian Berliner of 4300 Broadway, housewife and former stenographer, wife of a woolen salesman.

Patrick S. Reynolds of 245 East Twenty-first Street, retired salesman for the Jacob Ruppert brewery.

Henry E. Allen of 110 East Eighty-seventh Street, an unemployed industrial engineer.

Mrs. Lillian Schlesinger of 30 Seaman Avenue, widow employed as a clerk with Franklin Simon & Co.

James F. Smyth of 15 Stuyvesant Oval, wireman and assembler for the Bell Telephone Laboratories, Inc.

Mrs. Carrie L. Robinson of 610 West 160th Street, widow employed as a clerk.

Mrs. Gertrude Corwin of 350 West Fifty-seventh Street, housewife whose husband is a salesman of women's sports wear.

Completion of the jury came two months after the beginning of the trial on Jan. 17, at 3:48 P. M. yesterday. When it came time for the Government to exercise the last of the peremptory challenges allowed by the court, Mr. McGohey waived this right and said: "The jury as constituted is satisfactory to the Government." This was the second challenge waived by the Government. It exercised four challenges to remove prospective jurors from the box.

Judge Medina then sent the jury from the court room at the request of the defense so that motions could be argued, and denied defense motions asking for additional peremptory challenges. The defense already had used fifteen challenges to remove prospective jurors since selection of the jury began on March 7.

The judge also denied defense motions asking him to reconsider his decisions not to let the lawyers examine prospective jurors and not to ask various additional questions proposed by the defense.

When defense counsel protested that his rulings prevented them from making a proper examination into possible bias against the defendants as Communists, the judge replied:

"I have made a most serious and conscientious effort to ascertain any bias that may exist, and to make sure that no juror sits in this case who has any bias or partiality. I have done my best and I do not believe a single member of this jury is laboring under any bias or partiality whatsoever. I can do no more."

The jury then was called back into the court room and sworn in by William J. Borman, clerk of the court. At his direction the jurors rose in a body, raised their right hands, and "solemnly" swore to render a "true verdict according to the law and the evidence, so help me God."

Judge Medina then announced that there would be the maximum number of alternate jurors provided by law—four. As the jury box has only fifteen seats, an addition will be built. The judge said the Government and the defense would each have two peremptory challenges in today's selection of the alternate jurors.

Judge Medina then admonished the jury not to read newspapers, magazines, pamphlets or anything else about the case; not to listen to anything on the radio about it, and not to talk about it with their families, friends or even among themselves. He told them an indictment itself was not evidence of guilt and that the defendants were "clothed in the presumption of innocence" all through the trial.

"It isn't American—it isn't in accordance with our traditions," he went on, to let anything interfere with jurors keeping an open mind until they have heard all the evidence and the final instructions of the court.

"You have been so carefully selected here because your minds are free and open and you are fair and impartial. I want you to stay that way to the end."

Each side used one peremptory challenge yesterday. The Government challenged Mrs. Mollie Glasner of 579 Fort Washington Avenue, a housewife and part-time practical nurse, whose husband is a woolen salesman. The defense challenged Mrs. Eva Mendelsohn of 235 West End Avenue, a housewife and former stenographer and typist, whose husband manages twenty buildings for the real estate firm of Bing & Bing, and whose son served in the war. Neither side gave any reason for these challenges, not being required to do so. Thur 3-17-49

Mr. Janney and George L. Smith were called as replacements for Mrs. Glasner and Mrs. Mendelsohn. Mr. Janney said he had been a writer and theatrical man for more than forty years. His office is at 56 West Forty-fifth Street.

Mr. Smith said that until recently he had worked about twenty years as receptionist in the office of the president of the Delaware & Hudson Railroad in Grand Central Terminal. He has been for ten years a district captain for a political party; the party was not identified. He said this connection would not bias his judgment.

Later, during a recess, a reporter for Communist publications slipped down to the rail separating the press section from the jury box and called to Mr. Smith: "Mr. Smith, will you tell the press what that political party is?"

Mr. Smith did not reply, and a bailiff came up in time to shoo the questioner away.

Judge Medina excused Frank G. Sauer of 3997 Carpenter Avenue, the Bronx, a clerk for the Consolidated Edison Company, as a prospective juror, because he has a son and brother-in-law in the Police Department and ha a nephew killed in line of duty as a policeman. The judge held this might give an unconscious bias against the defendants.

James M. Smyth was drawn to replace Mr. Sauer. He served in t hSeignal Corps attached to the Air Force in the war. He is a member of the American Legion and the Communication Workers of America, an anti-Communist labor union. He said neither of these connections would bias his judgment.

In the course of arguments on motions in the absence of the jury, Judge Medina rebuked members of defense counsel for "sly insinuations against the honor and integrity" of the court in contending that he gave better treatment to the Government than the defense in the conduct of the trial; for making "fantastic statements, many of which are not so"; for absenting themselves from court to delay proceedings, and for attempts to "disrupt the trial."

The Jury Vindicated

Herald Tribune

In their sustained and elaborate attack upon the jury system, eleven Communist leaders and their lawyers have consumed more than six weeks, have strained to the limit the patience of a judge even so much the master of himself as Harold R. Medina, and have delayed a trial in the outcome of which the public has an exceptional interest. Their tactics have often had the appearance of mere obstruction; the evidence they presented has not only been confusing but based on questionable assumptions and analyses. When he had brought the long pre-trial to an end with the defense attorneys still protesting at wearisome length and with an air of injured surprise, Judge Medina ruled that they had not shown the jury system to be biased or unfair. However objectionable were the methods used on behalf of the Communists, this re-examination of the local jury system is not wholly to be deplored; and its vindication—in which the opinion of informed laymen must accord with that of the judge—is a cause for profound satisfaction.

Thur 3-17-49

New York Times

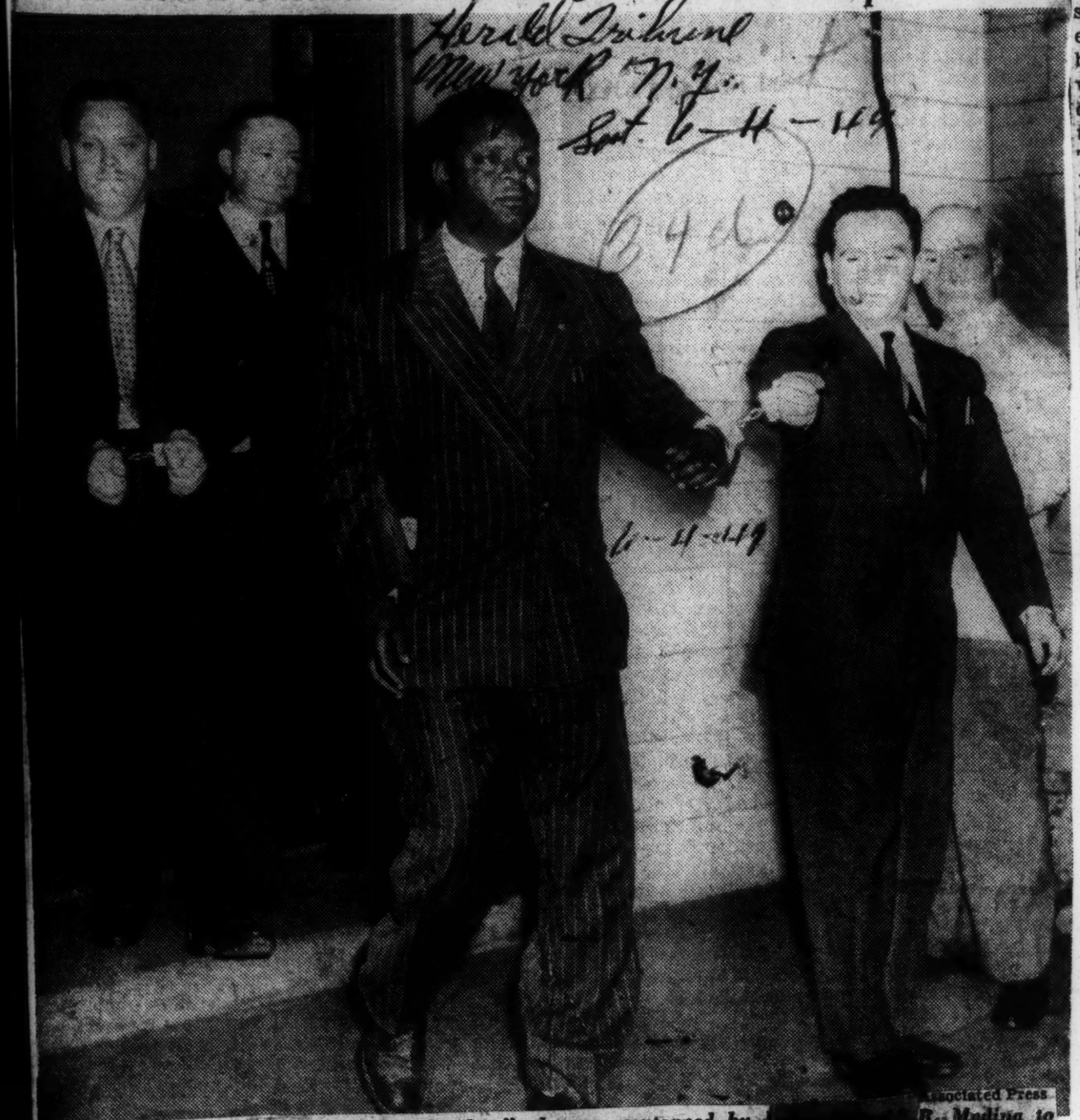
The defense lawyers had maintained that in the selection of grand and petit juries in the Southern District, low income groups were systematically discriminated against, while the lists were weighted in favor of the well-to-do. Even witnesses summoned by the defense gave assurance that there had been no exclusion of Negroes, of women, or of any minority. The attempt to prove that juries are composed of an undue preponderance of the rich was undermined by the revelation that more than a quarter of those listed as "executives" had earned under $1,400 a year, considerably less than earned by many classed as "manual workers."

The American jury is based on the idea of a cross-section of the community. It is believed that by the representation of a diversity of viewpoints and interests a fair judgment is most likely to be achieved. The Communists, thinking in terms of a class warfare, inevitably distort the American concept. They assume that only members of the same class can understand one another, sympathize with one another, or judge each other without bias. In so far as the protracted pre-trial was something more than a device to confound the processes of justice, it was a reassertion of these Marxist dogmas. The vindication of the jury system by the court and the public has been, on the other hand, a reaffirmation of the democratic faith in the shared values and common interests which unite the members of a free society. We insist that no group be excluded, but we deny at the same time that a man's economic status totally strips him of detachment and impartiality.

Thur 3-17-49

Three Red Defendants Sent to Jail for Contempt of Court

Herald Tribune New York N.Y. Sept 6-4-49



Associated Press

John Gates, right, editor of "The Daily Worker," who was sentenced by Judge Harold R. Medina to thirty days in jail for contempt, leaving United States Court House yesterday in a prison van with Eugene Dennis, Carl Winston and Gus Hall, at left, who were remanded to jail for the duration of the trial for protesting Gates' sentence. With Hall is United States Marshal [illegible] McCahy

Sentences Imposed For Court Contempt

Herald Tribune New York N.Y. Sept 6-4-49

'Daily Worker' Chief Gets 30 Days, Others Serve for Duration of Trial

By Walter Arm

Judge Harold R. Medina sentenced John Gates to Federal jail yesterday for contempt of court. Two minutes later the judge followed through by imprisoning two more of the eleven Communist party leaders for denouncing the Gates sentence.

The swift penalties—after more than five months of patient argument and warning from the judge—descended also on Henry Winston, organizational secretary of the party, and Gus Hall, Ohio State chairman. 6-4-49

Gates, editor-in-chief of "The Daily Worker," was given thirty days in Federal Detention Headquarters for refusing to answer a question put to him by United States Attorney John F. X. McGohey. He may "purge" himself anytime during that period by answering the question.

Witness Is Defiant

"I never will!" Gates shouted defiantly from the witness stand in United States District Court.

Hall's and Winston's bails were revoked and they were sent to the same jail for the duration of the trial for disorderly conduct and insulting remarks in court. The eleven have been free on $5,000 bail each since their indictment was returned July 20. They are charged with advocating overthrow of the government by force. They have been on trial since Jan. 17.

Winston was ordered jailed for shouting that the trial was "a monstrosity!" A moment later Hall was sentenced for yelling: "It sounds more like a kangeroo court than a court of the United States!"

Eugene Dennis, general secretary of the party who is defending himself, also sought martyrdom. He followed Hall and Winston in shouting insulting remarks at the judge but the latter passed them off with: "I shall treat you as one of counsel, and I have tried to stick to my determination that I shall not do anything to counsel." 6-4-49

Free Course for Counsel

He added: "They may do whatever they choose and take the consequences in due time."

Carl Winter, Michigan State chairman, also jumped to his feet to protest, but before the judge could hear his remarks he was yanked back into his seat by the other defendants.

The atmosphere in the courtroom at that time—11:45 a. m.—was the tensest it has been in all of the eighty-six tempestuous sessions since trial began. As soon as the defendants stood up, more than a dozen United States deputy marshals closed in, forming walls between them and the judge and between them and the spectators. During the bitter denunciation of the judge more marshals entered the room, hastily summoned from other parts of the building. 6-4-49

The tension eased slowly as the defendants sat down one by one. Judge Medina watched them closely.

As soon as all had resumed their seats, their five attorneys urged Judge Medina to lift the penalties, pleading that Hall and Winston were swayed by their emotions. Red-faced and stern, the judge replied: "I will not suspend the sentences even for one minute."

Richard Gladstein, of defense staff, argled that the penalties "surprised" him. "Well, if they surprised you." said the judge. "you're the only on esurprised."

When the session ended at 1 p. m. the three men were escorted from the court by marshals after receiving hugs and handshakes from their co-defendants and attorneys. Outside court, handcuffs were snapped on their wrists. The men will be taken to jail each night after the court sessions and returned each morning. They can no longer lounge in the corridors during court cesses with the other defendants. Gates will be with them until his thirty days expires.

The men were scheduled to attend a $20 a plate "testimonial dinner" last night in honor of all the defendants. It was given by the New York State Committee of the party at St. Nicholas Arena, 69 West Sixty-sixth Street.

New Bail Is Refused

Soon after, the attorneys went before Judge Samuel H. Kaufman, who is conducting the Hiss trial, to seek new bails for the jailed men. Their requests were refused. They then filed a writ of appeal in the United States Court of Appeals. Harry Sacher, lawyer for Gates, also asked Judge Augustus N. Hand, of the Appeals Court, for bail for his client. He was turned down. 6-4-49

Gates had been given warning of what was to come at Thursday's session. At that time he refused to answer a question from Mr. McGohey but changed his mind on advice of counsel. The question then was: "What position did Dennis occupy in the party in 1946?"

Yesterday's court session was delayed for half an hour while the judge read a fifty-four page brief offered in support of Gates's contention that to answer such questions was a violation of his constitutional rights; that they tended to degrade him by making him a "stool pigeon" for the prosecution.

Judge Medina rejected the brief and ordered Gates to submit to questioning. Apparently aware of what might occur, the judge reminded the jurors that he had tol dthem to be patient when trial first commenced. He told them they might have to leave the courtroom frequently because of arguments which had no bearing on the evidence and which "are not your concern." He added: "I again urge you to be patient." 34d

Mr. McGohey began his questioning but soon stuck the same snag when he asked Gates to name the persons who had been members of the National Veterans Commission of the party when he (Gates) was its chairman.

The editor answered slowly: "From among the defendants Mr. Winston and Mr. Thompson (Robert Thompson, New York State chairman of the party).

That's two," said Mr. McGohey, "will you give us the rest?"

"I refuse," said Gates. "It would degrade me in the eyes of my associates, in the eyes of the labor movement and in the eyes of the jury to act as a stool pigeon . . . I invoke my rights under the constitution." 6-4-49 "Till take that answer now," said Mr. McGohey.

Shortly after, Gates produced a copy of a pamphlet put out by the veterans commission and entitled: "Who Ruptured Our Duck?" It dealt with veterans' problems and Gates had testified he had prepared it.

Tell us who the others were," said Mr. McGohey.

"Those people work in private industry. And I will not disclose their names and jeopardize their jobs." 6-4-49

Mr. McGohey paused a moment and said: "I ask the court to direct the witness to answer."

Judge Orders Answer

Judge Medina said: Strike out the answer" and turning to Gates: "Answer the question."

Mr. Sacher stood up and shouted: "I advise him of his Constitutional right to refuse."

"I repeat my direction," said the judge as tension mounted perceptibly.

Said Gates: "On the grounds of the 1st and 5th and 10th

amendments I decline to answer. I would have to bow my head in shame and I could never raise my head in decent society if I ever became a stool pigeon. Even under the court's direction."

"Strike out the answer," roared the judge.

"Would the court please tell the witness he has no such right?" asked Mr. McGohey.

"I do so advise him."

Gates still refused to answer and there were arguments from all counsel. The jury was excused and Judge Medina said:

"Now Mr. Gates, pursuant to the authority invested in me by Title 18 of the United States Code, Section 401 . . . I now adjudge you guilty of a willful and deliberate contempt, and by reason thereof I sentence you as follows:

"You are to be remanded until you have purged yourself of your contempt for a period not to exceed thirty days."

Winston shouted: "If your honor please, now may I be heard? More than 5,000 Negroes have been lynched in this country for such——"

"Now Mr. Winston——"

" . . . And the government of the United States should be ashamed for bringing in this monstrosity."

"Mr. Winston, I hereby direct that you be remanded for the remainder of the trial."

Hall then yelled: "It sounds more like a kangeroo court than a court of the United States. I have heard more law and more constitutional rights in kangeroo courts!"

"Now let me see, this is Mr. Hall?" asked the judge.

"That is right, this is Mr. aHll."

"Mr. Hall, you are hereby remanded for the balance of the trial."

More argument ensued during which time the judge told attorney Louis F. McCabe that he was "insulting." The judge finally cut the lawyers off with: "Now I think we had better go on with the trial before you make your situation any worse."

After a recess Mr. Gates resumed the stand and replied "I dont' know" to a series of questions concerning his neighborhood party club. When Mr. McGohey asked him if he was included among the defendants, Gates replied bitterly: "I certainly am, only I'll be in jail tonight."

"Strike that remark!" shouted the judge, while the jury which had been absent during the uproar, sat puzzled. Gates will return to the stand and cross-examination at 10:30 a. m. Monday.

Only 1400 Negro Reds in U. S., Paul Robeson Hearing Told

Washington, D.C.

Alvin W. Stokes, House investigator, said yesterday there are fewer than 1400 Negroes in the American Communist Party although Negroes are "the targets of constant and relentless Communist propaganda."

He testified before the House Committee on Un-American Activities, which opened hearings into assertions by Paul Robeson, Negro singer, American Negroes will never fight against Russia. Stokes is a Negro committee agent.

Rabbi Benjamin Schultz of New York, executive director of the American League Against Communism, testified that Robeson was taking part in a "deliberate Communist conspiracy to inflame racial and religious minorities in the United States.

He said the object of the drive is "to throw this land into confusion, paving the way for Stalinist revolution and conquest.

Representative Francis E. Walter (D., Pa.) proposed that Robeson be subpenaed to explain his affection for the Soviet Union. Chairman John S. Wood (D., Ga.) said the suggestion will be considered.

Wood also announced that Jackie Robinson, star second baseman for the Brooklyn Dodgers, will testify Monday. Robinson was unable to appear yesterday. He was to have been the lead-off man of a group of Negroes called to refute Robeson's claims.

Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower, president of Columbia University, said in a letter to the committee read by Wood, that Negroes were as loyal as any other American soldiers during World War II.

Eisenhower, who commanded American forces in Europe, said it no more occurred to him to question the mass patriotism of Negro soldiers "than it would have occurred to me to entertain such doubts about the entire force."

He said that with more than 400,000 Negroes in the war, the "grave results" of any general unrest "could not have escaped spectacular notice and sensational reporting by the press."

Thomas E. Young, Norfolk, Va., Negro publisher, testified he had heard Robeson "declare his own personal disloyalty to the United States." He said it took place during a "smoker" given the singer in Norfolk in October, 1947, during which Robeson allegedly said:

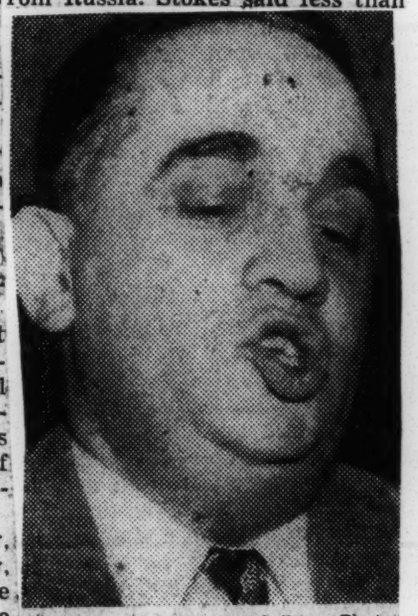
"If this country ever went to war against Russia, and my son took up arms to fight Russia, he would be no longer my son."

Young said the Negro people consider Robeson a "false prophet," who is "unfaithful to their country and they repudiate him."

George K. Hunton, executive secretary of the Catholic Interracial Council, said he became active in 1941 in efforts to bring Negro players into major league baseball. He said the Communists had nothing to do with it, but tried "shamelessly" to get in on the publicity.

He said the Communists have tried to increase racial antagonism, but "I believe their sinister plot has failed completely."

Describing a meeting held recently to welcome Robeson back from Russia. Stokes said less than



Associated Press Photo

RABBI BENJAMIN SCHULTZ

"We Jews have suffered . . ."

25 per cent of the 5000 persons present were Negroes.

At the meeting, he said, Robeson reiterated his claim that it is "unthinkable" American Negroes would fight for the United States in a war with Russia.

Schultz said the majority of Negroes, Jews, Catholics and foreign-born in this country, "in common with their fellow-Americans, detest communism."

"But the Communists will not desist from their efforts until the minorities are separately won over or the Communist movement destroyed," he asserted.

Reds' Trial Had Negro Highlights

Newark, N.J. Star Ledger

Negroes played a leading role on both sides of the fence during the recently-completed 9-month Communist conspiracy trial.

Two Negroes were defendants: Harry Winston and City Councilman Benjamin J. Davis, Jr.

Three Negroes were chosen to the jury: Mrs. Thelma Dial, foreman; Mrs. Ida F. Howell and George L. Smith.

One Negro was an attorney for the defense: George L. Crockett, Jr.

Davis Chairman

Councilman Davis, one of the convicted men, is chairman of the party's legislative committee. Elected to the New York City Council in 1943 and re-elected again in 1945, he is the only Negro a member of that body. He is running again this year on the American Labor Party ticket from the 21st Senatorial District. The 46-year-old Councilman is a graduate of Amherst and Harvard Law School.

Harry Winston is national organizational secretary of the party. A World War II veteran, 35 years old, Winston has been a national board member since 1946. Born in Hattiesburg, Miss., he joined the Communist Party in 1931. He has made two trips to Moscow, in 1933 and 1937. He is married and father of a 2-year-old child.

Await Sentences

Both Winston and Davis, now in the Federal House of Detention awaiting sentencing, Friday face prison terms up to 10 years and fines up to $10,000.

George L. Crockett, Jr. of Detroit, Michigan was defense counsel for Carl Winter, chairman of the Communist Party in Michigan. A non-Communist himself, Crockett was one of the five defense lawyers found guilty of contempt by Federal Judge Harold R. Medina and sentenced to four months. He has until Nov. 15 to begin serving the sentence.

Well-known in Detroit, Crockett is a member of that city's chapter of the National Lawyers Guild. For several years he was director of the UAW-CIO Fair Employment Practices Committee.

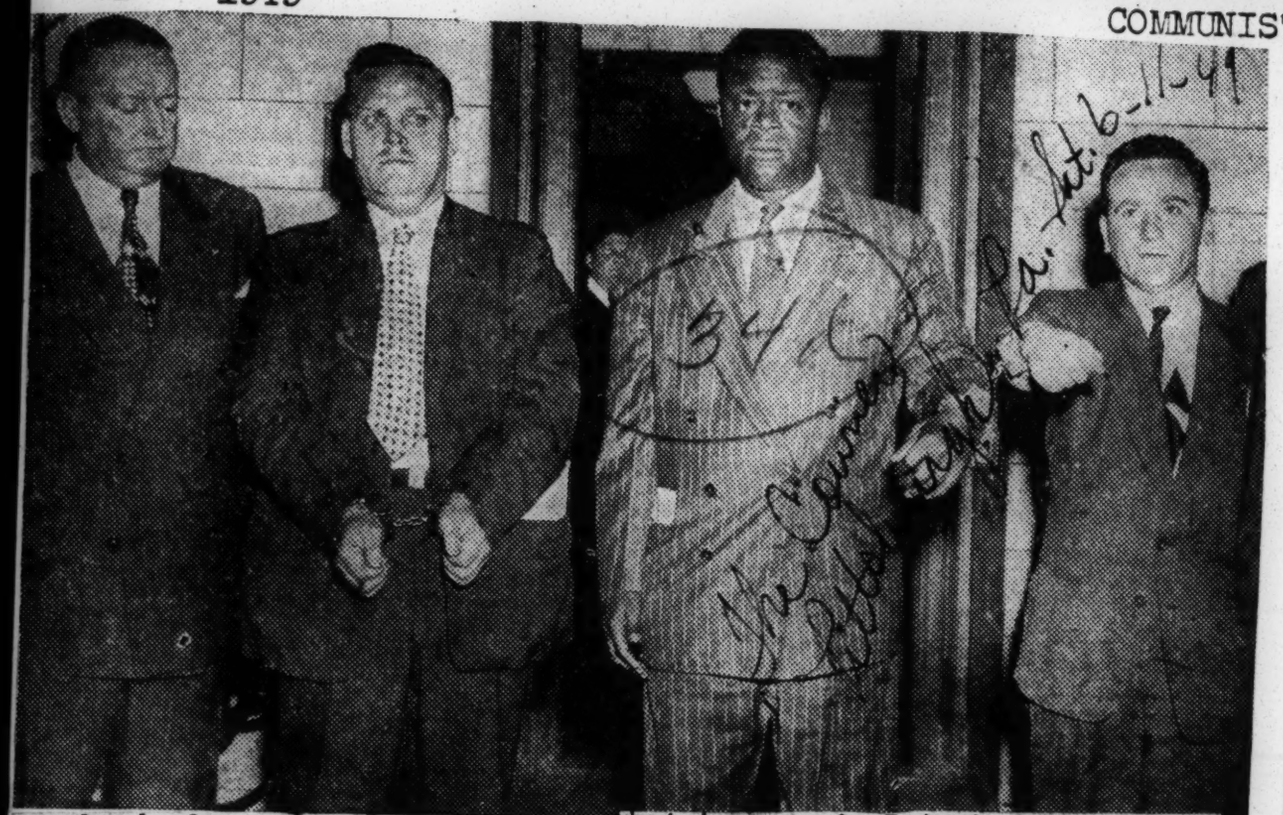
Is A Housewife

Mrs. Thelma Dial, foreman of the jury, is a housewife and part-time dressmaker. She lives at 545 Edgecombe Ave. and is the wife of a pianist. Courtroom spectators during the trial agreed she was the best dressed juror.

Mrs. Ida F. Howell is the wife of a taxicab driver and lives at 44 Edgecombe Ave. She is a beauty shop operator.

Attorneys for the 11 convicted leaders have indicated that they will ask the U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals to reverse Judge Medina's order revoking the $5,000 bonds of the convicted men and remanding them to the Federal House of Detention until they are sentenced Friday.

The five convicted lawyers are also expected to present motions, Friday, Oct. 28, for an arrest of judgement of their own sentences for criminal contempt when motions will be heard for a new trial.



Jailed for Contempt — John W. Gates, editor of the Communist Daily Worker and one of the eleven Communists on trial in New York Federal Court, is shown with two of his co-defendants as they were taken to jail after an unprecedented uproar in Federal Judge Medina's court last week. The judge gave Gates thirty days in jail for contempt. Then the uproar started. It ended by Judge Medina remanding Gus Hall and Henry Winston in custody for the duration of the trial. Left to right: U. S. Marshal James Mulcachy, Hall, Winston and Gates.—INP.

Negro Is Among 3 Commies Jailed

NEW YORK—Following a riotous outburst in the courtroom of Federal Judge Harold R. Medina last Friday, three members of the Communist National Board were remanded to jail by the jurist who has been the target of their courtroom heckling since the trial began some weeks ago.

One of the trio was Henry Winston of Michigan, the party's organizational secretary. The other two, white, were John W. Gates, editor of the Communist party's paper, The Daily Worker, and Gus Hall. The trio are members of the party of eleven on trial.

The group was held in contempt by Judge Medina after refusing to answer questions which the jurist ruled pertinent to the trial which was in its eighty-sixth session. The bonds of $5,000 each was revoked and they were remanded to jail for duration of the remaining trial except when court is in session.

City Councilman Ben Davis Jr. is among the eleven standing trial before Judge Medina, but he is not mentioned as being among those who took part in Friday's outburst. The trio was taken from court immediately and marched out to the cheers of their partisans as "martyrs." Their confinement is at the detention home in United States custody.

RED CASE CONTEMPT JAILS 3 OF ACCUSED AT STORMY SESSION

Medina Remands Witness for Refusal to Reply, Two Others for Outbursts in Court

COUNSEL FACE PENALIZING

Judge Rejects Mitigation of Terms of Clients, 30 Days to Duration of the Trial

By RUSSELL PORTER

Federal Judge Harold R. Medina sent three defendants in the Communist trial to jail yesterday for contempt of court. He also notified all six members of defense counsel that he would take action against them later for persistent contempt throughout the twenty-week trial.

The defendants jailed and their sentences follow:

John Gates, editor of The Daily Worker, thirty days for refusal to answer questions that would have laid bare part of the secret Communist underground among war veterans.

Henry Winston, organizational secretary, remanded for the rest of the trial for a disorderly demonstration against the Gates sentence.

Gus Hall, Ohio chairman, also known as Arno Gust Halberg, remanded for the rest of the trial for taking part in the demonstration.

Handcuffed, the three were taken after court to the Federal House of Detention, 427 West Street, where they will be held when not in court. About twenty-five Communist sympathizers cheered them as they were put in a van at the rear of the Federal court house.

Revocation of Bail

Federal Judge Samuel H. Kaufman later denied an application to restore the $5,000 bail of each remanded defendant. The bail was revoked by Judge Medina's orders.

Judge Augustus N. Hand of the Circuit Court of Appeals denied another application to restore Mr. Gates' bail. Counsel for Mr. Gates announced that an appeal would be made to the full Court of Appeals Monday.

Members of defense counsel against whom action will be taken later are Eugene Dennis, a defendant acting as his own counsel; Harry Sacher and Abraham J. Isserman of New York, Louis F. McCabe of Philadelphia, George W. Crockett Jr. of Detroit and Richard Gladstein of San Francisco.

During the demonstration, which occurred in a courtroom containing many Communist sympathizers among the spectators, deputy marshals and bailiffs were rushed to the scene from various parts of the Federal court house.

Obedience to Party Leader

Except for Mr. Gates in the witness chair, all eleven defendants jumped to their feet while defendants Winston and Hall shouted defiance at the judge. The defendants refused to sit down for the judge, but finally did so for Mr. Dennis, who as general secretary holds the highest party rank among them.

All the defendants as members of the party's American Politburo or national board are being tried for conspiracy to teach and advocate violent overthrow of the Government.

Government witnesses have testified the defendants set up a secret, nation-wide organization to train professional revolutionaries in the tactics of the Russian Bolshevik revolution of 1917.

Among other objectives, according to the evidence, party members were taught how to infiltrate the armed forces, get possession of soldiers' and sailors' uniforms, and use force and violence with the aid of the Red Army, when the time is ripe, to set up a Soviet America dictatorship to destroy the United States Constitution and its guarantees of freedom and democracy.

Mr. Gates called on the protection of the freed-speech and incriminate-and-degrade amendments to the Constitution in refusing to answer questions under cross-examination by United States Attorney John F. X. McGohey.

After the witness testified that three members of the party's national veterans' committee had helped him prepare a certain post-war pamphlet for veterans, Mr. McGohey asked.

"Who were they?"

"These people are engaged in private industry," said the witness. "I will not disclose their names because they would lose their jobs."

At the prosecutor's request, Judge Medina then directed the witness to answer. The judge held such questions material, relevant and proper.

"On the grounds of the First and Fifth Amendments to the Constitution of the United States," the witness said, "I decline to answer that question on the ground it would degrade and incriminate me. If I answered, I would have to bow my head in shame."

Judge Medina then instructed the witness he had no constitutional right to refuse to answer such a question.

When Mr. Dennis rose to argue the point, the judge excused the jury. Mr. Dennis also called on the protection of the Constitution, saying an answer to this question would put in jeopardy the "constitutional rights" of the party and its members.

"I can not permit a defendant who has chosen to act as a witness in his own behalf to choose the questions he will answer and those he will not," the judge replied.

Succession of Sentences

Turning to the witness, the judge read him the Federal law which empowers a court to imprison a witness for disobedience of an order of the court. Then he said:

"I now adjudge you guilty of a wilful and deliberate contempt, and by reason thereof I sentence you as follows:

"You are to be remanded until you have purged yourself of your contempt for a period not to exceed thirty days."

At this all the other defendants, sitting in a row just inside the courtroom rail, jumped up facing the judge, and Mr. Winston shouted that the Government should be "ashamed for bringing in such a monstrosity."

"Mr. Winston," the judge said, "I hereby direct you be remanded for the remained of the trial."

"This sounds more like a kangaroo court than a court of the United States," shouted Mr. Hall.

"I have heard more law and more constitutional rights in kangaroo courts."

"Mr. Hall," said the judge, "you are hereby remanded for the balance of the trial."

Next Mr. Dennis, who had been standing with the other defendants, protested this "outrageous" decision by the court.

"All honest men must view this action as a contemptible violation of our traditions and uor Bill of Rights," he said.

Warning to Defense Council

Judge Medina told Mr. Dennis he was treating him as one of counsel. "If it were not for the fact I have determined I would not let this trial be disrupted by such things, I should have taken action against you and each of your colleagues long ago," the judge told Mr. McCabe as the argument proceeded.

"I shall leave that to the proper authorities to take care of in due course, but you need be under no misapprehension — I have been

fully cognizant of your contemptuous conduct and your impudence."

The judge can initiate disbarment as well as contempt proceedings against counsel. He can refer the record in the case to the bar associations and the Appellate Division in the state courts, and to other Federal judges as well as hold counsel in contempt himself.

Punishment of counsel during the trial might indefinitely delay it through withdrawal of cited lawyers and selection of new lawyers who would plead their need for time to familiarize themselves with the case.

No Release "For One Minute"

In denying motions to reconsider his remanding orders, the judge said he intended that the proceedings from now on should be "just as orderly and free from misbehavior" as he could make them.

"The defendants had better not be disorderly in this court," he warned. Sat. 6-4-49

Asked to suspend sentence over the week-end to allow the remanded defendants to confer with their lawyers, the judge said he would not do so "for one minute." He said the defendants had had "ample warning" that he would remand them to jail if they persisted in disorderly conduct in court.

Under renewed cross-examination, Mr. Gates testified that he did not know the name or address of the party club he said he had belonged to for two years, did not know the name of the party official he said had assigned him to this club, did not know how many members it had or who its officers were.

He said he paid dues but never got any receipts, and received notices of meetings at homes of different club members but did not recall their names or addresses.

FIRST JUROR CHOSEN COMMUNIST TRIAL—NEW YORK—Mrs. Thelma Dial of 545 Edgecombe Avenue, housewife and former dressmaker, in her home after an afternoon at the Federal Courthouse where her name was the first one drawn for jury service in the trial of the top American Communists.—(Keystone Photo)— 5-14-49

COMMUNISTS' LAWYERS*
The bludgeon.

Mid-West Judge To Help Robeson On Red Trial Issue

Advertiser

By JOHN JAMESON

SULLIVAN, IND., Oct. 8—(AP)— Judge Norval K. Harris, a leader in the defense of the 11 Communists on trial in New York, is proud of his record as a defender of civil liberties.

Standing steadfast in his beliefs, the judge, who holds a powerful position in this western Indiana community, is not going to be swayed by the furore his stand for the Communists has caused, he declared.

"Intense feeling has been aroused," he observed. "That could be expected. However, the reports have been exaggerated and the feeling is dying down."

Judge Harris, relatively unknown outside his home town, bobbed into the national picture by accepting appointment as co-chairman with Singer Paul Robeson of a committee to rally support for the accused Communists.

"Liberties Subverted"

"I will do all that I can to help the men," said the judge, who branded the trial an "outrageous subversion of civil liberties."

"I don't know Robeson. I don't know any of the Communists on trial," he said. "All I know is that a secretary of the committee —I didn't get her name—called me from New York and asked if I would serve. I said I would."

Judge Harris thinks the committee must have heard about him because of a civil liberties speech he made in Toledo, Ohio, last summer. However, it could have been that his role as an editor won him some national notice from Communists and their sympathizers.

Harris, using the name of Ben Carson, published for nearly two years starting in 1945, a four-page monthly paper with a definitely Leftist tone.

The paper, first known as "We, The People, Protest" and later as "USA Patriot Educator" carried in an ear in the upper left hand column: "Capitalism — a conspiracy of cowards and cheats against our children."

Judge Harris grew fiery in discussing the case of the Communist. He quoted Jefferson and the Supreme Court at length.

He quoted an opinion from the late Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes:

"'If there is any principle of the constitution that more imperatively calls for attachment than any other it is the principle of free thought—not free thought for those who agree with us, but freedom for the thought we hate'."

If this can be preserved then Democracy is safe, the judge declared.

"I am 100 per cent stronger and more effective as an opponent against communism because of this stand than those people who carry anti-Communist banners," he emphasized.

"I knew I would be waving a Red flag in lots of peoples' faces when I took this job," he continued. "But I cannot stand by and see a trial conducted as this one is. Why if all courts were conducted that way I could put all my enemies in the penitentiary, and there are a hell of a lot of them I'd like to put there."

Six Police Hurt By Mob After Top Reds Freed

Harlem Crowd Parades; Bonds Totaling $260,000

NEW YORK, Nov. 4—(AP)—Eleven top American Communists went free on bond last night. Less than three hours later a brick-hurling Harlem mob felled six police in a wild welcome-home for one of the Red leaders.

The Communist bigwigs signed bail bonds totaling $260,000 and walked out to a freedom that may last a year until the U. S. Supreme Court reviews their recent conviction on charges of conspiring to advocate violent overthrow of the U. S. government.

Defendant Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., Negro city councilman, met a roaring welcome when he made a street-corner speech in Harlem a short time later. With him were defendants Henry Winston, also a Negro, and Robert Thompson.

The Secret's Out

MOSCOW, Nov. 4—(AP)—The Moscow press today attributed the release on bail of the 11 convicted American Communist leaders to the "pressure of public opinion."

NEGRO SINGER PAUL ROBESON, leftist target of two recent Peekskill, N. Y., riots, also spoke.

A crowd of about 2,000 cheered the speakers and then began a torchlight parade up Lenox Avenue through the tense, crowded heart of New York's big Negro district.

A handful of police stood by.

Officers later said the marchers endangered bystanders by waving their flickering torches.

Three police cars swung across Lenox Avenue at 114th Street. The paraders broke the thin police line and milled around the cars, chanting in tune with a sound truck "We will not be moved."

From rooftops came a barrage of bottles, bricks, saucers, cups and broomsticks.

* * *

OVER THE SOUND truck loudspeakers, a voice roared:

"We are not going to be stopped by the police department of New York City. We will march."

Missiles shattered windows in the area. The paraders tried vainly to overturn a police car. Its windshield was smashed.

Police reserves, led by some of the department's top officials, poured into the area—on edge for weeks over a bitter local election campaign in which communism is a dominant issue.

Six persons—four of them Negroes—were arrested. One Negro was charged with assaulting a policeman. The other men were accused of disorderly conduct.

THE INJURED POLICE, none hurt seriously, were taken to hospitals after they were hit by bricks or other objects.

The parade finally broke up as some of the crowd followed Davis off to other meetings.

Davis later told newsmen:

"My reelection is needed to end at once and for all the Police Department brutality, evidenced particularly tonight against Harlem's people.

"We are not going to stand for it."

The Negro councilman, with strong Communist support, is running for reelection next Tuesday on the American Labor Party ticket.

Davis said Harlemites were "celebrating and rejoicing the liberation of their rights."

Harlem Hurlers Honor Local Red, Defy N. Y. Police

NEW YORK—(AP)—Bottles and rocks were thrown at police last night as they patrolled a pro-Communist torchlight parade in crowded Harlem. Reinforcements were called for.

Several arrests were made, police reported.

Some 2,000 marchers pushed past a police detail on Lenox Avenue during a parade honoring Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., one of the 11 convicted Communist leaders. He was released on $20,000 bond only a few hours earlier.

When a sound truck joined the parade, police said, they stopped the driver for questioning.

Then the missiles were thrown at the police from the tops of nearby buildings.

A voice from the sound truck blared:

"We are not going to be stopped by the Police Department of New York City.

"We will march."

Davis, a Negro, is running for re-election as New York City Councilman from the Harlem area.

Out On Bail

The 11 convicted Communists are free on bail bonds today. Their freedom is the result of an order by an American court acting on a matter of American law. The three judges of the U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals who made the decision are Learned Hand, Thomas W. Swan and Jerome N. Frank. Judge Hand is regarded as one of the most able of all United States justices. They held that the government has conceded the appeal raises a "substantial question."

It may be a year or even two years before the Supreme Court of the United States makes final disposition of the cases. The constitutionality of the Smith act, under which the defendants were convicted, may be ruled upon. That act makes it a crime to advocate the overthrow of any government in this country by force and the wording of the bill is so strong that a good many Americans regard it as a dangerous limitation on the freedom of speech.

* * *

In spite of the fact that Judge Medina drew a careful line in his instructions to the jury, insisting that the only issue in the case was whether these 11 men were guilty under the law, there is some fear that prosecutions might be made on a broader scale, even to the extent of making membership in a proscribed organization a crime in itself.

These are matters which American citizens would like to have clarified as soon as possible.

Whether these 11 men should stay in jail or be free on bond makes little difference so far as Communist activity in the country is concerned. Eleven men are only a few in the Communist Party; there are many more, never indicted, to carry out the policies of the party.

It seems right to this newspaper that the defendants were admitted to bail. But the excitement, the near-rioting, which took place in Harlem when one of the convicted men chose to make a speech on a street corner is to be deprecated. He is a candidate for election to the City Council of New York, and tempers in his district were already short. There is no legal way to get his name removed from the ballot, and there is a chance, regarded by informed persons as being good, that he may be sent back into office by his constituents. What happened in Harlem is typical of the attitudes of his followers. That is only a minor reason, however, for the average American's dislike of what the convicted men stand for.

She Read the Verdict in Court

Mrs. Thelma Dial, wife of a Harlem musician, who as foreman of the jury read the verdict convicting the 11 Communists of conspiring to overthrow the Government.

Found Guilty

Benjamin Davis, New York City councilman, who was among 11 top Communists, convicted last week of advocating forceful overthrow of the Government. They face $10,000 fines or 10 years.

Davis, Winston Face Jail Terms

Harlem Matron Seals Doom of Red Leaders

By JAMES L. HICKS

NEW YORK (NNPA) — Two colored men, City Councilman Benjamin J. Davis Jr., and Henry Winston, were among the 11 top leaders in the Communist Party convicted here last Friday of conspiring to advocate the overthrow of the United Statees Government by force and violence.

They were remanded to the Federal Detention House to was sentenced to serve four months in jail for contempt of court by Federal Judge Harold Medina.

All of the 11 convicted Communist leaders, and all of the lawyers who defended them received jail sentences from Judge Medina.

Their doom was proclaimed by Mrs. Thelma Dial a Harlem housewife, who was foreman of a mixed jury of 10 white and two colored persons.

It was a dramatic moment as she stood in the Federal Court House here on Foley Square, and in reply to the question, "Have you reached a verdict Madam?", answered solemnly, "Yes. We find each and every one of the defendants guilty."

Mr. Davis, a candidate for re-election to the City Council, gasped when the verdict was announced and a buzz went through the court room.

The jury was then individually polled and it was found that everyone had concurred in the verdict of guilty for all 11 defendants. The other colored woman on the jury was Mrs. Ida Howell, also a Harlem housewife.

Soon after the verdict, Councilman Hugh Quinn of Queens a Democrat, announced he will move at the next council meeting to have Davis's seat vacated, but the convicted Communist said he will campaign for re-election right up to election day, Nov. 8.

Mrs. Dial, a part-time dressmaker, lives at 545 Edgecombe Ave., and Mrs. Howell is a beautician. Mr. Crockett, a resident of Detroit, was a former government attorney for the Labor Department, and was little known before the trial began.

5 Played Important Roles In Red Trial

NEW YORK—Negroes played three separate significant roles in the historic million-dollar Communist conspiracy trial that came to a dramatic close last week.

Two of the defendants, one of the defense attorneys and two members of the jury were Negroes including Mrs. Thelma Dial, who was jury foreman and announced the verdict finding all 11 defendants guilty.

Best known of the two Negro defendants is Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., an attorney and first Communist to be elected to the New York City council.

The other is 35-year-old Henry Winston, also a New Yorker who was organizational secretary for the Communist Party.

Among the five defense attorneys who were sentenced to jail by Judge Harold R. Medina for their conduct during the course of the 39-week trial is George W. Crockett, Jr., of Detroit

The other jury member is Mrs. Ida F. Howell, a Harlem beautician.

As a result of the outcome of the trial that cost the federal government more than $1,000,000 and the defense about half that amount, there has been widespread speculation as to the future of 46-year-old Davis.

A move is already underway to oust him from his seat as a member of the city council here. There is a possibility his name may be stricken from the ballots in the November 8 elections which he entered seeking re-election.

MRS. THELMA DIAL

Should this occur, the election of Earl Brown, Negro staff member of Life magazine, who is opposing Davis for his council seat, would be a foregone conclusion.

Wives of Four Convicted 'Reds' Ask Bail for Them

WASHINGTON (NNPA)—The wives of four of the 11 Communist Party leaders convicted in New York of conspiracy to teach and advocate the overthrow of the Government by force and violence personally appealed last Thursday to U. S. Attorney General J. Howard McGrath for release of their husbands on bail.

They were accompanied by O. John Rogge, former assistant U.S. Attorney General, who was retained to represent Benjamin J. Davis Jr., New York City councilman, the day before sentences were imposed, and William L. Patterson, executive secretary of the Civil Rights Congress.

The wives of the four convicted men asked Mr. McGrath to recommend granting of bail at a hearing which was scheduled for Tuesday, Nov. 8, before the Second U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals in New York.

Request Studied

Judge Harold Medina, who presided at the trial, denied bail, and the hearing was to be on a preliminary motion to grant the defendants bail pending final disposition of their appeals.

After listening for more than an hour to the delegation, Mr. McGrath said he would take the matter under consideration, but he told Mr. Rogge that the Government's position would not be disclosed until the hearing.

Wives Attend Rally

The Attorney General pointed out that bail was to assure the defendant's presence in court.

The wives, who went from the Justice Department to a protest rally for the convicted men were Mrs. Eugene Dennis, Mrs. John Gates, Mrs. Henry Winston and Mrs. Jack Stachel.

34d 1949

Communist Trial

COMMUNISTS FREED IN BAIL OF $260,000 TO PRESS APPEALS

New York Times

Circuit Court Lets Rights Unit Post U.S. Bonds, $120,000 for Four, $140,000 for Seven

Fri. 11-4-49

MEDINA RULING REVERSED

Basis Is McGrath's Concession of Doubt — Pleas Expected in Spring, Decision in Fall

34d

By RUSSELL PORTER

The eleven Communist leaders went free on bail last night pending appeal from their conviction for criminal conspiracy to teach and advocate the overthrow of the United States Government by force and violence.

The United States Circuit Court of Appeals directed their release because Attorney General J. Howard McGrath conceded Tuesday that there was arguable doubt as to the constitutionality of the conviction under the free-speech amendment. 11-4-49

Instead of the $1,000,000 bail asked by the Government, or the $110,000 limit urged by the defense, the Circuit Court fixed bail at $260,000. The court directed that additional bail be posted to cover the $110,000 in fines imposed on the defendants, as soon as it can be determined in court how much they are worth.

The defendants by the terms of the bail were ordered to remain within the Southern District of New York, which includes Manhattan and the Bronx and nine counties in the Hudson River Valley. They were allowed, however, to continue the activities that led to their conviction.

It is not expected that their appeal can be heard by the Circuit Court before next Spring and by the United States Supreme Court before the following winter.

After a nine-month trial the eleven were found guilty by a jury on Oct. 14, and were sentenced by Federal Judge Harold R. Medina on Oct. 21. Ten were sentenced to five years each in prison, one to three years, and the eleven to fines of $10,000 each.

Judge Medina, announcing from the bench after the verdict that he had no doubt as to the constitutionality of the conviction, denied bail. All eleven have been in the Federal House of Detention since Oct. 14, when the judge revoked the $5,000 bail on which each was freed after the arrests in June, 1948. Three of the eleven have been in jail since last June for contempt of court committed at the trial.

Release Follows Assurances

Following argument on bail in the Circuit Court Tuesday, the Circuit Court handed down its decision granting bail late Wednesday afternoon, but this was not made public until about 9:30 A. M. yesterday.

By 11 A. M. representatives of the Civil Rights Congress, which is on the Attorney General's list of subversive organizations, appeared at the Federal Court House with $260,000 in Government bonds. However, the prisoners were not released until after 6:30 P. M.

The delay was caused by United States Attorney Irving H. Saypol, who insisted on formal assurances that the Civil Rights Congress had been authorized by the actual owners of the bonds to use them for this purpose. He was upheld by the Circuit Court in demanding guarantees that the Government could be sure of collecting the bonds if the defendants jumped bail.

About 4:30 yesterday afternoon the prisoners were brought from the House of Detention to the court house, handcuffed in a prison van. Then they were held in detention cells in the court house for two hours. Finally they were formally released by United States Commissioner Edward W. McDonald in a small court room on the ground floor, crowded with their wives, children and lawyers.

Hearing on Bail to Cover Fines

Eugene Dennis, the Communist party's general secretary, was the first one freed. He acted as his own counsel at the trial, and in addition to a five-year sentence for conspiracy, got a six-month sentence for criminal contempt when Judge Medina punished six members of defense counsel at the end of the trial. Dennis is under court orders to begin serving his contempt sentence the week of Dec. 12.

Dennis signed the abil papers, shook hands with Harry Sacher of defense counsel and took a seat in the rear of the room. He was directed to appear before Mr. Saypol at 11 A. M. next Thursday in supplementary proceedings to determine his assets in connection with the additional bail to be fixed to cover the fines.

New York

As each of the other defendants stepped up to the bench, signed the bond, and walked away, he was directed by Mr. Saypol to appear in Thursday's proceedings.

Dennis and three other defendants were held in $30,000 bail each. The others were Jack Stachel, the party's director of agitation, propaganda and "education;" Irving Potash, vice president of the International Fur and Leather Workers Union, CIO; and John B. Williamson, labor secretary. Jw · 11-4-49

Government counsel had asked the court to hold these four in especially high bail as particularly bad security risks. Dennis has a bail-jumping record in California, and the three others are aliens against whom deportation proceedings are pending.

The seven others were held in $20,000 bail each. They were Gus Hall, Ohio chairman; Henry Winston, organizational secretary; John Gates, editor of The Daily Worker, official party organ; Gilbert Green, Illinois chairman; Carl Winter, Michigan chairman; and City Councilman Benjamin J. Davis Jr. of New York.

Hall and Winston had been in jail since June 3, Green since June 20.

Mr. Saypol notified defendants who live outside the Southern District of New York that they could go to homes of defendants in adjacent counties last night, but must be back in this Federal district this morning. Hall, Winter and Green, who live outside New York State, were allowed to go to Gates' home in Queens last night, but were directed to be back this morning.

After a twenty-minute proceeding, the eleven defendants left the room, followed by their families and lawyers at 6:55 P. M.

Dennis to Resume Activity

Dennis was asked if he intended to continue his activities as general secretary of the party.

"Absolutely," he replied. "Only better."

At the end of the trial former United States Attorney John F. X. McGohey, who headed the prosecution, opposed bail with arguments that the Smith Act under which the Communists were tried was constitutional, an dthat Dennis had threatened in open court to continue if released the criminal conspiracy of which he had been found guilty.

Mr. McGohey was sworn in as a Federal district judge Tuesday when Mr. Saypol succeeding him as United States Attorney and when Attorney General McGrath made his concession of constitutional doubt.

Dennis issued a statement last night predicting that the conviction would be reversed on appeal.

Two hundred Communists and sympathizers, standing across the street in Foley Square, in front of the court house, cheered the defendants when they left the building. The crowd chanted a slogan often used by Foley Square pickets during the trial: "We shall not be moved."

The defendants drove in private automobiles to party headquarters at 35 East Twelveth Street, where a banner, "Welcome Home," was displayed in front of the building. Newspaper reporteds were barred, but it was said a group of party workers gave their leaders a reception.

Davis departed to appear at Harlem rallies in support of his campaign for re-election to the City Council.

Ruling on "Substantial Question"

The decision of the Circuit Court was signed by Judges Learned Hand, Thomas W. Swan and Jerome N. Frank. Besides stating the amount of bail for each defendant, the decision read:

"The prosecution having upon argument conceded that the appeal herein raises a 'substantial question' (Rule 46 (a) (2) of the Rules of Criminal Proceedure) it is

"Ordered, Adjudged and Decreed that pending his appeal to this court each of the above mentioned defendants will be released upon his posting a bond in the sum set opposite his name."

After representatives of the Civil Rights Congress appeared at the court house with the Government bonds, Mr. Saypol made known his objections to immediate release.

He first obtained a hearing before the Circuit Court at 1:15 P. M., at which the court upheld his insistence that additional bail be put up to cover the fines to the extent that the assets of the defendants permit.

Mr. Saypol then obtained another hearing before the court at 4 P. M., when it upheld his demand for guarantees that the $260,000 would be collectible if any of the defendants jumped bail.

It was pointed out that the Civil Rights Congress put up $23,500 bail for Gerhardt Eisler, German Communist, who jumped bail and escaped from the United States during the trial of the eleven.

The guarantees were given in affidavits signed for Mr. Saypol by three of the five trustees of the Civil Rights Congress Bail Fund—Frederick Vanderbilt Field, Robert W. Dunn, and Dr. Alpheus Hunton.

The affidavits said the actual owners of the bonds (contributors to the fund who were not named) had authorized Mr. Dunn as treasurer of teh bail fund to put up the bonds as bail in this case.

Henry Winston, followed by Eugene Dennis and Benjamin J. Davis Jr., arriving in a van to face the court. At the left and right are United States Marshals. The New York Times (by Arthur Brower)

WAITING FOR THEIR CONVICTED HUSBANDS TO BE RELEASED ON BAIL

The wives of the Communists in front of the Federal Court House yesterday. They are Mrs. Eugene Dennis, Mrs. Henry Winston, Mrs. [illegible]ing Potash, Mrs. Jacob Stachel, Mrs. Robert G. Thompson, Mrs. Carl Winter and Mrs. John B. Williamson and her 2½-year-old son, Neil.

Judge Charged With Prejudice Against Negroes in Reds' Trial

The Washington Post 1-28-49

New York, Jan. 27 (AP).—A charge of prejudice against Negroes was hurled today at the judge presiding over the conspiracy trial of 11 top United States Communists, 2 of whom are Negroes.

Federal Judge Harold R. Medina, immediately denied the charge, made by Defense Attorney Harry Sacher, and then asked:

"Do you move for my disqualification on that ground?"

"I do, your honor," replied Sacher.

"The motion is denied," Medina said.

Follows Other Charges

Since the trial of the 11—all members of the American Party's National Committee—began January 17, the defense has made numerous motions seeking Medina's disqualification from the case on the grounds of bias and prejudice. All have been denied by Medina.

But today's accusation was the first specifically accusing the jurist of racial antagonism.

The matter arose over the question of whether defense counsel should continue asking witnesss their race.

It followed shortly after Medina halted, at least temporarily, the parade to the witness stand of prospective trial jurors being staged by the defense lawyers in an effort to prove that the Federal jury-picking system here discriminates against the poor and members of minority groups and in favor of the rich.

The charge of prejudice came up when a defense lawyer, Louis McCabe, was about to ask a witness his race.

Medina interrupted:

"I'll put on the record whether this witness is white or Negro. Don't you think that would be a little more sensible?"

McCabe asserted that the question "goes to the very heart of our contention that Negroes were excluded" from the jury panels in this district.

"Well let us suppose," Medina said, "a witness may have a family in which Negro blood goes back four or five generations. Is it necessary to bring up such a sore spot?"

He referred to the first arrival of Spaniards in America and said he was not certain whether "I have Indian blood or not and I might feel a bit resentful if questioned about this."

Race Prejudice Charged

Sacher then leaped to his feet and said:

"Negro blood is as good as any kind of white blood. The question put by your honor indicates prejudice on your honor's part."

"I fail to see how I have so indicated," said Medina.

The 11 Communists are charged with working for the forcible overthrow of the Government. A twelfth Communist, William Z. Foster, head of the American Party, also was indicted with them but his trial was severed from theirs last week because of his ill health.

Before the exchange over the alleged prejudice, Medina ruled the defense could call no more of the 525 members of the trial jury panel until it had presented other proof of its challenge to the jury system.

JUDGE ORDERS REDS TO STATE INTENTION

New York Times

Demands Answer on Monday as to What They Propose to Prove in Jury Challenge

Sat. 2-12-49

By RUSSELL PORTER

Judge Harold R. Medina charged counsel for the eleven Communists yesterday with trying to make a "mockery" of and to "sabotage" the administration of justice.

The judge then suspended hearings on their challenge to the Federal jury system and ordered them to submit a detailed statement Monday morning on what else they proposed to prove and how they proposed to do it. Thereupon he said he would decide on what further steps he would take to prevent further "willful, deliberate and concerted delay."

For four weeks now the lawyers have blocked the beginning of the actual trial, putting in evidence that the judge said should not have taken more than three or four days at most.

The eleven are charged with conspiracy to organize the present Communist party in 1945 to teach and advocate the forcible overthrow of the Government. They have been trying to void the indictment and quash the trial-jury panel by charging juries in this Federal district are selected in an unconstitutional manner that makes a fair trial impossible.

United States Attorney John F. X. McGohey, who drove great holes Thursday through the ten-day testimony of Prof. Doxey Wilkerson, star witness for the defense, widened the holes yesterday by making the professor admit an identity of interest with the defendants.

The professor admitted he is now a member of the Communist party. He fell back on the plea of self-incrimination in refusing to tell whether he was a member in 1943, whether he was ever a member of the party's national board, and whether he was a delegate to the 1944 convention that dissolved the party and organized the Communist Political Association.

The wartime Communist Political Association was dissolved in 1945, when the present Communist party was organized.

As soon as Judge Medina mounted the bench yesterday morning he had given deep consideration overnight to defense objections on constitutional grounds, on Thursday, to the questioning of Mr. Wilkerson on his political affiliations.

"I feel quite clear that as affecting the interest of the witness the question is proper," he said, "and I overrule the objection."

Asks if Witness is Communist

Mr. McGohey stood up close to the witness and then asked him this question:

"Are you a member of the Communist party?"

The witness, who had been sitting back i nthe witness chair, put both his hands on the arms of the chair, lifted it up and pulled it ahead a bit, and leaned toward the prosecutor. He pondered a moment and then began:

"My experience as a Negro American—"

The prosecutor objected to any explanation, and the judge upheld him.

The witness then asked permission to telephone his lawyer for advice, and the judge called a five-minute recess for that purpose. As the judge hitched up his black robe and climbed down from the bench and left by the rear door, Mr. Wilkerson walked through the crowded courtroom to the front corridor, pulling a handful of loose change from his pocket to make the telephone call.

When the session was resumed, the judge mounted the bench again and Mr. Wilkerson sat back firmly in a corner of the witness chair, a wary look on his face as he watched the prosecutor standing in front of him.

But it was the judge who asked him:

"Now, what is the answer, Mr. Wilkerson?"

The witness replied:

"The answer, your honor, is yes, but I would like the privilege of saying why I make that answer."

Mr. McGohey objected to any explanation and the judge sustained him.

The prosecutor then asked Mr. Wilkerson when he joined the party.

Defense councel objected and the judge limited the prosecutor to asking about the period immediately before Mr. Wilkerson undertook his work in compiling statistical data for the defense. The judge said it would not be relevant to go back into the "remote" past.

Mr. McGohey said his purpose in this line of questioning was twofold—to show interest and bias on the part of the witness toward the defendants through long association with them, and to find out whether he had ever testified under his oath that he was not a member of the Communist party.

The prosecutor then ask Mr. Wilkerson whether he was a party member in 1943 when, he had testified, he was the party's "educational" director in Washington and Baltimore. When defense counsel objected, the judge said:

"What puzzles me is how he could hold that position without being a member of the party. All this makes me think there must be something tricky here. There seems to be some mystery about it that I don't understand. I would expect him to say, 'Of course, I was a member—what of it?'"

Calls Judge "Unrealistic"

Abraham J. Isserman said the judge was "unrealistic" for he must know that Communists are "persecuted" in this country today.

"I don't know any such thing," said the judge sharply.

Mr. Isserman replied that the question implied "guilt by association" as a result of political affiliations.

The judge then spoke in a clear voice that rang through the high-ceilinged court room:

"There isn't going to be any guilt by association here. I can tell you right now that these defendants are going to be found guilty by me on the basis of evidence brought in here or the case against them is going to be thrown out. Just remember that! There'll be no guilt by association before me!"

Mr. McGohey said that he had the right to explore Mr. Wilkerson's associations to show how far his connections with the defendants might affect his judgment in preparing his statistical data as an expert witness for the defense.

The judge upheld Mr. McGohey and finally Mr. Wilkerson had to meet the question about 1943 membership. Twisting in his chair and twirling his horn-rimmed glasses violently in the air, the witness said:

"In view of the purpose of the prosecution in this question, I feel it necessary to insist on my constitutional rights of freedom of speech and self-incrimination, and decline to answer."

Overruling defense objections to the question on whether the witness was ever a member of the party's national board, the judge said:

"He may be in this much deeper than I thought. I had no idea he was a member of the governing board instead of being merely interested in the Negro problem.

"It makes some difference to me how far he's connected with these defendants, particularly since the cross-examination already has considerably shaken his testimony."

In the course of the argument, Mr. Isserman protested the judge's characterization of certain objects of defense objections as "trivialities."

At this the judge leaned back in his chair, touched the fingertips of both hands together in front of him, and started calmly and deliberately to speak:

"If they were not trivialities I don't know any law at all," he said. "You lawyers are just attempting to make a mockery out of justice here. I won't have it."

Mr. Isserman started to say something, but the judge went on:

"The effect of all this is to confirm me in the belief that there has been a deliberate effort here to sabotage the administration of justice."

Explains Admissions

After cross-examination was completed, Richard Gladstein of defense counsel elicited from Mr. Wilkerson explanations of some of the admissions the prosecutor had drawn from him.

Judge Medina commented, however, that some of his explanations seemed merely to add "an element of confusion."

The witness said only a few small tailors, butchers, bakers and shoe repair men had been listed on the jury panels and when he found them he classified them as manual workers.

Mr. McGohey had brought out that Mr. Wilkerson's system of classification used an out-of-date Census Bureau index that classified such small storekeepers as executives, whereas a later supplement listed them as manual workers.

"The whole point is," the judge said, "not how many were affected one way or another, but the general accuracy of the charts."

When Judge Medina called off the afternoon session and adjourned court until Monday morning, he said he would continue Mr. Wilkerson on the stand then pending his decision on the challenge as a whole.

JUDGE ACTS TO CUT RED TRIAL DELAYS

Defense Opens Wrangling After Rebuke by Medina—New Panel to Get Case

By RUSSELL PORTER

Federal Judge Harold R. Medina rebuked counsel for the eleven Communist leaders yesterday for time-wasting, wrangling over trivial matters and "trifling" with the court. He also warned them of "to much guess-work and too many gaps" in the evidence they were presenting against the jury system.

Their evidence, he indicated, has failed to meet Supreme Court tests for what is required to prove discrimination against and exclusion of poor people and certain minority groups.

As the trial began its third week on the last day of the month, the

RED TRIAL JURORS GET INSTRUCTIONS

New York Times

11 Women, 5 Men in Box Ready for Beginning on Monday After Weeks of Delay

Sat 3-19-49

WARNED ON TAMPERERS

Judge Medina Admonishes All to Avoid Any Strangers, Explains Real Issues

New York N.Y.

By RUSSELL PORTER

Federal Judge Harold R. Medina told the jury in the trial of the eleven Communist leaders yesterday to report directly to him any attempts at jury-tampering.

The judge also instructed the jurors to keep their minds "right on the ball" in following the evidence. He said they should not let lawyers' arguments "stir them up" so as to confuse them as to the real issues or destroy the "calm and serenity of mind" in which "justice flourishes."

United States Attorney John F. X. McGohey will make his opening statement to the jury Monday morning. He will speak between an hour and an hour and one-half, outlining the case to be presented by the prosecution. The rest of Monday and all day Tuesday will be devoted to the opening statements of defense counsel, to whom six hours have been allotted. The first witness is scheduled to take the stand Wednesday.

The defendants are charged with conspiracy to organize the present Communist party of the United States in 1945 to teach and advocate the overthrow and destruction of the Government by force and violence.

Case Opened Nine Weeks Ago

They have been technically on trial for nine weeks, but the first seven weeks were taken up by a futile defense challenge to the whole jury system in this Federal district. The last two weeks have been devoted to a careful selection of jurors to guarantee a fair trial by an impartial jury. The actual trial is now about to begin.

A short session of court was held yesterday to assemble all twelve regular jurors and four alternates in the jury box for the first time. Judge Medina told the eleven women and five men something of the plans for next week, and then said earnestly:

"I do beg of you, as we go through this trial, to be patient. There are few qualities in life that are so important. If you once get yourself in the frame of mind where you know you have a task to be done and it has to be done carefully and just right, and you don't let little things disturb you at all, then you get a certain calm and peace of mind about it. That is the sort of thing that is of the essence of the administration of justice. Now do that."

Warns Against Discussions

The judge repeated his instructions, made several times while the jurors were being selected, not to read the newspapers or anything else about the trial, not to listen to anything on the radio about it and not to talk about it with anybody, not even among themselves.

"That means," he said, "that if some one approaches you, no matter how well you may know him or her, you must just quietly say, 'I cannot discuss the case at all.' And if it is some stranger that approaches you and seems disposed to talk about the case, of course, you will do the same thing.

"Do not permit anyone to discuss the case with you in any manner, shape or form. And if some one seems to be pressing the matter in a way that you think is not right, you may always report to me anything that you think I should know, whatever it may be."

The judge told the jurors to bear in mind also that the law permitted him to instruct the jury not only at the end of the case but occasionally as the trial progresses. He then said:

"I intend to follow this case with the utmost care and from time to time I will very likely give you some instructions that will tend to keep your minds right on the ball, so that you will always know just what the issues are; and where I think you need some help in following the proof, I will try to give it to you."

Sat 3-19-49

Issues Involved Explained

While the jurors were being selected the judge several times pointed out to them that the issues involved not merely whether the defendants were Communists or associated with Communists but whether they were guilty as individuals of certain specific acts in a conspiracy against the Government.

Judge Medina reserved decision on a defense motion to dismiss the indictment or grant a ninety-day postponement because of newspaper articles about the trial published in the last weeks. According to the defense, these articles have so prejudiced the public mind against the Communists that a fair trial by an impartial jury is impossible.

The defense submitted a 236-page, four and one-half pound exhibit containing copies of news stories, articles, editorials and cartoons. Judge Medina said he would announce his decision on the motion at the opening of court Monday.

January panel of petit jurors was dismissed. This was the panel from which the trial jury was to have been selected. Five members of this panel have been called as witnesses by the defense, as well as seventeen of the grand jury that returned the indictment.

The February panel has been ordered to report today. Unless the defense wins it challenge to the jury or prolongs these preliminary proceedings another month, the trial jury will be selected from this new panel. Tues. 2-1-49

Conspiracy to advocate violent overthrow of the Government and to organize the present Communist party for that purpose is charged in the indictment. In their challenge to the jury the defendants are seeking to avoid the indictment and quash the jury panel.

The judge's rebuke to defense counsel came while Richard Gladstein of San Francisco was questioning Prof. Doxey Wilkerson, who spent his second full day on the stand as a statistical expert for the defense.

Professor Wilkerson taught education at Howard University for eight years. He was an official in the Washington office of the Office of Price Administration until 1943. He then became "educational" direction for the Communist party in Maryland and the District of Columbia.

He was later of The Peoples Voice, a Harlem weekly newspaper, and is now director of faculty and curriculum at the Jefferson School for Social Studies. This school is on the Attorney General's lis of subversive organizations.

Twirling horn-rimmed spectacles and talking with a pedagogical air, Professor Wilkerson testified at great length, frequently taking papers from a bulging briefcase on the floor and laying them in a pile on the table at which he sat in the witness box. The Times

Beside him was a blackboard with maps showing residential groupings of jurors in Manhattan and Bronx in the last ten years. From time to time he would get down from the witness box to the floor. Then with a long red pointer he would indicate the red pins that showed concentrations of jurors in so-called "rich" neighborhoods in contrast to the bare spots or scattered pins in "poor" sections. New York, N.Y.

Judge Urges Briefer Presentation

While this was going on Judge Medina several times urged Mr. Gladstein to shorten the proceedings. He said much of the testimony was repetitious and much could be presented better in tabular form than orally.

Finally, as the defense lawyer continued on his course, the judge announced that he would not hear any more testimony from the witness on the residential factor at this time. However, he said he would accept the figures in tabular form "in order to save time" and for the "convenience" of the court in considering the matter.

The judge then suggested that Mr. Gladstein proceed with something else. The lawyer replied that he did not have tables ready to submit. At this the judge leaned forward in his high-basked chair, upholstered in red leather, and in a slow, calm voice said: Times

"In any other case, the judge has only to suggest something for his convenience in studying the evidence, and it is done. There is never any wrangling, never any dispute. But here, for some reason or other, disputes arise over the most trivial matters."

Mr. Gladstein started to protest, but the judge cut him short: "I tried to suggest it but not I'm directing it—and that's the way it's going to be!" 2-1-49

Judge Shows Displeasure

The lawyer, who had been standing in front of the witness box, then went to counsel table, picked up some papers, drew near to the judges bench and handed up the papers.

But the judge again showed his displeasure, saying:

"If you're going to offer exhibits now which you just said were not in shape to offer, I can't help feeling that you're trifling with me."

As the lawyer opened his mouth to say something, the judge went on:

"Why can't you say yes sometimes, Mr. Gladstein? Now this is one time you'll have to say yes whether you like it or not. You're going to have to go on to something else and please do so."

As the judge spoke with a note of finality in his voice, the lawyer ceased his protests and did not disobey. Neither did defense counsel yesterday indulge in the judge-baiting tactics of the last two weeks. On Friday these tactics caused the judge to deliver a statement from the bench linking these tactics with threatening letters he had received at his home.

Disqualification Again Rejected

Yesterday the issue of prejudice came up for the first time without the accompaniment of loud and prolonged defense speeches. No protest at all was made when Judge Medina denied the latest of several motions to disqualify himself and all other Federal judges of this district on the ground of prejudice. These motions had been pending since last week.

Throughout yesterday's session defense lawyers refrained from anything in the nature of the "loud, emotional and extravagant" charges against him that the judge denounced on Friday. They spoke in a low, pleasant tone of voice, and on one occasion Mr. Gladstein even handed the judge a magnifying glass as a present, so that he could study certain charts the easier. 2-1-49

"Why, Mr. Gladstein," said the judge with a smile and a note of pleased surprise in his voice. "That's very nice; I appreciate that."

The judge used the magnifying glass at intervals all the rest of the session.

Mr. Gladstein brought out from Professor Wilkerson that his study of jury lists for the last ten years showed a "pattern" year after year in which "clusters" of jurors appeared in the "rich" districts on the maps.

These were such neighborhoods as the Fifth Avenue-Park Avenue area east of Central Park, the Central aPrk West section, the Riverside Drive-West End Avenue district, the Sutton Place-Beekman Place-Tudor City region, the Parkchester development in the Bronx, and the Washington Square section.

There were "scatterings" of pins in such neighborhoods as Washington Heights, and the Fordham-New York University sections of the Bronx.

Few or no pins appeared in Harlem, the lower East Side, the East Bronx, Chelsea and Hell's Kitchen.

Many From Seventeenth District

The figures showed 40 to 50 per cent of the jurors every year come from the Seventeenth Congressional District, which includes the Ninth Assembly District, the so-called "silk stocking district," the wealthiest in the city, but also includes poor neighborhoods. In contrast, it was shown, only 1 per cent or less come from such districts as Harlem and the lower East Side.

"I'm a little puzzled by this line of proof," said Judge Medina. "I never understood there was any requirement the jury panel had to be made up in any particular way or with any particular proportion from any district."

Mr. Gladstein then switched to bringing out occupational data of jurors from Professor Wilkerson's figures.

These showed that during the last ten years 46.1 per cent of jurors have been classified as executives, 17.7 per cent as professional people, 31.2 per cent as clerical and sales workers, and 5 per cent as manual workers.

Shortly before adjourning court until this morning Judge Medina said:

"I'm at a loss to see how such data is of any value. The Supreme Court has clearly laid down the rule there must be proof of deliberate and wilful discrimination and exclusion; it is not enough merely to show a certain proportion from one occupation or section.

"These tables I have looked at are made up of samples with so many gaps and so much guess work that it's going to be very difficult to show wilful and deliberate exclusion from them."

However, the judge said he would let the defense present its additional evidence and then wouldsee "what it all adds up to."

NEW YORK COUNCILMAN TELLS COURT U. S. DISCRIMINATION DROVE HIM TO COMMUNISM

Post Dispatch St. Louis Mo.

Says Judge Who Tried Angelo Herndon Called Him "Nigger" in Court Room

GIVES GRAPHIC PICTURE OF AMERICAN HATE SCENE

NEW YORK. — (ANP) — Benjamin J. Davis, on trial with 10 other Communist leaders for advocating the overthrow of the United States, told the court last week that he became a Communist because of the discrimination he suffered in the United States.

He first became interested in red doctrine he said when he took the case of an Atlanta Negro, Angelo Herndon in 1932. Herndon was accused of being a Communist, too. He was convicted and sentenced to 20 years, but the U. S. Supreme court reversed the decision.

Describing his conversion, Davis said: 7-23-49

"He was charged with attempting to overthrow the government by force and violence. During the trial of the case both Herndon and myself were subject to the kind of treatment received by Negroes. The judge referred to me as 'nigger' and 'darkey' and threatened to put me in jail.

"I realized I was learning how my people were being treated in the south—that I was lucky and had many opportunities that were available to only a few. I felt that if there was anything I could do to fight this thing and identify myself with my people, I should do it.

"Because Herndon was a Communist party organizer, it was necessary for me to read many books and they made sense to me. I thought of circumstances in the light of my own experience—fiery crosses burning on my father's lawn and my mother's premature

Southern Issue Barred in N. Y. Trial of Reds

Wed. 7-13-49

NEW YORK — (UP) — Federal Judge Harold R. Medina informed Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., Negro defendant in the Communist conspiracy trial yesterday, that "Southern justice" was not an issue in the case.

Davis, a New York City Councilman, testified on cross-examination that he became a Communist after a Georgia Judge called him a "nigger." He said it happened in 1933 while he was defending Angelo Herndon, a Negro charged with teaching forceful resistance to State authority. Wed. 7-13-49

Davis and 10 other top American Communists are charged with conspiring to teach and advocate the forceful overthrow of the United States Government.

"That Judge called me a 'nigger' and he called every Negro in the court 'nigger'," Davis said. "...I wouldn't believe that Judge if he swore on a stack of Bibles as high as Stone Mountain in Georgia."

When Medina asked Davis whether there was a "single place" in the record where the Judge had called him any names, Davis said:

"That record was prepared in the most vicious lynch fashion I have ever seen. That's the reason I joined the Communist Party."

U. S. Attorney John F. X. McGohey said Davis had failed to mention the alleged "crooked record" when he appealed the case to the Georgia Supreme Court. Davis admitted that he had not, but charged that the word "nigger" was left out of the record as a result of a "conspiracy between the Judge and the Court."

At this point, Medina warned Davis to stick to the issues in the case at hand. Wed. 7-13-49

"We're not trying the Judge or what you call 'Southern justice' here," Medina said.

Ben J. Davis, Jr. Rated Reds' Best Witness At Trial

Nashville Tenn.

Former Atlanta Lawyer, Now New York Councilman, Denies Charge Of Seeking Overthrow Of Government

Nashville Tenn.

New York.—Georgia-born Ben J. Davis, Jr., son of the former Republican National Committeeman from Georgia, Ben J. Davis, Sr., proved to be the most respectful as well as the best witness for the defense in the "Trial of the Twelve" when he went on the witness stand last week. 7-15-49

Davis, now a member of the New York City Council along with his associate-Communists, is charged with having taught members of the party to seek the overthrow of the Government of the United States. The Federal Government, by which he and his mates have been indicted, claims that American Communists were being secretly trained to be professional revolutionists, to exploit the grievances of colored Americans and be ready to "move in and take over" when the revolution is successful. A part of the Government charge is that Davis and others plan to set members of the colored race up in a government of their own down South if the revolution succeeds.

All of these charges were refuted by Davis, who pointed to the speeches he made when running for the city council. In these speeches, Davis pointed out, he had urged the stopping of police brutality against colored persons in Harlem and against persons in the labor movement. He says he fought Jim Crowism and said the only way to get rid of the evils he mentioned was to "establish socialism" in this country.

The charges that he sought the overthrow of the United States Government by force and violence, Davis said, was pure "Hitlerian slander." Said he:

"It is a strange thing to talk to me as a Negro about force and violence as a Communist when all my life I had been hounded as a Negro and a Communist. This charge usually comes from Fascist sources to hide a real source of force and violence." 7-15-49

Davis said he became a Communist because of the racial discrimination he had endured in his home state of Georgia, at Amherst College and Harvard University in Massachusetts. He said he joined the Communists in Atlanta in 1933 but kept it secret until he moved to New York.

Davis disclosed that he is president of the corporation that runs the Daily Worker, official organ of the New York Communists and is secretaary of the Harlem division of his party. This division is not a segregated unit, he stated. Its members include not only Negroes but Puerto Ricans, Italians, Jewish and Irish members.

Davis gave his answer to the charge that he had taught the overthrow of the Government of the United States by force and violence in answer to a question propounded to him by Federal Judge HaroldR. Medina. It was conceded that the former Atlanta lawyer had maintained a dignified and respectful attitude toward the court and was quite a contrast to others of the twelve defendants, some of whom the Judge sent to jail for contempt.

DAVIS DENIES REDS PLAN NEGRO NATION

The Times New York, N.Y.

Councilman Says Race Should Determine This 'Right' With Help of Its 'Allies'

Tue. 7-12-49

MADE REPORT ON ISSUE

Judge Threatens to Imprison Witness for His Outbursts Protesting Rulings

By RUSSELL PORTER

City Councilman Benjamin J. Davis Jr. denied at the Communist trial yesterday that the party "advocates" segregation of Negroes in a separate "nation" in the deep South, but admitted it offers them this "right" to be exercised "in conjunction with" the Communists and other "allies."

Davis denied the party "advocates" forcible overthrow of the Government but admitted its proposed third-party government would have to "take measures" to prevent "counter-revoluntionary" force. He also denied the party reorganized in 1945 on orders from Moscow transmitted through Jacques Duclos, French Communist, but admitted the reorganization did not take place until after a Duclos message was published here. M. Duclos, a former member of the executive committee of the Communist International, is a founder of the Communist Information Bureau.

Federal Judge Harold R. Medina threatened to jail Davis for disbeying the court's warning against interrupting the trial with "outbursts" against rulings on the admissibility of evidence. Last week the judge warned the witness against testifying to facts that the court had excluded from the record. While maintaining an air of dignity and respect for the court, the witness has ignored its commands.

Shows Race Grievances Exploited

Davis is one of two Negroes among eleven members of the party's American Politburo being tried for conspiracy to overthrow the Government by force and violence. The Government has introduced evidence they taught professional revolutionaries how to exploit the grievances of Negroes and other minorities, foment and assume leadership of social revolution in time of war or depression, seize power in a counter-revolution and perpetuate themselves in power through a dictatorship to suppress all democratic rights. Tue. 7-12-49

The witness told of a report he made at a 1946 party meeting on "self-determination" for Negroes in the "black belt" of the South.

He said the party had raised the slogan of the right of the Negro majority in the "black belt" to "self-determination." Having lived there 300 years, he said, they had "all the attributes of nationhood."

Davis explained the party had changed its position by 1946 and no longer advanced this slogan for immediate realization.

"We are not advocating," he said in referring to the 1946 report, "that there should be a separate black republic. I said no one could exercise the right of self-determination for the Negroes except the Negro people, and it was up to them in conjunction with their allies and supporters to decide just what their relation would be to the state and Federal Governments, and whatever way they wished to fulfill their destiny."

Judge Medina said he did not understand Davis' explanation. The judge said Davis seemed to be saying the same thing as William O. Nowell, a Government witness, who had testified about the Communist "segregation" program.

"I certainly am not," the witness expostulated.

"Well," remarked the judge, "we never seem to have a meeting of the minds as far as the meaning of words is concerned."

All three defendants who have taken the stand have shown a tendency to deny and admit the evidence parts of this Government's charges in almost the same breath, partly because of special meanings they seem to attach to words like "democracy," "majority," "elect" and "decide."

Davis said the party's national committee adopted a resolution based on his report. The judge said Davis had had full opportunity to show what he did and advocated on these issues, and there had to be an end to such cumulative testimony or the trial would never be completed. Yesterday began the 26th week of the trial. It will have run six months the end of this week.

Trial Nears 6-Month Mark

Answering protests of defense counsel, the judge said Davis had had full opportunity to show what he did and advocated on these issues, and there had to be an end to such cumulative testimony or the trial would never be completed. Yesterday began the 26th week of the trial. It will have run six months the end of this week.

Davis accepted responsibility as a member of the party's national board for whatever it taught and advocated. He said it advocated "socialism" as the only solution for the wrongs of Negroes, labor and other minority groups, but denied that it taught this could be achieved only through use of force and violence.

"Since the emergence of fascism in the world," he said, "the party has followed a policy of seeking to organize a broad coalition of working class, Negro and other minority groups to elect a people's democratic government that would be anti-monopoly, anti-fascist and anti-war.

"In order for such a government if elected to achieve its aims, it would have to take sharper and sharper measures to break the power of monopolies through nationalization."

Sees Violence From the Right

If there were force and violence, he said, it would not come from the Communists but from "the big monopolists who are certainly not going to stand by while the American people curb their power." He added:

"Once this government was elected, it would have to take measures to prevent counter-revolutionary force from the big monopolists, the plantation owners, the Ku Klux Klan and all the other underworld that is financed by these plantation owners—to prevent them from overthrowing the people's front government elected by the American people."

The witness said a national board meeting in March, 1945, voiced criticism of the party's wartime policy of cooperation with American democratic capitalism, before publication of the Duclos message calling for a reversion to the class

Ben Davis Denies Advocating Force, But Favors Socialism

Daily World

Atlanta, Ga.

NEW YORK—(NNPA)— Councilman Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., denied last Friday that he had ever advocated the overthrow of the government but admitted he had told colored people that the only way they would ever be able to wipe out the force and violence used against them would be through the establishment of socialism in this country.

Sat. 7-16-49

The Harvard-trained Communist testified in his own defense last Friday for the second day in leader testified in his own defense the trial of eleven Communist leaders who are charged with conspiracy to teach and advocate the forcible overthrow of the government.

Davis' second day on the witness stand was marked by sharp clashes between the councilman's attorney, Harry Sacher, and Judge Harold Medina, who is presiding at the trial and who warned Davis about disobedience to his rulings and threatened to remand him to jail for contempt along with three other defendants jailed by the judge during the trial.

The warning came after Davis, by clever testimony, had managed at least three times to get into the record statements which Judge Medina had previously ruled out as irrelevant.

Sat. 7-16-49

One of the instances came when Mr. Sacher asked Davis if he was the first colored person ever elected to the New York City Council. Judge Medina ruled the question out as immaterial.

Shortly after, while Davis was supposedly testifying in answer to a question about his campaign for Councilman and the issue of force and violence, he slid in the phrase: "I pointed out to Harlem residents that we had big responsibility in continuing in the Council a tradition established by the election of the first Negro, the Reverend Adam Clayton Powell, and that he had endorsed me...."

Judge Medina broke in sharply: "Remember you were asked about force and violence and that I had barred the question about the first Negro conncilman? You are a lawyer; an intelligent man, and you knew better."

Davis nodded agreement but soon after violated the judge's ruling again. This was after he had testified to his election in 1943. Mr. Sacher produced the oath of office he had taken and asked that it be marked as evidence. The judge ruled it out.

A minute later Davis blandly recited the oath from the witness chair:

Sat. 7-16-49

"You all pay no attention to me," roared the Judge. "I now have warned this witness three times. I think some one connected with the defense hould have enough sense to warn their clients about flouting the rules of the court.

"Ive given you warning again and again and then when I do something you all seem surprised. Don't be surprised if something happens. I know what I have in mind and I suspect you have too. One of the warnings was addressed to this very witness."

Judge Medina referred to another court session, last May 26, when he warned Davis he would be sent to jail if he continued to criticize the court. At that time the Councilman called the trial "stupid and ridiculous."

Asked if he had ever been arrested, Davis said he had been arrested in 1935 while serving on a picket line led by the late Heywood Broun the journalist, in a strike against the New York Amsterdam News. All of the pickets, including Broun, he said, were jailed, fined $10 and given suspended sentences.

He said the strike was significant because it represented the first time the American Newspaper Guild of which he was then a member, had attempted to organize a colored newspaper.

Running Again

Benjamin J. Davis, New York councilman, has announced he will run for another term of office on the Communist ticket. Davis is one of the 11 defendants in the current trial of Communist leaders charged with advocating and teaching Communist philosophy. (ANP)

Davis Denies Advocating Overthrow of Government

Afro-American Sat. 7-16-49

By JAMES L. HICKS

NEW YORK — (NNPA) — Communist City Councilman Benjamin Davis testified in his behalf in Federal Court last Friday that he has never taught, advocated, nor sought to overthow the United States Government by force or violence.

He said he told colored Americans that the only way they would ever be able to wipe out the force and violence used against them would be to establish socialism in this country.

The Harvard trained Communist leader made these admissions as he took the witness stand for the second day as defendant in the trial of 11 Communist leaders charged with seeking to teach and advocate the forcible overthrow of the United States Government.

Threatened by Judge

Davis's second day on the witness stand was marked by sharp exchanges between Harry Sacher, his lawyer, and Trial Judge Harold Medina.

Judge Medina issuing a warning to Davis about disobedience to his orders which contained the threat that Davis would be remanded to jail along with two other defendants jailed by the judge during the trial.

Judge Medina's threat came after he had three times warned Davis to stop giving information on inadmissible questions while answering questions which had been ruled admissible.

Sat. 7-16-49

A Clever Defendant

On three different occasions Sacher asked Davis a question which was objected to by Government lawyers and sustained by Judge Medina.

Each time Davis's lawyer would rephrase the question so as not to cause such an objection, and, in answering the admitted question, Davis would also cleverly bring out the answer to the question objected to by the Government.

COMMUNIST DRIVE IN INDUSTRY BARED

34d

Girl Aide of FBI Testifies Her Efforts on Waterfront Found Workers Cool

NY Times 4-21-49

By RUSSELL PORTER

Communists organized a big "concentration" drive in basic New York industries last summer, according to yesterday's evidence at the Communist trial.

Miss Angela Calomiris, Greenwich Village photographer who served seven years in the Communist movement as an undercover agent for the Federal Bureau of Investigation, gave this testimony.

She said she took part in the campaign herself, specializing on efforts to recruit teamsters and longshoremen for the party.

Her testimony meshed in with that of previous witnesses that "concentration" of party "activists" in key war industries was started after the war by the party's American Politburo on orders from Moscow.

Eleven Politburo members are being tried in Federal Court on charges of conspiracy to reorganize the party in 1945 to teach and advocate violent overthrow of the Government.

Miss Calomiris testified that she attended a meeting of the party's county organization last July when the "concentration" drive was discussed. Speakers at the meeting included Robert Thompson, New York State chairman and City Councilman Benjamin J. Davis Jr., legislative chairman, both defendants, and Jim Tormey.

Testifies About Instructions

"Tormey told us the party was gearing itself for concentration work in the basic industries, and that in New York City this meant the longshoremen, seamen, teamsters, railway and railway express workers," she said. "He said the party's industrial, community and cultural organizations must take part in the campaign."

The witness said "concentration" tasks were assigned to each party section. At that time she was organizer or chairman of a party club at the Yugoslav Home, 405 West Forty-first Street, and co-organizer of the Yugoslav "community" section, which included some Yugoslav longshoremen.

In the party structure, she explainer, a "club" or "branch" is the lowest unit, several "branches" comprise a "section," several sections are included in a "regional" organization, below the county, sate and national bodies. She said there were 200 branches in Manhattan.

"A 'concentration' task was assigned to each section," the witness testified.

"What was your task?" she was asked by Edward C. Wallace of Government counsel.

"Work among the longshoremen and teamsters on Piers 84, 86 and 88 (from West Forty-fourth to Forty-eighth Streets) and the Railway Express at Forty-second Street and Twelfth Avenue," replied the slight, black-haired young woman. "We had to distribute copies of The Daily Worker and leaflets specially written up to recruit these workers at the 6 A. M. mobilizations at the piers and the Railway Express plant."

Miss Calomiris said her squad had "difficulty" talking to the workers.

"In most cases they were not interested in Communists," she said, "but we tried to make appointments to visit them at their homes."

Miss Calomiris said the party's recruiting methods included taking prospects to lunch, dinner or shows, getting them to read party "literature" and inviting them to meetings.

Previous testimony on the "concentration" drive included a statement by Herbert A. Philbrick, Boston advertising man who spent nine years in the Communist movement as an FBI volunteer. He said the campaign included "colonization" of key industries, including the General Electric jet airplane-engine plant at Lynn, Mass.

Miss Calomiris identified a letter she received last May from Mae Miller of the party's state organizational department, calling 1948 a "critical" and "decisive" year in which the party must function seven days a week.

The letter directed all "comrades" not to take more than three weeks' vacation without permission and not to go any place where they could not be reached in twenty-four hours "to meet any emergency."

The importance of the 1948 election and the party's fight against the Mundt-Nixon bill, which would have outlawed the party, were emphasized in the letter.

Third Day on the Stand

In her third day on the stand Miss Calomiris completed her testimony on the party's current activities in teaching "professional revolutionists" the need for violence in smashing the Government and setting up a Communist dictatorship.

She said party members using false names have been taught the need for violence at secret meetings of underground cells at private apartments and at secret schools.

The witness testified she attended such "educational" courses at the Jefferson School of Social Science, Avenue of the Americas and Sixteenth Street; the New York Workers School at party headquarters, 35 East Twelfth Street, and the Marxist Institute, the address of which she did not give.

She said she was in the midst of a six-month advanced leadership course at the Marxist Institute at the time she appeared as a Government witness at the trial.

"I have a class today," she added with a smile, "but I don't think I'll go."

The witness told of the use of Marxist-Leninist "classics" at these schools as "guides to action" when the time is ripe for revolution and not as mere philosophical theories as the defense says they should be considered.

Beginning last summer, she said, these books have been used in a new "ideological" campaign to train writers and intellectuals to gain "mass" support for the party among labor unions.

Face to Face

The Worker, New York, N.Y.

Window-Dressing for Lynch Oppression

By Benjamin J. Davis
Member, New York City Council

REP. WILLIAM DAWSON, of Chicago, has been elected chairman of the House Committee on Expenditures, the first Negro to hold such a Congressional post in modern America. Sun. 2-6-4

But this is only window dressing by the Truman Administration to hide the increasing lynch oppression of the Negro people.

The Truman-Democratic Party machine that handed this patronage plum to Dawson is the same one that refuses to do anything about the mass lynchings of Negro veterans and their wives in Monroe, Ga., about the lynch murder of Isaiah Nixon, about the Klan ambushing of Robert Mallard, whose widow was threatened and banished from her Georgia home because she testified against her husband's murderers. The polltax Attorney General Tom Clark, main speaker at the recent banquet honoring Dawson, is the same lynch-defender who has never lifted a finger against the Klan or against the lawless persecution of Negro citizens.

The Truman party machine that conferred the empty title upon Dawson is the same one that is now conspiring with the southern lynch Democrats and reactionary Republicans in the U. S. Senate to keep the filibuster alive so that no anti-lynch, anti-polltax or FEPC legislation can get through.

Sun. 2-6-49

IN THE THREE TERMS that Dawson has been in Congress he has never given the impression of being more than a party hack. Not once has he waged a real battle against the lynch-oppression of his own people. Constant epithets hurled by the fascist Rankin against Negroes in the House, Dawson seems to have swallowed without any difficulty. He was picked for promotion because he is safe and will not bite the hand that feeds him, though the same hand strangles his own people. Instead of fighting for Negro rights, he will fight for the corrupt Democratic Party machine.

Negroes who wage militant battles for Negro rights, for labor and against Wall Street are not rewarded with patronage crumbs handed down from Massa Truman. Nor are they given empty titles and dubious honors.

They are indicted and tried on a Hitler frame-up of "conspiracy to advocate and teach the overthrow of the government with force and violence" —as are Henry Winston and myself, along with our fellow Communist National Committeemen.

Our crime is that we fight for the Negro liberation that Dawson is being paid off not to fight for. The same poll tax lynch-defender, Tom Clark, who pats Dawson on the back, we despise.

Truman and his crooked party machine is trying to drive home a lesson with the Dawson appointment. They are saying that if you, the Negro people, work with your oppressors, and collaborate with the reactionary capitalists, a few of your leaders will get pennies from heaven. But if you fight your oppressors—and insist upon your full citizenship, we will intimidate and threaten you or maybe call you a Communist and jail you. Sun. 2-6-49

THE JAILS of the country are not big enough to hold the millions of Negroes and their supporters who will go on fighting for full liberation. And this liberation is going to be accomplished! Nor is the degenerate capitalist system going to stand in the way. The Worker

The appointment of Dawson has not resulted in the prosecution of a single lyncher by the Truman Administration, nor in the enforcement of the 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments, nor in the passage of a solitary civil rights measure. These achievement will come only through the fighting, uncompromising tenacity of the Negro people, their white labor-progressive supporters.

New York, N.Y.

Class struggle, not class collaboration, is the answer. The party machine that knighted Dawson is the political instrument of the very monopolies and Southern bourbons who are tightening the screws upon the Negro workers and their families.

In the American Tradition

Daily Worker

THE PEOPLE OF OUR CITY can be mighty proud of the way Communist Councilman Benjamin Davis acted in the City Council the other day.

While most of the other councilmen were joining the utterly artificial hysteria whipped up to hide the naked facts in the case of Cardinal Mindszenty, Ben Davis stood up like a brave American in our great tradition and spoke for the interests of the common people.

DAVIS

Councilman Davis challenged the hysterical orators who were calling for force and violence against the Catholic people of Hungary because they abolished the big estates of the landlords and the hierarchy.

He challenged them to refute the proved charges that Mindszenty was using the faith of the Hungarian Catholics as a cloak for criminal political plotting to bring back the old monarchy and the feudal landlords. Fri. 2-11-49

Councilman Davis stood up for his fellow Americans when he warned that the peace of our land was being betrayed by hysteria-mongers who could not hide their own crimes and preparations for war.

In this courageous refusal to be stampeded by cynical men using religion to mask political intrigues, Councilman Davis was supported by ALP Councilman Connolly. Councilman Isaacs did not join the majority vote favoring the hysterical falsehoods aimed at defending the Hungarian Father Coughlin, Mindszenty.

We hope that Ben Davis' stand for peace, for calm and decency will get the support it merits. People's organizations and peace-loving individuals should let him know they stand with him in this fight for a peaceful America and for an end to the anti-Communist frameup. It is because he speaks for peace, that Councilman Davis, along with his 11 other defendants in the heresy trial now going on, faces 10-20 years in jail at the government's hands.

There is a move afoot to silence Ben Davis' voice by expelling him from the City Council. We warn New Yorkers to be alert.

DAVIS IS CANDIDATE FOR COUNCIL AGAIN

New York Times, New York

Communist, on Trial, Will Seek Third Term—Tammany to Name Negro Opponent

Wed. 4-27-49

Benjamin J. Davis Jr., Communist member of the City Council, who was elected twice under proportional representation, announced yesterday that he would be a candidate for re-election to the Council from the Twenty-first Councilmanic District, identical with the Twenty-first Senatorial District.

The district takes in the West Side of Manhattan from roughly 100th to 160th Streets, from the Hudson River to Eighth Avenue for most of that territory, except that between 117th and 134th Streets it runs over to Madison Avenue. The repeal of proportional representation carried with it a concurrent proposal that Councilmen in the future would be elected along state Senate district lines.

Mr. Davis, at the time of his original designation for the Council, received a Tammany endorsement, which was speedily withdrawn. This year he will be opposed by a Tammany candidate, of the Negro race, yet to be selected, it was said at Tammany Hall yesterday.

Mr. Davis, who is the lone Communist member of a legislative body in this country, and who is also one of the twelve top-ranking Communist leaders charged with teaching and advocating the overthrow of the United States Government by force and violence, announced his candidacy at City Hall.

Mr. Davis said:

"During my past two terms in the Council I have introduced and fought for measures which would improve virtually every aspect of the life of the people of New York City. I have introduced into the City Council measures to outlaw Jim Crowism in Stuyvesant Town; to establish free milk stations for under-privileged families, and to proclaim officially Negro History Week, an observance which is now an established tradition of our city administration.

"I have not left political and economic issues to the smoke-filled clubhouse rooms but have carried them to the people on the streets of New York, election or no election."

Mr. Davis said that he would seek the support of "all progressive groups." Wed. 4-27-49

Judge Muzzles Commie Davis

Chicago Defender

NEW YORK.—Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., one of 11 Communists on trial here, was muzzled last week by Judge Harold R. Medina. The judge threatened to send outspoken Davis to jail if he continued his disorderly conduct. Chicago, Ill.

Davis did not hesitate after the warning from the bench. He took his seat and remained seated throughout the hearings. Thus thereafter, defendants were not interrupted. Sat. 6-4-49

Judge Medina had patiently listened to attacks on himself by defense counsel who charged judicial misconduct, prejudice and bias. Prior to the threat, the judge had only pointed out to defense lawyers they were building up a record of disobedience and that their punishment might come when the trial ended.

The Reds are charged with conspiring to overthrow the govern-

Says Medina Threat to Jail Davis Bares Bias, Perils Free Elections

Daily Worker

New York. Mon. 5-30-49

By Joseph North

Judge Harold Medina is guilty of flagrant racial bias and his astounding threat to jail Councilman Benjamin J. Davis by revoking his bail imperils the right to free elections, the defendant, one of the national Communist leaders in the Foley Square heresy trial, charged this weekend. Councilman Davis' campaign for reelection is already under way. "I'm definitely charging," he said, "that the Judge's behavior has no other effect than to keep me from running for council."

5-30-49

He said that if his bail were remanded it would seriously interfere with his election campaign. "That constitutes a threat to free election in New York—to the right of people to choose whom they want to represent them in council. It would mean I couldn't conduct a campaign at all."

Furthermore, were the judge to act upon his threat he would immediately deprive the Negro people of their only spokesman in the council of the world's biggest city, Davis charged. Practically from the trial's outset, the council has been meeting in the late afternoons to permit Davis' attendance and he has carried through all the normal functions of his office—met with committees, introduced legislation, discharged his obligations to his electorate, Davis said.

"Judge Medina's threat would prevent that," the councilman warned.

THREATENED IN COURT

Davis made these charges in his office in Harlem at a press conference Saturday. They grew out of the court proceedings during the week when Judge Medina whirled on the Negro defendant who had risen to speak and commanded his silence under penalty of remanding his bail.

5-30-49

It is significant, the councilman explained, that a dozen times or more in the trial's course white defendants had also risen to protest certain of the judge's rulings.

The first time a Negro defendant did so, the judge threatened him with prison.

"This is not at all accidental," Davis declared. He reminded the press that the judge had revealed his bias against Negroes earlier in the trial. Some weeks ago the white lawyers in the case vigorously protested the treatment accorded George Crockett, Jr., the Negro attorney who represents two of the defendants, Davis said.

5-30-49

In the course of his statement Davis excoriated the entire existence of the case. He cited the decision of the British judge in the Eisler case. This confirmed, he explained, the defense charge that the Foley Square trial is solely a matter of political persecution.

"How do you see that?" a reporter for a press agency asked.

"The British court is a capitalist court, too," Davis said. "But there the judge saw that Eisler is being persecuted because of his political views, because he is a German Communist. And he refused to send him back."

Davis explained that the U. S. Government spurously claimed that Eisler, too, "advocated overthrow of the government by force."

NOWHERE ELSE

The councilman said that no other country in the world has a spectacle like the Foley Square trial. "They wouldn't stand for such political persecution," he said.

Davis, in reply to a reporter's question, said that as a lawyer he had never seen a judge behave in so biased a manner as Medina. "And I practiced law in Georgia, remember" he said.

The Communist councilman also pointed out that remanding his bail would interfere with the right to a fair trial. "If I went to jail it would materially interrupt the preparation of the defense's case. It would halt my free access to cooperate with my attorneys in preparing our material for the trial."

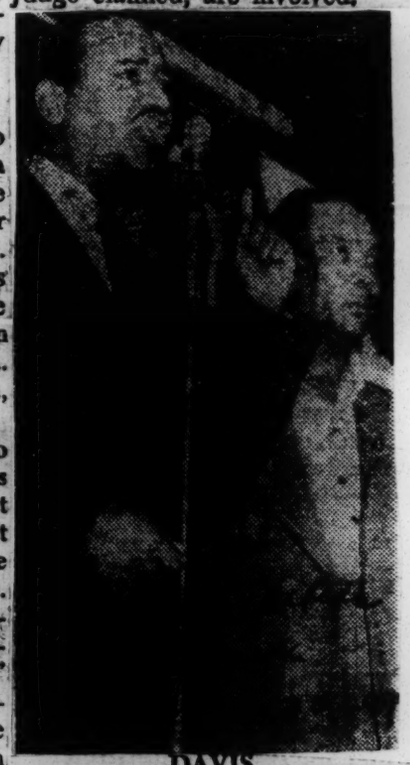
Davis bared the ridiculous nature of the Government's case. He pointed out that while he was on trial charged with "advocating the overthrow of the Government," he was attending City Council meetings and doing his utmost to achieve proper government for the nation's greatest city.

The supreme irony of the case, he said, is that "Poll-Tax" Attorney General Tom Clark has preferred the charges.

5-30-49

"This man never prosecuted a lynching since he's been attorney general. He hails from a state where the Government regards terror and intimidation as a normal process. And this man should have the right to determine who's American and who's not! Why, his entire politieal life is a symbol of everything that violates our American tradition of democracy."

The councilman said that he called the press conference to alert the city's people that their electoral rights are endangered by Judge Medina's behavior. "The electorate must understand that no issue of 'improper remarks in court,' as the Judge claimed, are involved."



DAVIS

He explained he had risen to protest the judge's refusal to permit John Gate's testimony on Republican Spain.

"The war in Spain," he said, "had a profound effect upon our policies. Three thousand American Communists went there, more than a thousand didn't return. Some of the most important aspects of our teachings are involved in the recital of what happened in Spain," the Councilman said.

He told reporters that he was standing for reelection in the 21st district, and that he had been twice elected. The second time he received the second highest vote in the county.

No Ordinary Event

Daily Worker,

THE RE-NOMINATION OF COMMUNIST COUNCILMAN BEN DAVIS on the ALP ticket, along with Councilman Eugene Connolly, is no routine election event.

New York, N.Y.

It is an event of national and even of worldwide importance.

June. 6-7-49

Ben Davis is a leader of the Negro people. He is known throughout the land as such by every Negro who knows the hateful Jimcrow system and wants to destroy it.

DAVIS

Ben Davis is a Negro Communist. He is known as such to the entire nation. The oppressed peoples in Africa and Asia know his name and what it stands for.

Ben Davis is a defendant in the most notorious frame-up since the Scottsboro Case, the frame-up of the Communist Party leaders, which is aimed at outlawing the movement for peace, democracy and Socialism in our land.

In choosing Ben Davis as their candidate, the American Labor Party paid tribute to this courageous American's service in the cause of the common man and his country. The nomination shows that non-Communists in New York refuse to be intimidated by the vile "red scare," that deadly weapon of democracy's enemies from Hitler to the Un-American Committee.

June. 6-7-49

Let this election fight be understood, then, for what it is—a key struggle of the people against the warmongers, the frame-up artists, and the "white supremacy" mob which has organized the "red scare" hysteria to hide its own crimes against our country.

Now is the time to start the practical preparations to carry this crucial fight to a glorious victory. It will be an enormous gain for America and for the world.

Chase Flays Talmadge in Red Hearing

Calls Governor 'Fuehrer' in Tirade Boosting Party

Constitution Atlanta, Ga.

By DuPONT WRIGHT

Branding Gov. Talmadge "the fuehrer in the Capitol," Georgia Communist Chairman Homer Bates Chase yesterday predicted white supremacy, which in the Communist jargon is called white chauvinism, will be eliminated in Georgia within the next few years. Sat. 6-4-49

Chase, defending himself at a peace warrant hearing brought by a Cartersville grocery clerk, turned the witness chair in Judge Ralph McClelland's court into a soap box for the defense and illustration of Communist principles.

The clerk, Evans Wilder, maintains that he is in fear of violence from the Communists since he broke with them several months ago. The Constitution

"The charge is ridiculous," declared Chase. "The Communist Party does not believe in terrorism against individuals. There is nothing conspiratorial about us; we have a constitutional right to spread the writing of such men as Lenin and others. The people of Georgia could profit from them.

"Philosophy has nothing to do with this case, but the opposition has brought it in," he continued. "For 15 or 16 years I have studied Communism and I want to disclaim the definition of chauvinism attributed to me by Wilder and Daniel Duke." Atlanta, Ga.

Wilder, who is represented by Duke, had testified Chase and his associates defined chauvinism as the violent reaction of a dying political and economic system such as exists in the United States.

"Chauvinism is named after Chauvin, the friend of Napoleon, who believed certain peoples superior to other peoples. In Georgia, it means the whites believe themselves superior to the blacks. White chauvinism is used by Wall Street corporations to divide white and Negro workers," said Chase.

He compared his case to the celebrated Reichstag fire trial in which the Nazis accused the Communists of setting fire to the German Capitol, thereby starting a chain of events which brought Adolph Hitler to power.

"Wall Street is using Daniel Duke and other white chauvinists to divide the people and bring about war and Fascism in this country," he charged.

"Duke poses as a friend of Negroes on Auburn Avenue but practices white chauvinism and spreads it in a snide vicious manner such as is being done here, not openly like Talmadge. We shall brush him aside like a mosquito and I warn him that after the war the Allies tried as war criminals those who used a blubbering youth to bring Communists to trial in Germany."

Chase termed both Duke and Constitution Editor Ralph McGill as bourgoeis liberals.

He told Judge McClelland that if he were held under a peace warrant that in the future anybody who opposed Talmadge could be put under such a warrant.

"They could take a peace warrant out against Thompson," he said.

Chase bitterly scored the FBI.

"I never in any way threatened the turncoat Wilder, but I may have warned him against talking to the FBI, which is playing a reactionary role in the politics of Georgia and the United States.

"It has put its stamp of approval on lynchings such as those in Walton County and on violence against unions. Yes, we tell our people not to talk to such an organization. The FBI is riddled with white chauvinism."

Chase then paid his respects to Charles Pou, Atlanta Journal reporter, who attended Thursday's hearing of the case.

"We know him well," he said. "Before coming to Atlanta he made a living spying on Negroes in Birmingham and causing them to lose their jobs. Wilder and Pou belong together; they are informers."

Before Chase took the stand, William Stafford, CIO organizer, said he was appearing voluntarily to defend himself against what he termed Wilder's slanderous charges against him.

"The man said the Ku Klux Klan had threatened him, that he had lost his job and I sought to help him," he said.

"Talking about violence, I am the victim of violence. Bricks have been thrown twice into the home where I lived with my wife and baby. These charges are being used to inflame the people.

"Why, while I was sitting outside the courtroom, I overheard a man say we all ought to be lynched. Constitution

Stafford testified he was Secretary of the Young Progressives of Georgia, but refused to give the names of members of that group. Atlanta, Ga.

Jack Lorenz, Oglethorpe senior, took the stand to deny theatening Wilder. At first he admitted being one of two co-chairmen of the Young Progressives, but later denied it on the ground it might incriminate him. For the same reason he denied belonging to the Communist Party.

Eunice Tontak, graduate of Agnes Scott with an A. M. from Tulane, denied also she had threatened Wilder as alleged by him She also refused to answer whether or not she was a Communist on the ground it might incriminate her.

The hearing will be resumed at 10:30 a. m., Monday.

'MY ANSWER'

By Paul Robeson

As Told to Dan Burley

SUPPOSE AFRICA were free and a great nation like China? We must learn to think for ourselves and also to include in intelligent thought those who are closest to us through ties of blood, nationality common interest and mutual aspirations. We want as many areas in this changing world of control as we can get as Negro people. Suppose we won the right to vote plus our proper share of the economic spoils of the South: think of the tremendous pressure Negroes could bring upon the United Nations to help kindred people in other parts of the world. There is no reason to change what has become very significant and historic facts. Certainly, any Negro in the world would have a deep feeling for his own people, wherever they are, whatever condition they might be in.

MR. ROBESON

As chairman of the Council on African Affairs, I can truthfully say that the African people are highly cultured and not savage and cannibalistic as the newspapers, radio, book and lecture propagandists would make them. That is the Dixiecrat program to keep us fighting one another and to lead us away from the true paths that lead to the doorway to freedom from which we have been detoured over the centuries.

I am proud of my African heritage. In fact, I'm so proud of it that I have made it my work to learn several African languages for conversation and musical purposes. Mrs. Robeson has been in South Africa, in the Uganda and in the Belgian Congo and the French Cameroons. She has written a book on Africa, "African Journey." I expect to be in Nigeria and French West Africa next year. There is a tremendous liberation movement now underway in Nigeria of which Azikwe is the brilliant, capable and resourceful leader. It is very possible that Nigeria will be the first African nation to win complete liberation. Understand that we over here, whether from the West Indies or from New York, should consult with the Africans about taking something from them. This is in answer to the question: What Do You Think of the Back-to-Africa movement?

At the Paris Peace Conference which brought all the reactionaries of America down on my neck, a Negro from French Africa spoke for an organization of one million Africans formed into trade unions in West Africa. In East Africa Uganda and Kenya, there are very powerful movements for the rights of the African peoples. We must be very much aware of our allies of this time—and here we are dealing with 150,000,000 in Africa, 40 to 60 million in the Caribbean and Latin America. All these people are to be considered, to be thought of as strengthening their own position in the areas where they live. Likewise Negroes in the South and West Indies must think of the areas in which they live as land that belongs to them. That is where they worked or were worked to build up things—to till the soil, plant and harvest; to chop down trees and milk them of turpentine and other basic products for the industrial mills of the imperialists and warmongers.

They—the Negroes of the South—must not grow to thank Congressman John Rankin for being allowed to live down there. They must realize that they are the ones who built that which has and still is being taken from them. Maybe, they should think of someday gaining control through constitutional means of that which should have been theirs all along.

Civil Rights Congress To Back Demand For Robeson Riot Probe

NEW YORK, Aug. 29—(AP)—The Civil Rights Congress said today President Truman may be asked to start an investigation of the Peekskill, N. Y., riot that broke up a scheduled concert by Negro Singer Paul Robeson.

Will Lawrence, state executive secretary of the congress which has been listed as subversive by the Justice Department, said a delegation may be named at a rally here tomorrow night to take the protest in person to the White House.

At least eight persons were injured, two seriously, when war veterans, protesting the Robeson recital, clashed Saturday night with several thousand concert-goers.

PROCEEDS OF THE RECITAL were to go to the Harlem branch of the Civil Rights Congress.

Tomorrow night's protest rally, to be held in Harlem, will be sponsored by the congress, the American Labor Party and a group of individuals.

Lawrence said a delegation also would be named at the rally to call on Gov. Thomas E. Dewey. The group, he said, will demand a public investigation of the "failure of state police to act" in time to prevent the fist-swinging melee.

* * *

ROBESON, FREQUENTLY identified with left-wing activities, was intercepted by friends before he reached the concert grounds. He claimed the disorder was part of a "national terror" and an attack on the Negro people.

Lawrence said plans also were being made to have Robeson appear—possibly within the next 10 days—at another protest rally to be held in or near Peekskill. Exact time and place of the demonstration has not yet been fixed, Lawrence said.

The governor's office last night gave no hint of what his reply to the demands might be.

A huge crowd, estimated at 5,000 persons, was caught up in the surging battle, which raged in darkness in a wooded picnic grove where Robeson was scheduled to sing.

* * *

AT LEAST EIGHT PERSONS were injured, two seriously.

The concert was sponsored by a branch of the Civil Rights Congress, labeled subversive by the justice department.

PAUL ROBESON AGAIN

Frankly speaking, we are beginning to wonder what is all the stir among the people of this country about Paul Robeson.

Who is he? What kind of new doctrine is he preaching to the vast crowds which we are told, risk their lives to hear him? Does he sing like angels or does he preach like Paul?

A short while ago, it was reported in the public press that Robeson had made a statement while in Paris, France, in which he said that Negroes in America would not fight against Russia in case of war, and no one, so far as we know, took such a statement by Robeson seriously and our comment then was, "No Negro, or anyone else, could speak for fifteen million Negroes in the United States." We just have not developed that kind of leadership.

Somehow, we can't but wonder if all this stir and uproar about Robeson's singing is based upon fear that he will overthrow his government or lead an army against the United States.

Whence cometh all this power to one man in so short a time?

We wonder if all this fighting, every move Paul makes, or every word he speaks or every song he sings are intended to make a martyr or a hero of Paul Robeson.

He has the Right to be Heard.

Council Says 'Red' Probe Shows Fear of Robeson

NEW YORK — The Council on African Affairs, of which Paul Robeson is chairman, this week started the House of Un-American Activities Committee which is scheduled to hear testimony "disputing" recent statements by Paul Robeson. In a statement released through its secretary, Dr. W. A. Hunton, the Council said:

"When the House Committee, notorious for its Dies-Rankin-Wood Dixiecrat leadership and its constant smearing of those who do not subscribe to its own brand of Americanism, turns its attention to the opinions of Paul Robeson regarding the colored people's attitude toward war against the Soviet Union, it is obvious that the Committee is not concerned with and does not dare place in the record the full context of what Robeson actually said on this subject.

"The Un-American Committee is out to smear Robeson because he challenges and refuses to accept any brand of second-class jim-crow Americanism."

The statement charged the committee with a persistent and deliberate do-nothing policy with respect to the protection of colored persons against outrageous mob violence and other un-American practices.

Noting that the Committee has even called the fight against these evils "Communist-inspired," the Council said it now sets itself up as the judge of the "loyalty" of colored Americans.

"The Committee's purpose in this hearing is to try to stifle criticism of the Administration's betrayal of the colored people, or

ganized labor, and civil liberties in general of the domestic front and its 'cold war' foreign policy which entails aid to imperialist and fascist regimes throughout the world and continued colonial domination and intensified exploitation of Afri ca and other oppressed peoples. The statement continued.

Robeson To Testify For '12'

Daily Worker

New York, N.Y.

ROBESON

Fri. 6-10-49

MOSCOW, June 9 (UP).—Singer Paul Robeson told the Soviet Academy of Sciences that he would return soon to the United States to testify at the New York trial of Communist leaders, it was reported today.

Robeson, one of the most popular of foreign visitors attending a celebration in honor of poet Alexander Pushkin, told the group:

"I came here from progressive America in behalf of millions of oppressed Negroes. Soon I'll return to America to testify at the trial of 12 leaders of the Communist Party on trial for their devotion to the working class.

Fri. 6-10-49

"We representatives of progressive Europe and America will continue the struggle regardless of the cost. We know that the new Soviet land leads the struggle for freedom of all nations. We know that the Soviet Union's power destroyed fascism.

"We are fully resolved to struggle for peace and friendship together: with that great country which gave us Pushkin, with you Soviet people representing the hope of the whole world, with you who are building a full and varied human life based on the activities of your great leaders, Lenin and Stalin."

OPENS CONCERT TOUR

Robeson opened his concert tour of Russia here last night and was greeted with one of the longest ovations ever given any artist in the Soviet capital. Fri. 6-10-49

Robeson, whose three Moscow concerts sold out a few minutes after tickets were placed on sale, made an impromptu speech in Russian to the audience which packed Chaikovsky Hall to hear him.

Paul Wonders How We Can 'Take It'

Afro-American

Sat. 10-15-49

Baltimore

CLEVELAND—"I don't know how ten or fifteen million colored people take what they take," Paul Robseon told a press conference, here last week, preceeding his concert, adding, "I for one intend to be very militant about it. I hope my artistry is a call to struggle."

Robeson was explaining that he hoped that through his songs, he would stir the American people so greatly that they would rise indignantly and put down the forces which propagate jim crow in order that they might divide and rule the majority of the American people.

"For years, I've been taking my art and making it political," the former all-American football player, stage and screen star declared. "There is not one song I sing that is not sung for its political meaning," he added.

Cites Congress Failure to Act

Mr. Robeson was pessimistic about arousing the masses to the extent that they would demand full democracy in the United States immediately, however. He said that such a "revolution" seemed impossible because "American fascists" were in control.

He cited the failure of Congress to pass a single civil rights bill, the "loyalty" purges in the government services and the trial of the 11 Communists in New York City as evidences that the essentially democratic element in the population is being ruled by the group opposed to true freedom.

O'DWYER AND MORRIS ASSAILED BY ROBESON

New York Times

Paul Robeson, the singer, charged last night Mayor O'Dwyer, Democratic candidate for Mayor, with having broken repeatedly promises for improvements in Harlem and asserted that Newbold Morris, Republican-Liberal-Fusion candidate for the same office, would be unable to keep similar promises because Governor Dewey, his Republican backers and the big real estate interests wouldn't let him.

Mr. Robeson, who spoke from radio station WNBC, urged Negroes to register and vote for Representative Vito Marcantonio, American Labor party candiadte for Mayor.

Sat. 10-15-49

Saying that there was more police brutality against Negroes in New York City than in Memphis, Tenn., or in "John Rankin's Mississippi," Mr. Robeson urged the election of Mr. Marcantonio as a man who would fight for the rights of the Negro everywhere.

"We want a Mayor who'll fight for us and not against us," Mr. Robeson said. "We want no Jim Crow O'Dwyer and no Jim Crow Morris. We want a guy who has the guts to fight the real estate boys and who'll make the coppers behave."

10-15-49

Mr. Robeson also scored President Truman for failure to get his civil rights program through Congress.

ROBESON RALLY QUIET

Sings and Speaks at Washington to Capacity Crowd

New York Times

WASHINGTON, Oct. 13 (UP)—Paul Robeson spoke and sang at a "Negro Freedom Rally" here tonight that was completely free from any disturbance.

10-15-49

The rally, put on by the Washington Joint Sponsoring Committee, was attended by a capacity crowd of about 1,800 persons. The arena was surrounded by a large detail of Washington police and units of Military Police and Naval Shore patrolmen.

PERSONAL SUCCESS NOT ENOUGH:

Well-Being of All Men Paul Robeson's Goal

Afro-American

By LOUIS LAUTIER

WASHINGTON (NNPA) — Just what impelled Paul Robeson, self-styled anti-Fascist, to give up his professional career, enter into the struggle for the colored people and veer so sharply to the left? At the time, he himself admits, he was "at the top of the heap," with only Marian Anderson, Jascha Heifitz and Dorothy Maynor commanding larger fees than his.

Sat. 10-29-49

Since his return from Paris, he revealed, he has had "86 concerts canceled out of 86." However, he added he had prepared himself for just such a situation by learning several languages.

"I can make my living singing among the Eskimos, the Chinese and the Hindus," Robeson said. "I am going to pursue my career in this country, but the main thing I want to do is to help where I can."

Many people, he said, are eager to work in the race struggle but are blocked by individual success or achievement. "When I was in Europe, I was making a reputation as an artist and by my achievements I believed I was helping my people," he explained.

He stated that he made friends with the Indian, the Russian and the Chinese people, the poor white working people of England and France. He said that he likened their conditions to those of the Africans and West Indians and showed how the same interests were keeping all of them poor.

Then, he continued, although he felt that his success was helping his race, he decided to do more and use his position to "get down into the day-to-day struggle of the colored people, which, in the end, is a political and economic struggle."

Not Least Bit Frustrated

"We want the right to vote, the right to work, the right not to be persecuted and lynched," he stated. Those things you have to get by passing laws, and that meant for me a different kind of role."

He ridiculed the "nonsense about personal frustration," declaring that "nobody would have been surprised if I had been a lawyer and had done this. In addition, he said that he plans to return to concert work and "Othello," under his own and somebody else's management.

34d

DEMO PLACES IN DISPUTE—With their rights to seats at a formal meeting of the Democratic National Committee at Washington today under dispute, five Southerners stand against the back wall of the meeting hall. They are (left to right) Miss Mary Dickinson, of Louisiana; William H. Talbot, New Orleans; Paul Brown, of Florida; Judge H. L. Perez, of Louisiana, and Edward Lewis, of Mississippi. (Associated Press wirephoto.)

34d 1949

Assignment: America—

WHAT IS THE NUMBER ON TRUMAN'S JERSEY?

Nobody Knows If He Is 32nd Or 33rd President

IT HAS CAPITAL EXCITED

By INEZ ROBB
International News Service Writer

WASHINGTON, Jan. 23.—This capital is right up to its hung-over ears in the numbers racket.

Take any number from one to 33, and you can get an argument in Washington. The argument has to do with whether or not Harry S. Truman is the Nation's 32nd or 33rd President.

No one in Washington doubts, after what this city has been through, that our Harry is President. It just wonders which one. Is he the 32nd or the 33rd?

And if Mr. Truman regards himself as the 33rd, as the White House says, and if Franklin Delano Roosevelt regarded himself as the 31st President, as some of his old associates insist, then who was the 32nd President, if any?

Inez Robb

Well, sir, this is the sort of great, big, national issue with which Washington loves to wrassle between bouts with inflation and Communism.

This is no laughing matter. And Congress itself may eventually be called upon to decide whether Mr. Truman is the Nation's 32nd or its 33rd President. The Library of Congress is already involved to the point where it won't say "yes" and it won't say "no."

The library is certain only on two points:

Mr. Truman is the 32nd per- to be elected to the Presi- y, and

Mr. Truman is the 33rd Presi- in order of succession.

It's A Bit Confusing

f this seems confusing, don't be rmed. It is.

Nor can Mr. Truman blame it r a Republican plot. It all stems ack to another deserving Demo- rat, Grover Cleveland, a President chiefly distinguished as the man whose face is on that lovely but lonely type of folding money known as one grand.

Mr. Cleveland served two terms in the White House, but he did it the hard way, like a split week in vaudeville. Mr. Cleveland was elected the Nation's 22nd president in 1884. He did not make it again in '88, a poor year for Democrats.

Cleveland was nosed out in that year by Benjamin Harrison, who became the 23rd chief executive. But Cleveland was not a man to cry "Uncle Sam" in vain. He ran for the third time in 1892 and was elected to his second term in the White House.

In strict order of succession, this made Cleveland the 24th chief executive. But he had witnesses to prove that he was the same Grover Cleveland elected to the presidency in 1884.

And in 1884, Clveland was the 22nd person elected to the presidency. In 1892, he was still the 22nd individual to be president, but in the matter of succession, he had jumped two and became No. 24.

"Calculated Disorder?"

The confusion, which is more than somewhat, stems from the Cleveland split administrations. In an individual, a split administration is known as "schizophrenia." In a government, it is known as calculated disorder.)

Of course, there is still the matter of a 32nd President and what became of him if F. D. R. called himself the 31st President and Mr. Truman insists on viewing himself as the 33rd. We're a big, extravagant Nation, but don't tell us we've mislaid a President!

The Library of Congress, which has been sucked in on this matter of presidential numbers, weasels out of it by submitting that this will probably remain a controversial point for some time since there is no real way to settle it until Congress does something.

In a great many games, you can't tell the players without a number.

But in the presidential game; you can't even get a good, reliable number.

Democratic

HEAR FREEDOM CALL:

23 Attend $100-Plate Democratic Dinner

34d

NEW YORK—Seven Southern Governors—half of the governors present—and 23 colored Democratic stalwarts were among those who attended the $100-a-plate Democratic fund-raising dinner at th Waldorf-Astoria Hotel here last Friday nigh. Their presence attested to the party's goal: to unify all factors for future victory.

Missing from the affair, designed to map strategy for the 1950 Congressional and the 1952 Presidential elections were the outright Dixiecrats and Southern opponents of the President's civil rights program. The Dixiecrats have threatened again to bolt the party.

Indications are that the Dixiecrats will line up behind former Secretary of State James F. Byrnes for the Democratic Presidential election. Administration forces are seeking to solidify the divergent elements which have given the Democratic Party victory in every Presidential campaign since 1932.

Barkley Foresees Victory

Vice-President Alben W. Barkley, principal speaker, predicted that in 1950 the Democrats shall not only retain control of the House and Senate but will increase their majorities in both houses and "in 1952 will again elect a Democratic President."

The Southern Governors, introduced for political effect, were James E. Folsom of Alabama, Sidney S. McMath of Arkansas, Fuller Warren of Florida, Earle Clements of Kentucky, W. Preston Lane Jr., of Maryland, W. Scott Kerr of North Carolina and Gordon L. Browning of Tennessee.

At the table with Dwight R. G. Palmer, a member of President Truman's Committee on Equality of Treatment and Opportunity in the Armed Services, were Darwin W. Telesford of the New York City Civil Service Commission, and Mrs. Telesford; Julius A. Thomas, industrial secretary of the National Urban League, and Mrs. Thomas.

Largest Group Yet

Dr. Channing Tobias of the Phelps Stokes Fund was at a table with his son-in-law, Dr. William Dean, a UN employee. Seated at the same table were Col. Chauncey M. Hooper, assistant deputy city controller, and Mrs. Hooper; Magistrate and Mrs. Vernon C. Riddick.

Also present were Harry C. Bragg and Bernard Austin, attorneys. It was the largest gathering of colored Democrats at any of the $100-a-plate Democratic fund-raising dinners.

Full Freedom the Goal

The highly partisan political tone of the dinner was set by William Boyle, chairman of the Democratic National Committee. Totally disregarding the opposition to Mr. Truman's welfare State and civil rights program, Mr. Boyle declared:

"We are in fundamental agreement as to how to achieve the greatest possible security for all, against all dangers, domestic and foreign, with a guarantee of liberty, freedom and equality of opportunity for everyone."

In his speech, Mr. Barkley pointed out that Thomas Jefferson was the first to announce the equality of man, and defined the equality that the founder of the Democratic Party was thinking and talking about as the "equality of every man, regardless of his race, color or religion, to enjoy the rights guaranteed by free government."

AUGUSTA CHRONICLE

Just What Is a Democrat?

The old idea that the South, because of tradition, should stick to the Democratic Party through thick and thin, regardless of what course it pursues, should be passe by now. Considering the fact that the party leadership has kicked the South around, like an unwanted stepchild, and has embarked on a venture of pseudo-socialism, demanding our acquiesence, this idea should become antiquated without any further argument.

Yet most Southerners, burying their pride and manhood, wince a little under the lash, hide their hurt feelings, and continue to vote Democratic in the elections.

That the so-called party discipline is a myth, and that the Democratic Party today is made up of diverse and irreconcilable elements are facts which cannot be ignored. We are reminded of this not only by the Southern press, and other spokesmen for the South, but by journalistic organs as far removed from this section as Missouri. Speaking of the casting out of the party of the States' Right Democrats, the St. Louis Star-Times says:

"Yet the truth is that the national committee action (the States' Rights purge) and the whoopdedoo that accompanies it mean next to nothing. For the fact remains that, despite all the clucking of tongues at the Dixiecrats, party discipline is a myth. Who is a Democrat? Sen. Byrd, of Virginia, who strings all his speeches on the thread of Federal economy and reaction while he steers his home State through bossism like a catboat? Sen. Douglas, of Illinois, who preaches and practices progressivism but rushes to the ramparts to defend against Government waste? Sen. Taylor, of Idaho, who walks a Henry Wallace line? Who is a Democrat?

"There is no single person that can be called 'the average Democrat.' There is no party line that can be called the Democratic line, party-platform pretensions to the contrary notwithstanding. And the same thing is, of course, true of the Republicans."

This being true, it is pure folly for the South to continue its loyal support of the Democratic Party and its policies on the grounds that it must continue its fidelity because it is the "party of our fathers."

Times change and so do political parties. The only reason, in our opinion, why the South has not broken away from the Democratic Party before, and voted independently, is because the politicians and officeholders keep this section in line. They are loath to part company with the party because it is the medium through which they are elected and through which they perpetuate themselves in office."

Let us hope that the day will soon come when both the Democratic and the Republican parties boldly pronounce their respective philosophies, so that they cannot be misunderstood, and so that Southerners, as well as others, can make an honest choice between two parties and their policies without having to vote according to tradition and according to the wishes of the politicians who give lip service to one party or another only because they are afraid of their own political future.

Truman Doesn't Help

President Truman's talk to the Democratic National Committee doesn't help much, if any, toward a reconciliation between national leaders and States' Righters.

Speaking after the expulsion of five Southern members of the National Committee, the president was not in any good mood to make concessions. He did urge "all those people who are interested in the welfare of this great republic of ours, who are interested in the peace of the world . . . to get into the Democratic Party and go forward with it."

He said that the party wants the "solid South," as well as the "industrial East" and "all the rest of the country to join the party of the people."

But he is evidently standing squarely behind his civil rights proposals which have aroused such intense and widespread opposition in this region.

Nor was his invitation to dissenting Southerners winningly presented. He recalled that he had won election last November without New York, "without the industrial East and without the solid South." He went on to say that he was "prouder of that than anything that has ever happened to me." We suppose his pride grows out of his widespread support in other areas, that he is gratified that his election was not dependent on the South or the East alone. But we do not see how he can fail to find some dissatisfaction in not having carried the East and all of the South. Surely he would have been even prouder if he had carried these sections solidly.

Some people, quick to find fault with the president, might even construe his remark to mean that he was glad he didn't carry the "solid South." We do not believe that Mr. Truman meant that, but we do feel that his reference in this connection was poorly expressed. Certainly it did not advance the cause of reconciliation.

It should be clear to the president now that there is no united demand in the country outside the South for his civil rights proposals. But he stands pat and insists on his own terms for reconciliation. That is the attitude of at least some States' Righters.

Of course each side is ready for reunion in the event the other gives in. But there is no prospect that the breach soon will be closed on that basis.

* * *

Far be it from this paper even to try to predict exactly what is going to happen, but it appears that the States' Righters are going to endeavor to continue to control party machinery in their states. In that event, it is inconceivable that Democrats who desire to work with the national party will be willing to continue without a state organization allied with the national organization. So fights over the control of state committees are to be expected.

Whether States' Righters can maintain their dominance in the four states they won in November while continuing to insist on their own terms as a price of cooperating with the national party is a question. We doubt it. But if they do, a second national Democratic Party organization is to be expected in each state where they are in control.

Confirmation

Gessner T. McCorvey, chairman of the State Democratic Executive Committee, has now confirmed what we have been saying for some time. He is pursuing a dog-in-the-manger policy with reference to the post of national committeeman.

He is polling members of the committee on whether to accept the ancient age resignation of Committeeman Marion Rushton.

Like Henry Wallace, Committeeman Rushton forsook the Democratic Party to organize another devoted to the defeat of the Democratic Party. Logically, he resigned as national committeeman.

But McCorvey, not wishing to have anything to do with the party himself but at the same time perversely desiring to prevent anybody else from serving it, simply pigeonholed the Rushton "resignation." That, McCorvey calculated, would prevent the most powerful party in the history of this country since the Federalist Party from having a representative in Alabama!

By now, however, the National Committee has a bellyful of this perverseness. As far as it is concerned, Rushton has been read out of the party like Alabama read out Tom Heflin and associate bolters for their 1928 bolt.

The heat on McCorvey is such that finally he has been moved to poll the committee on whether to accept Rushton's cobwebbed resignation, thus creating a vacancy to be filled by a Democrat.

"Personally," pleads McCorvey, "I think we should refuse to accept Col. Rushton's resignation. Certainly, if we accepted his resignation, we would not be willing to select to fill this vacancy anyone who did not have the same ideas that Col. Rushton has as to states rights."

Meanwhile, the South Carolina executive committee has acted in a decisive way. Gov. J. Strom Thurmond, who was also committeeman for South Carolina, had lodged with that state's committee a resignation equipped with the Rushton delayed action fuse.

The committee has exhumed and accepted it. The new committeeman is Senator Burnet R. Maybank, a Democratic loyalist.

Truman Asks Rebellious Southerners To Return

Bids Them Rejoin Party After Purge Of 5 Members by National Committee

By The Associated Press

President Truman last night invited dissident Southern Democrats to return to the party fold.

In a fighting speech to the Democratic National Committee, which earlier had purged fro mits rolls five Southern supporters of the States rights candidates of 1948, the President said the party was never in better condition to "carry the battle to the foe" in 1950.

The President reminded his and without the "Solid South." He "No Longer Sectional" cheering audience that he won said he was "prouder of that" than his election last year without New York, without the industrial East, campaign.

the people" which he said is "no longer" a sectional party with the "tail wagging the dog.'

Speaking in a manner reminiscent of his "give em hell" election campaign, the President said that the Republicans will not succeed indefinitely in their "continuous filibuster" to defeat the program embraced in the democratic platform.

He said the 1948 elections brought a number of young men of liberal tendencies into Congress, and that next year there would be other new ones to carry out the people's platform.

The President was introduced to the strains of "I'm Just Wild About Harry," one of the most popular tunes of his campaign.

Boyle Made Chairman

He said he was "overwhelmed" by the way the party's situation had worked out at yesterday's meeting, at which William M. Boyle, jr., was elected to succeed J. Howard McGrath, the new Attorney General, as national chairman.

Then he lit into the Republican opposition in Congress. He said it had carried on a continuous filibuster to defeat the platform the people indicated in 1948 they wanted carried out.

"They will not succeed," Mr. Truman said.

Bid To Dissidents

..Mr. Truman made it clear he wanted those who dissented TT

Mr. Truman made it clear he wanted those who dissented in 1948 to return to the fold—but on his own terms.

He said he wanted them to return on the basis of the platform which promised the people exactly what they are going to get.

It was the civil rights plank in that platform which led angry Southerners to bolt, and set up the States' Rights ticket.

Besides purging five of the bolters yesterday, the National Committee also ordered the name of a sixth Southerner erased from its rolls, even though he had already resigned.

Those removed for supporting the States' Rights presidential ticket of Governors J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina, and Fielding Wright of Mississippi in 1948, in protest against the Administration's civil rights program, were:

Marion Rushton, Alabama; William H. Talbot, Louisiana; J. B. Snider and Mrs. Hermes Gautier, Mississippi, and Mrs. Anne A. Agnew, South Carolina. Thurmond's name also was stricken as a member, although he had resigned.

States' Righters promptly charged that their members had been "railroaded" off the committee.

Leander H. Perez, New Orleans, named director of a new States' Rights bureau set up in Washington yesterday, told newsmen the purge had been conducted in a "high-handed and unfair manner."

Perez said it was only a coincidence that the States' Rights bureau here was set up on the same day of the National Committee meeting. He said the purpose of the bureau would be to work to preserve the rights of the people through constitutional processes.

Wallace W. Wright, Mississippi, announced the appointment of Perez, a former Louisiana judge, to head the bureau. Wright said that among other things the organization will campaign for adoption of a States' Rights amendment to the Constitution. He said 14 States would support such an effort. Perez stated organizations will be set up in all States.

The committee threw out a contest brought against Wright Morrow, Texas committeeman, by Byron Skelton of Temple, Tex. Skelton had questioned Morrow's party loyalty in the last campaign. The committee found the evidence did not support the charges.

This contest was the only one that brought extensive floor debate. A motion from the floor to deny Morrow a seat was tabled by voice vote.

In each seating controversy, the committee accepted by voice vote the recommendations of its credentials committee. The five seats of the bolters were declared vacant and no action was taken to fill them at this time.

The committee elected Senator Burnet Maybank to take Thurmond's place as South Carolina committeeman on grounds that a vacancy existed there before the National Committee met.

Maybank expressed appreciation, but said he would have to clear up his status at another meeting of his State committee. The National Committee, however, said it considered him officially elected.

One of them, Louisiana's Talbot, said Tuesday that if he was kicked out he would take the fight back to his State, and "slap them down" as he did in 1948. Louisiana, Alabama, Mississippi, and South Carolina cast their electoral votes for Thurmond last year. Texas supported Mr. Truman.

Boyle, a 46-year-old lawyer from Kansas City, Mo., and a long-time friend of the President, had no opposition for chairman. He succeeds Senator J. Howard McGrath, who resgined yesterday to be sworn in as Attorney General.

Boyle has been a $30,000-a-year executive vice chairman of the committee. He told reporters that his salary will continue. In the past, chairmen usually have not been paid.

The committee adopted a resolution reaffirming its support of the President, his Cabinet, and the party leaders who are "carrying out" the party's program in Congress.

Rushton, Four Others Taken From Roster

W. M. Boyle Replaces McGrath As Leader Of National Group

WASHINGTON, Aug. 24—(AP)—President Truman tonight invited dissident Southern Democrats to return to the party fold.

In a fighting speech to the Democratis national committee, which earlier had purged from its rolls five Southern supporters of the States' Rights candidates of 1948, the President said the party was never in better condition to "carry the battle to the foe" in 1950.

The President reminded his cheering audience that he won his election last year without New York, without the industrial East, and without the "Solid South." He said he was "prouder of that" than anything that occurred in the campaign.

No Longer Sectional Party

But he invited those who bolted from him to "join the party of the people" which he said is "no longer" a sectional party with the "tail wagging the dog."

Speaking in a manner reminiscent of his "give 'em hell" election campaign, the President said that the Republicans will not succeed indefinitely in their "continuous filibuster" to defeat the program embraced in the Democratic platform.

He said the 1948 elections brought a number of young men of liberal tendencies into Congress and that next year there would be other new ones to carry out the people's platform.

Pleased With Outcome

The President said he was "overwhelmed" by the way the party's situation had worked out at today's meeting at which William M. Boyle, Jr., was elected to succeed J. Howard McGrath, the new attorney general, as national chairman.

Then he lit into the Republican opposition in Congress immediately. He said they had carried on a continuous filibuster to defeat the platform the people indicated in 1948 they wanted carried out.

"They will not succeed," Mr. Truman said.

He made it clear he wanted those who dissented in 1948 to return to the folds—but on his own terms.

He said he wanted them to return on the basis of the platform which promised the people exactly what they are going to get.

Five Bolters Purged

It was the civil rights plank in that platform which led angry Southerners to bolt and set up the States' Rights ticket.

Besides purging five of the bolters today, the national committee also ordered the name of a sixth Southerner erased from its rolls, even though he had already resigned.

Those removed for supporting the States' Rights presidential ticket of Govs. J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina and Fielding Wright of Mississippi were:

Marion Rushton, of Alabama; William H. Talbot, of Louisiana; J. B. Snider and Mrs. Hermes Gautier, of Mississippi, and Mrs. Anne A. Agnew, of South Carolina. Thurmond's name also was stricken as a member, although he had resigned.

States' Righters promptly charged that their members had been "railroaded" of the national Democratic committee.

Leander H. Perez of New Orleans. named director of a new States' Rights bureau set up in Washington today, told newsmen the purge had been conducted in a "high-handed and unfair manner."

Seats Declared Vacant

In each seating controversy, the committee accepted by voice vote the recommendations of its credentials committee. The five seats of the bolters were declared vacant and no action was taken to fill them at this time.

The committee elected Sen. Burnet Maybank to take Thurmond's place as South Carolina committeeman on grounds that a vacancy existed there before the national committee met.

Maybank expressed appreciation, but said he would have to clear up his status at another meeting of his state committee. The national committee, however, said it considered him officially elected.

What action the expelled Southerners now plan to take was not made known immediately.

One of them, Louisiana's Talbot, said yesterday that if he was kicked out he would take the fight back to his state and "slap them down" as he did in 1948. Louisiana, Alabama, Mississippi, and South Carolina cast their electoral votes for Thurmond last year. Texas supported Truman.

Free Country, Says Mrs. Thomas

Mrs. Lennard Thomas, retained as national committeewoman for Alabama, told a reporter:

"The 'Dixiecrats' will have a chance in the future to join Republicans or Democrats. They should make their own choice. This is a free country. I believe in states' rights, but I also believe states' responsibilities,"

On the homefronts of the ousted Southerners, comment came quickly and caustically.

Gov. Wright of Mississippi, the States' Rights vice presidential candidate, charged the national committee operated in "gangster style."

"By its action today, the so-called Democratic national committee has confessed to the charge made against it more than a year ago—that it no longer is a Democratic organization," he asserted.

Alabama's Gov. James E. Folsom, a Truman supporter, wired the committee his congratulations. But an Alabama States' Rights leader, Chairman Gessner T. McCorvey of the state Democratic executive committee, said the action would solidly the South in its fight against "centralization of government in bureaucratic Washington."

"In my opinion," said McCorvey, "other states in the South will join Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana and South Carolina in 1952 for the purpose of fighting the nominee of any party for president who seek to wreck the civilization of the South."

Chairman H. C. Sevier of the Democratic state central committee for Louisiana declared:

"We didn't cut off from the party. They cut off from us when they included the civil rights program in the platform."

McCorvey predicted the national committee's action will have no effect upon internal party operations in the four states. Party members, he explained, owe their primary allegience to the state rather than the national party.

Tell It To Old Grandma

Letters to the editor must carry complete name and street address of the writer, though pen names may be used at the editor's discretion. Letters of less than 200 words are given preference. All letters may be cut.

Referring To Your Asinine Editoral

EDITOR, THE ADVERTISER—Referring to the defense you made to the letter written by Rep. W. C. Givhan of Dallas County, regarding the numerous asinine editorials published in your paper concerning Hon. Gessner T. McCorvey:

In the first place, you were wrong when you said Mr. McCorvey and Henry Wallace both were organizers of third parties to defeat Truman and Barkley. Mr. McCorvey did not organize any party, he simply upheld the principles of the Democratic Party and courageously fought for them and is still doing so no matter whether against Truman and Barkley, or anybody else who might have been the candidates.

Secondly, you stated Col. Rushton admitted leaving the Democratic Party by saying, "So far as I personally am concerned, that's true——."

I am sure that Col. Rushton meant that he had forsaken the "Socialist-Labor" Party, headed by Truman, which called themselves the Democratic Party. As stated in an editorial by George Rothwell Brown in The New York Journal-American, "we bolted Truman and his whole Socialist-Labor platform, not the Democratic Party."

Thirdly, since when has a Southerner become so sensitive to "White Supremacy" as to term it "that harsh shibboleth?" White Supremacy is not harsh nor is it peculiar for it has eternally existed.

You are mistaken when you say Gov. J. Strom Thurman repudiated White Supremacy. He merely disavowed it as the issue of his campaign. Truman doesn't personally repudiate it, but did make it an issue of his campaign against it in order to get the Negro vote.

It seems that many Southern editors go out of their way to publish such editorials as carried in The Advertiser a few days ago by a New Orleans editor, upon which Red Ryan expatiated in the lambasting of the Dixiecrats. Why don't they publish the facts and not their narrow minded views only? For instance, like the two editorials I am enclosing herein entitled, "Senator George Challenges Demagoguery," published in The New York Journal-American, and "The Political Parade," by George R. Brown, carried in the same paper? Had it not been for our broadminded, courageous Senators George, Eastman, Byrd, etc., the Trumanites would have already brought this country to ruination.

They saw and knew what was best for our country and in order to win they were compelled to form a coalition with the Republicans because the so-called Democratic Party was so deadly wrong.

More power to men like Gessner T. McCorvey, Marion Rushton and W. C. Givhan, representative of Dallas County.

MAE C. WALTERS

Montgomery.

◆

Moved To Ask

Editor, The Advertiser:

After reading in your paper that state convicts have been used to clean a small town or village cemetery, I am moved to ask: Are convicts supposed to work for the State of Alabama, whose laws they have broken, or are they to be used here and there to court political favor?

Yes, it may be a good deed to beautify cemeteries, but there are few small community cemeteries over Alabama that have keepers, and I think most any of them whether political friends or not, would appreciate the same favor.

People of Alabama, call upon the State Convict Department if you would have your small cemeteries put in first class order. Of course you know it is all against the law of the state, to use these unfortunates for any purpose other than the state's business, but law does not appear to take precedence in these matters.

Is this not one more instance that proves to you how very much a Board of Corrections for this department is needed?

L. O. T.

Montgomery.

◆

Why Change It?

Editor, The Advertiser:

Walter White, leader of the N.A.A.C.P., has quit his Negro wife, married a white woman and written an article in Look Magazine indulging the hope that the scientists will shortly perfect a chemical which will turn the Negro white. . . . If black is as good as white why change it?

JOHN ALTMAN

Carrollton, Ala.

Negro Dems Join President At Jackson-Jefferson Day Dinner

Chicago Defender Chicago Ill. Sat. 3-5-49

(Defender Washington Bureau)

WASHINGTON — A half-dozen Negroes, including John H. Sengstacke, editor-publisher of the Chicago Defender, attended the $100-a-plate Jefferson-Jackson Victory Dinner where President Truman threatened to take his "fair deal" case back to the people.

Chicago, Ill

"I am proud to say," Truman declared, "that never before has the Democratic Party been more firmly dedicated to a program in the interest of all the people. The platform adopted at the Democratic convention in 1948 is clear and forthright," he said, and admonished that, "Our job now is to enact into law the programs that the people need and desire."

The President noted that his legislative program was meeting with "determined opposition" from the special interest group.

Will Act Anyway

In spite of that, the President declared, "we will enact the program to which we are committed."

The President spoke to the crowd that jammed the Presidential room of the Statler. It was a marked contrast to a year ago when a table reserved by Senator Olin D. Johnson, (D., S. C.) stood empty in front of the speaker's table in protest to extending of dinner invitations to Negro Democratic leaders.

The President was introduced by Senator J. Howard McGrath, Democratic National chairman.

Alluding to last November's Democratic victory, Senator McGrath said, "Victory will not be achieved until we have fulfilled to the letter our promises to the American people and carried forward to fuller accomplishment the programs of the Democratic Party for social progress in fields of health and welfare, and economic victory over our enemies of boom and bust and all the forces that bring them about."

Frank Horne Present

Among Negro Democrats attending the Statler dinner were noted Frank Horne, assistant for race relations to the Housing and Home Finance Administrator; Emmer Martin Lancaster, adviser on Negro affairs to the Secretary of Commerce; Mrs. Anne A. Hedgeman, newly-appointed assistant to the Federal Security Administrator.

Edward Lovett, legal division of the Housing and Home Finance Agency and Miss Mary Pipes, administrative assistant to Mrs. Thomasina W. Johnson, chief, Minority Group Services, United States Employment Service, who was absent from the city.

Congressman William L. Dawson (D. Ill.) and assistant to the Democratic national chairman was called to Chicago and could not be present for the gala affair.

Although Dr. R. O'Hara Lanier, president of Texas College for Negroes made a reservation for the dinner, pressing duties at the college prevented his attendance.

CAPITAL SPOTLIGHT

by Louis Lautier

Kansas Citizen

At the Jefferson-Jackson Day Victory $100-a-plate dinner: At the speakers' table at the Mayflower Hotel was Gov. Bill Hastie of the Virgin Islands.

At the speakers' table at the Statler Hotel, where President Truman made his political address, a place was reserved for Rep. Bill Dawson, of Illinois, but the chairman of the House Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments left that afternoon for Chicago.

Guests at the Statler included John Sengstacke, publisher of the Chicago Defender; Anne Hedgeman, recently appointed assistant to Federal Security Administrator Oscar Ewing; Frank Horne, race relations adviser to Administrator Raymond M. Foley of the Housing and Home Finance Agency;

Judge Armond W. Scott of the District of Columbia Municipal Court; R. O'Hara Lanier, ex-Minister to Liberia and now president of a Texas College, and Eddie Lovett, attorney in the Interior Department.

At the Mayflower was William L. Houston, chairman of the District of Colubia Democratic executive committee. Thomasina Johnson, consultant in the United States Employment Service, also was on the guest list. but was out of town.

Negro Leaders Laud Farnsley And Democrats

Courier-Journal Louisville, Ky. Sat. 8-27-49

Party Officials Talk Organization Strategy

Negro Democratic leaders meeting with white Democratic leaders yesterday commended Mayor Charles P. Farnsley and the Democratic Party for what they have done for Negroes.

Specifically the Mayor was praised for placing a Negro on the Equalization Board, for naming Negroes to his Legislative Committee, for instituting a movement to have a Negro police lieutenant and for appointment of a Negro as foreman over Negro parks.

The object of the meeting was to discuss plans whereby the Democrats can retain their hold on the Negro vote in Louisville, as cast in the last election, and prevent inroads by Republican concentration in the Negro districts.

John W. Crimmins, organization chairman of the Democratic County Executive Committee, told the Negro Democrats they successfully could refute Republican allusion to Farnsley and the Democratic Party here as Dixiecratic.

Explains Possibility.

He said they could do this by directing attention to th efact that the Democratic National Committee, which is supported by the Democratic Party here, has purged itself of Dixiecrats.

Crimmins also assured the Negroes that the Democrats would outregister Republicans in the present drive, although the Republicans gained an early lead by concentration on Negroes.

Besides Farnsley and Crimmins, the meeting was attended by Lieutenant Governor Lawrence W. Wetherby and McKay Reed, chairman of the county executive committee.

The Negroes present, making up the liaison committee of the Third District Colored Democratic Organization, were A. E. Meyzeek, educator; James Crumlin, attorney; McKay Bonner, real-estate man, and Lewis Olive, a former Commonwealth's detective.

Text Of Demos Report

Evening Journal Wilm. Del. 8-24-49

WASHINGTON, Aug. 24—(AP)—Following is the text of the credentials committee report to the Democratic National Committee on the status of members from Southern states which went for the States' Rights ticket in 1948: (About 500)

ALABAMA

With reference to the state of Alabama, in vew of the statement made before your credentials committee by Marion Rushton, of Alabama, and his admission that he actively opposed the election of the Democratic nominees for president and vice president chosen by the national convention of the Democratic Party at Philadelphia in its 1948 convention, we find that a vacancy in the office of the Democratic national committeeman for Alabama exists and we recommended that his name be expunged from the rolls of the Democratic National Committee. This action is taken pursuant to rule 11 of the Democratic National Committee. This report is unanimously submitted by the members of thec redentials committee.

LOUISIANA

With reference to the state of Louisiana, in view of the statement made before your credentials committee by William H. Talbot, of Louisiana, and his admission that he actively opposed the election of the Democratic nominees for president and vice president chosen by the national convention of the Democratic Party at Philadelphia in its 1948 convention, we find that a vacancy in the office of the Democratic national committeeman for Louisiana exists and we recommended that his name be expunged from the rolls of the Democratic National Committee. This action is taken pursuant to rule 11 of the Democratic National Committee. This report is unanimously submitted by the members of the credentials committee.

MISSISSIPPI

With reference to the state of Mississippi, in view of the statements made before your credentials committee by J. B. Snider and Mrs. Hermes Gautier, of Mississippi, and their admissions respectively that they actively opposed the election of the Democratic nominees for president and vice president chosen by the national convention of the Democratic Party at Philadelphia in its 1948 convention, we find that a vacancy also exists in the office of the Democratic national committeewoman both for the state of Mississippi, and we recommend that their and each of their names be expunged from the rolls of the Democratic National Committee. This action is taken pursuant to rule 11 of the Democratic National Committee. This report is unanimously submitted by the members of the credentials committee.

SOUTH CAROLINA

We recognize that J. Strom Thurmond is no longer a member of the Democratic National Committee, and therefore we find a vacancy in the office of Democratic national committeeman from South Carolina exists, and we recommend that his name be expunged from the rolls of the Democratic National Committee in conformity with Rule 11 of the Rules of the Democratic National Committee. This report is unanimously submitted by the members of the credentials committee.

In view of the statements made before your credentials committee by Mrs. Albert Agnew that she did not actively support the Democratic nominees for president, and vice president chosen by the Democratic national convention in Philadelphia in 1948, and the further fact that she permitted her name to be used by another political party in the furtherance of the promotion of its nominees for the offices of president and vice president, we find that a vacancy in the office of Democratic national committeewoman for South Carolina exists, and we recommend that her name be expunged from the rolls of the Democratic National Committee. This action is taken pursuant to Rule 11 of the Democratic National Committee. This report is unanimously submitted by the members of the credentials committee.

Your committee finds that Sen. Burney Maybank of the State of South Carolina has been elected and duly certified as the Democratic national committeeman from the State of South Carolina, and we recommend that he be seated.

Truman Invites States' Righters Back Into Fold

BY ERNEST B. VACCARO AND DOUGLAS B. CORNELL

Pittsburgh Pa.

WASHINGTON, Aug. 25 — (AP) — President Truman put out the welcome mat for Southern party bolters today, but demanded that those who cross it get in step with the 1948 Democratic platform.

He delivered the invitation — strictly on his own terms — at a rousing dinner of the Democratic National Committee a few hours after it had read five Southern States' Rights members from the high command.

And, leaving the door open to non-Truman Democrats in Congress to fall in line with the Truman program, the committee exempted by Southern dislike for Mr. Truman from the party purge.

THE FIRES OF REVOLT, however, already were burning anew. Rightists announced they are opening headquarters. The whole thing was sparked by Southern dislike for Mr. Truman the campaigner—1948 without New York, "without free style in the manner the industrial East and without the "Give 'em hell" stumping of solid South" and that he was who proclaimed his party "prouder of that than anything that a national party, and not has ever happened to me."

He went on to say that he won in spite of his "Give 'em hell" stumping of solid South" and that he was swinging free style in the manner the industrial East and without the "Give 'em hell" stumping of solid South" and that he was who proclaimed his party "prouder of that than anything that a national party, and not has ever happened to me."

It was Truman's civil rights program.

Then came the invitation:

"And, leaving the door open to non-Truman Democrats in Congress to fall in line with the Truman program, the committee exempted by Southern dislike for Mr. Truman from the party purge."

"The tail no longer wags the dog," he said.

"And that doesn't mean that we are not inviting the industrial East

and the solid South and all the rest of the country to join the party of the people, and help the country go forward. That is exactly what we want, and that is exactly what we are going to accomplish in the next two years.

At the same time he praised the National Committee, which elevated William M. (Bill) Boyle, Jr., former Kansas City police official, to the chairmanship and purged the five Southern States' Righters from its rolls for deserting the Truman ticket last year.

"I am overwhelmed at the way the situation has worked out," Mr. Truman said. "I don't think the Democratic Party in the history of the nation has ever been in better condition to carry the battle to the foe."

He invited "all those people who are interested in the welfare of this great republic of ours, who are interested in the peace of the world, for which we are striving, to get into the Democratic Party and go forward with it."

* * *

THE HUNDREDS OF DINERS whooped it up, campaign year style, when the orchestra played, "I'm Just Wild About Harry."

"I'd like for that to go on," he grinned as he quieted the crowd, "but this is not a nominating convention."

Meanwhile, Boyle, who took over from J. Howard McGrath, the new attorney general, said he plans no purge of non-Truman Democratic congressmen.

While a number of them are not giving the president solid support, Boyle said it is up to the people to elect the right kind of men to Congress.

"I certainly don't intend to enter any primary fights in any states," he said.

But, he added, he and the party intend and expect to elect more members of Congress next year who will back the Truman program.

* * *

THE COMMITTEE applied the boot to Marion Rushton, Alabama; William H. Talbot, of Louisiana; J. B. Snider and Mrs. Hermes Gautier, Mississippi, and Mrs. Anne A. Agnew, South Carolina, for bolting last year to the States' Rights presidential ticket of Gov. J. Strom Thurmond, of South Carolina, and Gov. Fielding Wright, of Mississippi.

Snider and Mrs. Gautier promptly turned up at a news conference at which the States' Righters announced they are opening Washington headquarters and starting a nationwide campaign for States' Rights.

Leander Perez, of New Orleans, in charge of the office, said States' Righters expect to set up committees in all states and try to elect governors, senators and congressmen who see eye to eye with them.

He said they will defend themselves if the Democratic convention in 1952 puts undemocratic, un-American and unconstitutional planks into the platform.

As for a presidential candidate? "I think the best indication of what we will do is what we did before," Perez said.

That was to put the Thurmond-Wright ticket in the 1948 field and capture Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi and South Carolina.

PARTY PURGES FIVE; TRUMAN APPROVES

President Backs Ousters, but Invites Loyal Democrats Back—Praises Boyle

By The United Press.

WASHINGTON, Aug. 24—President Truman tonight endorsed the Democratic National Committee's ouster today of Southern party rebels and lauded its selection of William M. Boyle Jr., former Kansas City policeman, as national chairman.

Mr. Truman spoke before a gathering of the party faithful at a dinner ending a day of activity by the national committee. It ousted five Southerners from four states who bolted the party in the Presidential election last year and installed Mr. Boyle, the President's close friend, as its head.

Mr. Truman hailed the committee's action in removing the rebellious Southerners, but invited all loyal Democrats of the South and the rest of the country to "join the party of the people."

"The Democratic party is the party of the people," Mr. Truman said. "The Democratic party is a national party and not a sectional party any more. The tail no longer wags the dog.

"We won the election last November without New York, without the industrial East and without the Solid South and I am prouder of that than anything that ever happened to me.

"That doesn't mean we do not want the industrial East, the Solid South, and all the rest of the country to join the party of the people and help the country go forward.

"That is exactly what we want. That is exactly what we are going to accomplish in the next two years."

The President predicted that as time goes on the Democrats will elect more and more Senators and Congressmen who will carry out the platform the party adopted at its Philadelphia convention last year.

It was the Negro rights section of that platform that provoked a Southern revolt against his candidacy and led to today's ouster of Southern party bolters.

States Righters Ousted

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, Aug. 24—States' Righters from four southern states who opposed the Truman-Barkley ticket in last November's elections were purged from the Democratic National Committee under a fifty-year old rule today.

Ousted from committee membership were Marion Rushton of Alabama, J. B. Snider and Mrs. Hermes Gautier of Mississippi, William H. Talbot of Louisiana, and Mrs. Albert Agnew of South Carolina.

The action of the committee followed the recommendations of its credentials committee that submitted a report only after many hours of discussion last night and more today.

Within an hour the national committee, as expected, chose William M. Boyle Jr. of Kansas City the national chairman, following Senator J. Howard McGrath, who resigned to become Attorney General.

At a press conference after his election, Mr. Boyle said he would receive "in the neighborhood" of $30,000 as his salary, the same he has enjoyed as executive vice chairman. Vacancies on the national committee would be filled by the respective state organizations, he said.

Not long after the committee meeting, a "National States' Rights Bureau" was opened in Washington, under direction of Leander H. Perez of New Orleans. Mr. Perez, a former Louisiana judge, said it was merely coincidental that the bureau was established on the same day. He declared his organization would "work to preserve the rights of the people" through constitutional methods; and denounced the "railroading" of States' rights members from the Democratic committee.

Although the name of Mrs. Agnew was "expunged" from the committee rolls, there was still a puzzle over the South Carolina situation. The committee made positive that the name of Governor J. Strom Thurmond, the States' rights Presidential candidate, be also "expunged." He had previously resigned.

The committee, sitting at the Mayflower Hotel, then found that Senator Burnet R. Maybank had been elected and duly certified by his state as a national committeeman. But the committee failed to agree with a compromise worked out in South Carolina for retention of Mrs. Agnew.

Mrs. Agnew says she voted the Democratic ticket last year although she was inactive in the campaign. he credentials committee, however, decided that "she permitted her name to be used by another political party" and unseated her.

Senator Maybank Speaks

Senator Maybank rose to remind the national committee that he was elected by the South Carolina state executive committee on condition that Mrs. Agnew be retained as committeewoman. Senator McGrath, then presiding, told Mr. Maybank that the South Carolinian could not direct the national committee, but merely suggest a line of action. Mr. Maybank declared himself in a "rather embarrassing position." Later he told newspaper men:

"I haven't taken my seat and I am not going to take my seat. We were jointly elected. I take no orders from anybody but the state committee."

There was a dispute over the retention of H. Wright Morrow as national committeeman from Texas, as urged by the credentials committee. Byron Shelton, elected by the state Democratic committee, was an opponent. But after a motion by Byron C. Allen of Minnesota to unseat Mr. Morrow the national committee approved him by a voice vote.

The national committee likewise backed the credentials committee by seating Carl Thompson of Wisconsin to succeed Robert Tehan, who had resigned to accept a Federal judgeship.

While the credentials committee urged the unseating of the "Dixiecrats" named, it took no action on Clarence E. Hood Jr. and Mrs. John Clark of Mississippi. They have been recognized for some time as committee members from that state.

Mrs. Dickerson Retained

Although Mr. Talbot of Louisiana was ejected from the national committee, that body on recommendation of the credentials committee retained Mrs. Mary Evelyn Dickerson of Louisiana, who did not oppose Mr. Truman, and Mrs. Lennard Thomas of Alabama, for the same reason.

Mr. Talbot, a 300-pound man known as "Little Eva," and Marion Rushton of Alabama, said they would fight the Democratic party again in 1952 if they were thrown out of the committee.

The credentials committee used "Section 11" as a basis for ejecting the "Dixiecrats." The rule was used in 1896 to oust two men who swung away from William Jennings Bryan and attended a rump convention.

All the action seemed geared according to program except for one incident. Near the end of the meeting Dr. R. H. Robins, national committeeman from Arkansas, startled the men and women present by charging the national committee with championship of "compulsory health insurance."

Dr. Robins shouted that members of the committee "as high as the chairman" had indulged in "reckless, unauthorized" efforts to read out of the party "hundreds of thousands" of persons opposing "government control of medicine."

Daniels Tries Soothing

Jonathan Daniels, the national committeeman from North Carolina, strove to cut off discussion of the Robins charge by a motion to adjourn. But the accusations were referred to the resolutions committee, which hurriedly met in a corner of the room and decided to postpone action indefinitely.

Acting for the last time as chairman, Senator McGrath gave an appropriate swan-song. After Mr. Boyle was elected, he followed with an address praising the Democrats and castigating the Republicans. The elections of 1950 will be won or lost in the precincts, he asserted. Twice he alluded to the cleavage in the Democratic ranks.

"The Democratic party is energetic, vital, turbulent," he stated. "Some of us at times may wish that it was more peaceful internally, but we must remember that these are the symptoms of a living, growing organism."

Mr. Boyle also considered the party "strong and flexible enough to have room for honest differences of opinion" but felt that once these differences were aired, everybody could go along together.

The members of the committee presented Mr. McGrath with a gold watch as a tribute to his services.

Civil Rights Issue

It'll Be Red Hot At Coming Election; Move Seen Brewing To Oust Sen. Hill

BY FRED TAYLOR

States' Righters are planning a new move to draw the lines more sharply between Alabama Democrats and the National Democratic Party.

It is intended to fan the touchy "civil rights" issue to white heat as this state prepares to elect a U. S. senator, governor, Legislature and State Democratic Executive Committee next Spring.

TAYLOR

Here is the plan:

1. Call a meeting of all state and county Democratic Executive Committee members as constituting the Alabama Democratic Party.

2. Adopt a declaration of principles, which would be closely akin to that embraced by States' Rights Democrats in their thrust against President Truman with the Thurmond-Wright ticket.

This would put Democratic Party governing bodies in Alabama officially on record as declaring all-out hostility to Mr. Truman and any others inclined to go along with any part of the national party's "civil rights" program.

3. Require all candidates qualifying in Democratic primaries next Spring to pledge support of these principles.

Plan, of course, is to have the state committee re-adopt this declaration of principles when it meets early in January to specify qualifications for candidates, fix qualifying fees, primary dates and so forth.

* * *

AIMED AT HILL—A States' Rights leader said a letter had gone out to state and county Democratic executive committee members urging such action be taken. He wants to hold the statewide meeting at Montgomery within the next few weeks.

Such a move, he thinks, would "put some candidates on the spot."

One such candidate, he feels, would be Sen. Lister Hill, Alabama's senior senator, who comes up for reelection next year. His reasoning on this, however, appears to be somewhat distorted.

SEN. HILL

Sen. Hill, of course, is a liberal. And some of the Dixiecrat leaders want to bump him off.

But Hill is not a goggle-eyed liberal. He fought Mr. Truman's "civil rights" program, opposed it last year in Alabama and filibustered against it in the Senate. And he opposed Truman in the Democratic National Convention at Philadelphia.

* * *

SEN. HILL OPPOSED in his campaign for Democratic delegate-at-large (Hill led the field of 24 candidates to win without a runoff) the walkout at Philadelphia. He stayed in the convention, headed the Alabama delegation that stayed in, and voted for Georgia Sen. Dick Russell for the party's presidential nominee.

Hill, naturally, voted the straight Democratic ticket in Alabama last November. In doing so, he voted for the 11 anti-Truman pledged presidential electors, who subsequently cast their electoral votes for the Thurmond-Wright ticket.

So, it is difficult to see how Alabama's senior senator could be put on very much of a spot by this latest plan of those who want to knock him off next Spring.

* * *

WILL ROGERS TOUCH—Don't sell Albert Stapp short as a prospective gubernatorial candidate.

If hard work can turn the trick, Stapp will emerge victorious in next Spring's big tussle. That is, if he runs. And he acts like a man who already has made up his mind to make the plunge.

The former state American Legion commander has been steaming up and down the state, wowing knife-and-fork clubs with a rich repertoire of salty yarns and homespun philosophy after the fashion of Will Rogers. He has been doing this for a couple of years.

STAPP

In fact, Stapp, who has been called the "Will Rogers of Alabama," has developed into one of the state's topflight speakers. His fame as an after-dinner palaverer has become so widespread that he has been invited to address a statewide gathering at Louisville, Ky. He will address the banquet session of the People's Management Association of Kentucky Nov. 17.

Stapp established himself in state political circles last year when he was elected delegate-at-large to the Democratic National Convention. Two years before the Legion had elected him state commander.

He spent the week-end attending the convention of County Commissioners and Probate Judges Association at Mobile and filling speaking engagements in that vicinity. Among other places his busy schedule will take him this week is to Gadsden for speeches to the Gadsden Trades School at 10:45 a.m. Wednesday and to the Kiwanis Club at noon.

* * *

ABERNETHY GROOMED—This column hears that well-liked Tom Abernethy, editor of The Talladega Daily Home and one of the strongest States' Rights plumpers, is being groomed to succeed Mobile Gessner T. McCorvey as chairman of the State Democratic Executive Committee. Abernethy is a veteran committee member.

McCorvey, a States' Rights spearhead, who has headed the committee for 10 years, recently announced he would not seek the chairmanship again. However, McCorvey will be a candidate for one of eight places on the committee from the First Congressional District.

Abernethy (so was McCorvey) was one of Alabama's anti-Truman pledged presidential electors who voted for the Thurmond-Wright ticket. In fact, Abernethy led the ticket in the 28-man race for 11 elector places. Twenty-one of these were pledged against Truman.

The Talladega editor also has been mentioned as prospective candidate for the Fourth District congressional post being relinquished after the present term by the veteran Rep. Sam Hobbs.

* * *

NEWTON'S NEW WRINKLE—Candidates some times go all out in their bid for votes.

Reuben Newton, Jasper barrister, is an avowed candidate for governor. Apparently he intends to become one at the earliest possible qualifying time next January.

ABERNETHY NEWTON

Actually, Newton, who was an unsuccessful candidate for lieutenant governor in 1946, has been running for governor since. And he is one of the busiest preliminary campaigners in the race.

However, he has been doing something this Sumer and Fall that is new in campaign tactics, so Baptists tell this column.

They report Newton has been in constant attendance at Baptist Association meetings over the state. And they point out that, although the Jasper lawyer is a Baptist, he is the first gubernatorial aspirant to make the circuit of the association meetings.

These began about middle of August and will continue through Nov. 1, with 72 such two-day sessions scheduled throughout the state, with at least one in each county.

Party Politics Charged in Flogging Trial

By BEM PRICE

ROME — (AP) — The defense accused the Government yesterday of "playing Democratic Party politics" by charging 12 men in the case of the seven flogged Negroes.

All 12, including Dade County Sheriff John W. Lynch and three of his deputies, are on trial in U. S. District Court for conspiracy to violate the Negroes' civil rights.

The actual trial opened late yesterday after Judge Frank A. Hooper had brushed aside two delaying motions by Defense Attorney Frank Gleason, of Rossville.

With extraordinary dispatch, a jury was selected from a 35-man panel which included two Negroes. In response to a question by Asst. U. S. Attorney Harvey Tysinger, six members of the panel admitted they were, or had been, members of the Ku Klux Klan. Five were rejected in the selection of the jury but the sixth, James Enfield Berry, of Summerville, became one of two alternate jurymen.

Both Negroes were rejected.

The Government and defense called up more than 110 witnesses, including Imperial Wizard Samuel Roper, of the Associated Klans of American and the Association of Georgia Klans.

U. S. Attorney J. Ellis Mundy told the jury the Government expected to try the case "in the same manner as any other," and that the charges "were not brought on behalf of any group."

Defense Attorney Gleason said it will be shown that not only did the Government have the wrong men in court, but that the accusations were a matter of politics.

"We expect to show beyond a reasonable doubt," Gleason declared, "that in 1948 Dade County was the scene of a most bitter political battle."

Gleason asserted that the charges were brought on by the fact that Sheriff Lynch defeated the regular Democratic Party candidate for Sheriff in the general election with Lynch running as an independent.

The defense attorney also told the jury that under present Department of Justice regulations no civil rights case could be instituted without the direction of the U. S. Attorney General.

U. S. Attorney Mundy objected to the inference, arguing that even the U. S. Attorney General could not direct a Grand Jury to return an indictment.

THE DEEP SOUTH

Young Democrats' Meeting Stirs Up Dixiecrat Problem Again

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

CHATTANOOGA, Tenn., Nov. 17—Conservative leadership in the Democratic party extended the olive branch this week to the party rebels of the 1948 campaign, and in doing so stirred up a hornets' nest in the liberal wing of the party.

Incompatible elements of the party sparred for position at the national convention of the Young Democratic Clubs of America held in Chattanooga on Thursday, Friday and today. A delegation, which critics charged came direct from the camp of Dixiecrat J. Strom Thurman of South Carolina, was recognized over a group claiming to represent the Truman faction in South Carolina. The national committee of the Young Democrats voted to seat the so-called Dixiecrat delegation. That brought charges from the other South Carolina faction that the committee had stabbed the Democrats who had stood by Truman in 1948.

Another troublesome issue was fought behind the scenes in the convention—civil rights. Roy Baker, lawyer and former, Sherman, Tex., lawyer and retiring president, picked a trusted to win back rebellious Southerners resolutions committee and smothered the civil-rights issue there by states to the party for the 1950 tabling all proposals unacceptable Congressional battle. It does not want candidates bearing the anti-civil-rights delegates.

Just what the result of the ac-State's Rights party label election taken in this convention will to Congressional seats in Dixiecrat territory remains to be seen. But the leadership hopes it will prevent a delegation bearing the State's party label from being seated in the Congress in 1951.

Group Meets In Atlanta And Plans Common Action

Southern Liberals Meet To Map Political Strategy

Journal & Guide Norfolk Virginia

ATLANTA, Ga. — Twenty - five outstanding southerners, meeting here in an off-the-record conference over the weekend, mapped an informal program for coordinated political action on the state and community level for liberal southerners in matters of foreign and domestic policy.

The participants represented nine states, and included persons known to have displayed greater degree of coordination a "keen interest in seeing a greater degree of coordination among southern liberals."

The conference was called at the invitation of the Americans for Democratic Action, a national organization of non-Communist liberals, although fewer than half of those attending the meeting were members of the ADA.

OBJECT OF ORGANIZATION

The object of the organization, it was brought out, is to serve as an agency through which southern liberals could work out common plans for action. It was agreed that the ADA could best serve its purpose by functioning as "an educational clearing house and a political committee" that would stress "liberal thought" as each regional issue came to the political forefront.

The organization decided that the ADA would avoid identification with a particular goal such as civil rights, or agricultural benefits, believing that it could be more effective as a vehicle for political liberals by developing a "flexible structure" that would attract "forward looking persons" in all controversies.

STATE CONFERENCES

Plans are being formulated for starting statewide and community conferences to map "liberal strategy" on local issues and establish a method for joining with liberal groups in other. Mr. Young announced also that B. M. McKelway, vice president of the American Society of Newspaper Editors, will discuss with him a radio network program the topic "Does Our Democracy Justify a Negro Press?"

Calls New Supreme Court Justice Tom Clark A 'Fighting Liberal'

Defender Sat. 8-6-49 Chicago, Ill.

By VENICE SPRAGGS
(Defender Washington Bureau)

WASHINGTON — President Truman has shown high regard for the rights and welfare of Negroes in naming Attorney General Tom Clark to the U. S. Supreme Court vacancy and in choosing Senator J. Howard McGrath (D., R.I.) to fill his Justice Department shoes.

Both men are loyal party supporters and will stand behind the President's civil rights program. If they accept the President's nominations, and there is every reason to believe they will, both will readily be approved by the Senate.

Texas-born Tom Clark's entire record in the Justice Department has been that of a fighting liberal. As former assistant attorney general in charge of the criminal division, Mr. Clark cracked down on southern white plantation owners who held Negro farm hands in virtual slavery.

He succeeded in bringing some 70 of these would be slave-holders to trial. While he was successful in getting only a few convictions, due to the prejudices of local grand juries, the determination he exercised has done much to discourage peonage.

When he was appointed Attorney General in 1945, Clark pledged the Defender in an exclusive interview to use the full weight of his office to defend the civil rights of Negroes. He kept the pledge, limited only by the weakness of the civil rights statutes under which he could bring criminal procedure.

He moved in on the denial of Negroes to register and vote in primary elections where federal officers were being elected. He has tried to bring members of lynch mobs to justice, to crack down on police brutality and to curtail the activities of the Ku Klux Klan.

Recognizing weaknesses in the national law, Clark gave every assistance to President Truman's Civil Rights Committee. He made available to them members of his own staff, furnished them research service, and helped to draft the recommendation for strengthening the civil rights activities of the Justice Department.

Recently, he appeared before a House Judiciary subcommittee on civil rights to urge adoption of the Civil Rights Act of 1949 which would give civil rights activities in the Justice Department a much needed bracing.

It was the intervention of the Justice Department which ended racial segregation in the eating facilities at the National Airport. And it was the Justice Department's position in the racial restrictive covenant cases which played a major part in the Supreme Court decision which makes these covenants unenforceable in state courts.

While Senator McGrath's civil rights record is not as impressive as that of Mr. Clark, there is every indication that he would carry out the President's wishes in this regard.

McGrath is sponsor of the Administration's entire civil rights program in the Senate. As chairman of the Democratic National Committee, he played a large part in getting Mr. Truman elected President. McGrath realizes the political importance of making good on the Party's campaign promises and platform pledge on civil rights.

Senator McGrath was former solicitor general in the Justice Department. He therefore is well aware of the weaknesses in the existing civil rights statutes and machinery for enforcing these statutes.

One of the provisions in McGrath's Civil Rights Act of 1949 calls for establishing a Civil Rights Department in the Department of Justice to be in charge of an assistant attorney general. At present the totally inadequate civil rights section is limping along without benefit even of an executive head. Civil rights violations, on the other hand have been multiplying in the past few months.

If McGrath should accept the President's nomination, it is expected that he would be replaced by William Boyle, acting executive vice-chairman of the committee.

Boyle has high regard for Congressman William L. Dawson (D., Ill.), first Negro ever to be named assistant to the National Democratic Committee chairman. This relationship should be helpful in protecting the political welfare of Negroes.

Mr. Clark has been named to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Justice Frank Murphy, who was the Negro's best friend on the high court.

Young Democrats Go On Record Against All 'Splinter Parties'

News Mon. 10-24-49

MONTGOMERY, Ala., Oct. 24—(AP) — Alabama's Young Democrats have gone on record opposing splinter parties and advocating a return to Jeffersonian democracy.

"The Young Democrats are for states' rights as set down by Thomas Jefferson and not by Horace Wilkinson," State Democratic Executive Committeeman James J. Mayfield told a statewide meeting of the organization here yesterday.

"MORE CRIMES HAVE been committed in the South in the name of states' rights than any other one thing," another speaker, W. E. (Red) James, commented.

Yesterday's meeting was called to elect delegates to the National Young Democrats convention to be held in Chattanooga, Tenn., Nov. 17-19. President Jim Smith of Tuscumbia; State Sen. Joseph Langan of Mobile; W. J. Primm, Jr., of Montgomery and Mrs. Dorothy Vredenburgh of Vredenburgh, secretary of the National Democratic Committee, were elected degelates from the state at large.

The Young Democrats staunchly advocated settling their disputes within the framework of the Democratic Party. A resolution against "ineffective splinter parties" was adopted.

Truman Opens Doors To Dixie Bolters After Committee Purges Five

Atlanta Ga. Constitution
Thurs. 8-25-49

WASHINGTON—(AP)—President Truman last night invited dissident Southern Democrats to return to the Party fold.

In a fighting speech to the Democratic National Committee, which earlier had purged from its rolls five Southern supporters of the States Rights candidates of 1948, the President said the Party was never in better condition to "carry the battle to the foe" in 1950.

The President reminded his cheering audience that he won his election last year without New York, without the Industrial Eeast, and without the "Solid South." He said he was "prouder of that" than anything that occurred in the campaign.

But he invited those who bolted from him to "join the party of the people" which he said is "no longer" a sectional Party with the "tail wagging the dog."

Speaking in a manner reminiscent of his "give 'em hell" election campaign, the President said that the Republicans will not succeed indefinitely in their "continuous filibuster" to defeat the program embraced in the Democratic platform.

He said the 1948 elections brought a number of young men of liberal tendencies into Congress and that next year there would be other new ones to carry out the people's platform.

The President was introduced to the strains of "I'm Just Wild About Harry," one of the most popular tunes of his campaign.

He said he was "overwhelmed" by the way the Party's situation had worked out at yesterday's meeting at which William M. Boyle, Jr., was elected to succeed J. Howard McGrath, the new Attorney General, as National Chairman.

Those removed for supporting the States' Rights presidential ticket of Governors J. Strom Thurmond, of South Carolina, and Fielding Wright, of Mississippi, in 1948 in protest against the Administration's Cvil Rights program were:

Marion Rushton, of Alabama; William H. Talbot, of Louisiana; J. B. Snider and Mrs. Hermes Gautier, of Mississippi, and Mrs. Anne A. Agnew, of South Carolina. Turmond's name also was stricken as a member, although he had resigned.

The five seats of the bolters were declared vacant and no action was taken to fill them at this time.

The Committee elected Senator Burnet Maybank to take Thurmond's place as South Carolina Committeeman on grounds that a vacancy existed there before the National Committee met.

Mrs. Lennard Thomas, retained as National Committeewoman for Alabama, told a reporter:

"The 'Dixiecrats' will have a chance in the future to join Republicans or Democrats. They should make their own choice. This is a free country. I believe in States' rights, but I also believe in States' responsibilities."

On the homefronts of the ousted Southerners, comment came quickly and caustically.

Gov. Wright of Mississippi, the States' Rights Vice Presidential candidate, charged the National Committee operated in "gangster style."

Alabama's Gov. James E. Folsom, a Truman supporter, wired the Committee his congraulations. But an Alabama States' Rights leader, Chairman Gessner T. McCorvey of the State Democratic Executive Committee, said the action would solidify the South in its fight against "centralization of government in bureaucratic Washington."

Chairman H. C. Sever of the Democratic State Central Committee for Louisiana declared:

"We didn't cut off from the party. They cut off from us when they included the Civil Rights program in the platform."

Leander H. Perez, of New Orleans, La., named Director of a new States' Rights Bureau set up in Washington yesterday, told newsmen the purge had been conducted in a "high-handed and unfair manner."

NAME DELETED

Thurmond's name also was stricken from the membership roll, although he had resigned.

At a dinner ending the day's activity by the national committee, which included the election of William M. Boyle, Jr., former Kansas City policeman, as committee chairman, President Truman invited the bolters to return to the Democratic fold accepting the administration's program, including civil rights.

"The Democratic Party is the party of the people," Mr. Truman said. "The Democratic Party is a national party and not a sectional party any more. The tail no longer wags the dog.

WON WITHOUT NEW YORK

"We won the election last November without New York without the Industrial East and without the Solid South and I am prouder of that than anything that ever happened to me."

The action of the Democratic National Committee in ousting the Dixiecrats followed the recommendations of its credentials committee.

Leander H. Perez, New Orleans, named director of a new States' Rights bureau opened headquarters on the same day of the national committee meeting. Perez is a former judge and his interest in tidelands oil is said to coincide with his interest in states' rights.

The credentials committee used "Section II" as a basis for rejecting the Dixiecrats. The rule was used in 1896 to oust two men who swung away from William Jennings Bryan and attended a rump convention.

The Georgia representatives also supported the election of William Boyle as the new Chairman of the National Committee, succeeding Sen. J. Howard McGrath, of Rhode Island, who was sworn in yesterday at Attorney General in the President's cabinet.

Bolters Get Penalty For Disloyalty

Louisville Courier-Journal

Acceptance Of Civil Rights Part Of Bid To Return To Fold

Int. 9-3-49

WASHINGTON, D.C. (NNPA)—President Truman last Wednesday night endorsed the action of the Democratic National Committee in ousting five Dixiecrat members who had opposed the Truman-Barkley ticket in the Presidential campaign last year, because of the civil rights issue.

Norfolk, Va.

The ousted Dixiecrats were members of the Democratic National Committee from Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi, and South Carolina, who admitted that they had opposed Mr. Truman in the last national campaign.

Those removed for supporting the States' Rights presidential ticket of Governor J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina and Governor Fielding Wright of Mississippi were Marion Rushton, Alabama; William H. Talbot, Louisiana; J. B. Snider and Mrs. Hermes Gautier, Mississippi; and Mrs. Anne A. Agnew, South Carolina.

Georgia Solons Vote for Ouster

By GLADSTONE WILLIAMS
Constitution Washington Bureau

Constitution

WASHINGTON — Georgia's two representatives on the Democratic National Committee went along with the Administration program yesterday in voting to oust members from the four Southern States which supported the Dixiecrat ticket of last November's Presidential election.

The State was represented at the meeting by Mrs. Iris Blitch, of Homerville, National Committeewoman, and State Democratic Chairman James Peters, of Manchester, who held the proxy of National Committeeman J. Robert Elliott, of Columbus. Elliott was unable to attend and turned over his proxy to Peters.

Thurs. 8-25-49

Southerners Snubbed as Democrats Select Head

Post
Sun. 8-14-49

McGrath Withholds Bids to 4 States' Committeemen in Chairman Election

By the United Press

Southern States' Rights Democrats who deserted President Truman last year, were pointedly omitted last night from a Democratic National Committee call to elect a new chairman.

Washington

Senator J. Howard McGrath (D., R. I.), who will resign as chairman August 24 to become Attorney General, specifically did not invite committee members of record in Mississippi and Louisiana. He observed that the elected committeeman for Alabama, Marion Rushton, has resigned.

"I have not invited the members of the national committee of record in the States of Mississippi or Louisiana," McGrath said, "because, in my judgment, by their several actions at the convention and subsequently in the campaign they have left the Democratic Party.

Thurmond Not Invited

"The national committeeman from South Carolina was a candidate for election on the ticket of another party."

Gov. J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina was a candidate for President last year on the States' Rights ticket. Thurmond was not invited to the August 24 meeting.

The convention delegations of Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana and South Carolina walked out of the national convention at Philadelphia last July when it was apparent that Mr. Truman would be nominated. Upon his election in November, the President said he had won without the solid South, and was proud of it. The four States cast their electoral votes for Truman.

Boyle as Successor

McGrath's call reading existing Democratic political organizations of the four States out of the party apparently has the approval of Mr. Truman. In his call for the meeting, McGrath recommended that "Persons claiming a seat on the national committee may present their credentials to the committee." he said.

Others On Committee

But the southerners could expect little from the credentials committee. Only one member—Jonathan Daniels of North Carolina—comes from south of the Mason and Dixon Line.

Other members include Chairman Frank McHale, Indiana; David Lawrence, Pennsylvania; Theodore F. Green, Rhode Island; David G. Kelly, North Dakota; Sam Morris, Arizona; Mrs. Marguerite Peyton Thompson, Colorado; Mrs. Margaret M. O'Riordan, Massachusetts, and Mrs. Florence M. Lynch, Iowa.

Gerhardt Eisler was there as a spectator.

Benjamin Davis Jr. leaving the court house. The New York Times

Communist Trial Echoes in City Council; Davis Loses Move to Censure Police Cordon

The battle over Communism taking place in the Federal Court House with the trial of the top Communist leaders flared briefly but heatedly in the City Council yesterday.

Councilman Benjamin J. Davis, Manhattan Communist who is one of those on trial, appeared in his seat in the City Council Chamber when the regular meeting was called. Photographers crowded around him.

At the close of a debate on a proposed City Charter amendment Mr. Davis arose to a point of personal privilege. He said that the size and tenor of the police preparations before the nUited States Court House in connection with the Communist trial tended to affront his "dignity and status" as a member of the City Council and the council itself.

At the suggestion of Louis Goldberg, Brooklyn Liberal, City Council President Vincent Impelliteri ruled Councilman Davis out of order. When Mr. Davis protested, Mr. Impelliteri said that he did not intend to permit Mr. Davis to drag the issues of the trial into the City Council meeting.

Mr. Goldberg said that Mr. Davis' claim that the police detail in the vicinity of the United States Court House was a menace to him was not well taken. The police precautions, Mr. Goldberg said, were not directed against Mr. Davis personally. He suggested that the police detachments might be present to protect Mr. Davis.

Eugene P. Connolly, Manhattan American Labor party member, supported Mr. Davis and indicated that he believed that the police were present in improperly large numbers in Foley Square and its environs.

After long parliamentary dickering, Mr. Davis appealed to the Council as a whole from the ruling of the chair. The vote against him was sixteen to three.

Mr. Connolly and Walter R. Hart, Brooklyn Democrat, joined Mr. Davis in voting against the ruling of the chair. In explaining his vote, Mr. Hart said that while he did not approve the principles repreesnted by Mr. Davis, he was a believer in the fullest amount of freedom of speech in the City Council and elsewhere and that he could not therefore vote to prevent Mr. Davis from discussing the matter further.

Lovalty Means

Backing Party On All Issues

Statement Of Policy Amends Version Given By Senator McGrath

T-H Is First Test

Will States' Righters Suffer For Beliefs? Told To Wait And See

WASHINGTON, April 28—(AP)—President Truman cracked his patronage whip today and beckoned Democratic lawmakers to line up on the party platform.

The first test of party regularity is support of the administration's bill to repeal the Taft-Hartley labor law, he told a news conference. He made it clear that other planks in the Democratic platform are going to count, too.

And he left an unspoken implication that stray-away Democrats are going to find their plates missing when the patronage pie is sliced.

How about that? reporters asked.

Wait And See

Wait and see, the head Democrat replied.

The news got to the Capitol right away. Rep. Hebert (D), Louisiana, a States' Rights Democrat, yelled out in the House that the President was putting "a purchase tag" on congressmen's votes.

The President's policy announcement sharply amended—if it did not cancel—a statement on patronage delivered yesterday by Senator J. Howard McGrath of Rhode Island, the Democratic national chairman. McGrath had proclaimed that the voting records of Congress members wouldn't greatly affect their influence in patronage matters.

Own Idea Of Loyalty

Observing with a grin that what he had said was "as far as the Truman Doctrine had gone at that time," McGrath added:

"The President has his own idea of party loyalty and he is the one who makes the appointments."

Mr. Truman told his news conference that loyal Democrats are those who support the party platform—which he described as the law of the party—after the election as well as before.

He added that how Congress members vote will be the test of their loyalty. This test certainly would come on the Taft-Hartley repealer, he added in reply to a question.

When a reporter asked if the plan was to deny patronage to lawmakers who supported the Thurmond-Wright States' Rights ticket last election, Mr. Truman said: Wait and see how the thing works out; the question will answer itself as time goes on.

State Righters vigorously opposed Mr. Truman's civil rights program, as most of the Southern Democrats in Congress still do.

Four Civil Rights Bills

Although President Truman told his news conference he does not expect to send any special message to Congress on civil rights, McGrath dropped four such bills into the Senate's hopper during the day.

McGrath told a reporter these represent the administration's program. But he would not forecast whether they will be brought up for Senate action this session, a move certain to bring a Southern Democratic filibuster if it is attempted.

Representative Rankin (D), Mississippi, claimed that he was the "first victim" of the administration's new patronage policy. He is a States' Rights advocate and an ardent critic of the President's civil rights program.

Rankin said his recommendation of Julian B. Gardner for appointment as acting postmaster at Columbus, Miss., had been ignored.

McElroy Given Post

Vincent C. Burke, first assistant postmaster general, previously had announced that W. L. McElroy would become acting postmaster May 1. McElroy is the father of Mrs. Dorothy Vredenburg, secretary of the Democratic national committee, but McGrath told a reporter he personally knew nothing about the appointment in advance.

McGrath left little doubt, however, that the committee is ignoring any recommendations that Rankin makes.

This same attitude apparently applies to Representative Hebert, who aseked his colleagues: "Is your vote for sale for jobs?"

Democratic Leader McCormack, of Massachusetts, told Hebert he "should have kept silent" because he was "sitting as a member of the majority by tolerance."

Why Expect Privileges?

"Anybody who supported any party other than the Democratic party should not expect any privileges from the majority," McCormack stormed.

Hebert replied that he had backed "the Democratic ticket in Louisiana." The Thurmond-Wright combination went on the official Democratic party ballot in that state last Fall.

South Carolina's Governor J. Strom Thurmond, who headed the States' Rights ticket last year, commented from his office in Columbia that "the Democracy of South Carolina cannot be bought with petty political patronage."

"Gang Politics"

At Jackson, Miss., Gov. Fielding L. Wright, Thurmond's running mate last year, called Mr. Truman's test of party loyalty "another attempt to play gang politics."

"I believe," he said, "that our senators and congressmen should be allowed the patronage due them by virtue of their office. After all, they do represent the Democrats of this state."

The civil rights bills introduced by McGrath today would create a five-member civil rights commission, establish a permanent Fair Employment Practices Commission, make lynching a federal offense and outlaw state poll taxes in federal elections.

Mr. Truman's decision not to send a special message on the subject was interpreted by some Dixie Democrats as indicating that the administration does not plan to put the heat on for action on the measures in this session of Congress.

Commute His Sentence

As the prime political agent of the Democratic Party, Senator J. Howard McGrath, national chairman, has been the prime target of Southern fulmination and anathema because of his part in fostering Civil Disturbance.

Now ever since the Democratic convention last summer, we have been trying to make it clear that McGrath was not to be classed with such extreme zealots as Senator Humphrey & Co., for we personally saw McGrath charging up and down the convention aisles trying to head-off the all-out civil rights program. He sought a compromise plank with Truman's leave substantially the same as that of 1944, on which Alabama voted overwhelmingly for Roosevelt. In a sense he and his Rhode Island delegation went down to defeat with the Southerners.

But although that has been printed often enough in The Advertiser from the time it happened, McGrath largely remains an unqualified enemy of the South in the inflamed eyes of many, perhaps most, hereabouts; for he is the symbol of our woes.

Something has now happened, however, which should win him, at the least, a commutation of sentence. McGrath has been lying down on the Civil Disturbance program, trying to make peace with the South. McGrath is thus belabored on the one side by Southerners and on the other by Walter White. He's entitled to blow his top on that.

White has charged that "Trader" McGrath is thus belabored on the one side by Southerners and on the other by Walter White. He's entitled to blow his top on that.

Something has now happened, however, which should win him, at the least, of Colored People.

POLITICS and PEOPLE

BY ROBERT BENDINER

End of an Era

Washington

IMPROBABLE as it seemed only six months ago, the time may soon be here when "Southern Democrat" will mean quite simply a Democrat from the South, not a right-wing Republican hiding behind a magnolia blossom and a portrait of Robert E. Lee. The Rankins, the Coxes and the Eastlands are still on display on Capitol Hill—indeed, owing to what is sometimes called the "senility system," they head a shockingly large majority of Congressional committees—but they are a fading species. Like the bison and the pink egret, they are heading for extinction unless the government takes steps to preserve them artificially. And the Truman Administration showed clearly last week that it is totally uninterested in this particular aspect of conservation.

After the fashion of their kind, political historians will one day enumerate four steps that broke the Southern spell over the Democratic Party. First, in 1936, came the abolition of the two-thirds rule, which had given the Southerners an absolute veto in the party's choice of Presidential candidates. Then came the shattering blow of July, 1948, when the obnoxious civil-rights program was converted from a harmless aberration of President Truman to the status of party policy, incorporated in the campaign platform. This forced the diehards to an unfortunate test of power, and on November 2 came Step Number Three, the election of a Democratic Pr dent not only without the Solid South but ag Dixie competitor.

The historic event of last week, fo process, was a direct consequence of the November affair. It had been widely feared by nervous liberals that Mr. Truman had cooled off between Election Day and the convening of the Eighty-first Congress, and that the Dixiecrats would be taken back into the fold pretty much on their own terms. What happened instead was the worst Confederate disaster since Appomattox. A month or so ago, it was suggested in this column that the first week of the new Congress would reveal whether the President intended to launch a Second New Deal or merely to pay off a few political pledges. His intentions were to be gauged from the make-up of committees, from the seriousness with which his allies in the Senate strove to curb the filibuster and those in the House the power of the Rules Committee.

On two of these three counts, the Administration and its leaders on the Hill have already done themselves proud. To the all-important Ways and Means Committee, whose Democratic members decide on all other committee assignments for members of their party, the leadership has added four stalwarts, assuring the Administration a majority over any possible coalition. This will be especially important in determining the future of the Un-American Affairs Committee, for which drastic procedural curbs are also planned. The likelihood is that John Rankin will be dropped. Several plans, with Administration blessing, are afoot for ending the filibuster threat in the Senate, the mildest of which would allow two-thirds of that body to close debate not only on bills, as at present, but also on motions to take up legislation.

But, above all, the dictatorship of the House Rules Committee has been smashed, an achievement comparable to the parliamentary revolution of 1910, when the center of power was shifted from "Czar" Cannon to "King Caucus," only to be absorbed in time by the Rules Committee through its power to bottle up any bill its majority didn't favor. The change put through last week makes it possible for the chairman of any legislative committee on certain stipulated days to ask for a simple majority vote to release a buried measure. Such a request must be given top priority by the Speaker, with no dilatory motions allowed to prevail. It was the flat refusal of the Republican Rules Committee last year that kept the lower chamber from voting on a housing bill, even though it was sponsored by Republican leader Robert A. Taft and had a certain majority. A Democratic Rules Committee stacked with Southerners by virtue of seniority would just as surely cripple Mr. Truman's "Fair Deal" were it left as sole arbiter of what the House might or might not discuss.

The Rules Committee change has more far-reaching importance than any bill or group of bills that may be affected in the current session. It is one of those events that mark the end of an era. I do not expect all signs of life in the Southern group to flicker out forthwith. In fact, the chances are great that it will be able to block a Fair Employment Practices Act. But its star has set for all that, and for one reason. What Roosevelt tried to do on a piecemeal and personal basis, through the doubtful medium of the purge, Truman has attempted by challenging the whole rotten structure of Southern bigotry. Having first released his party from dependence on the Dixiecrats, he has divided the Southerners themselves. They could not have been defeated if Truman had not enjoyed the whole-hearted support of Speaker Sam Rayburn, of Texas, and when John Rankin insisted shrilly on his "right to be heard," many of his Southern colleagues abandoned him on the floor of the House. His typical effort to link the proposed change with the Kremlin had been hooted down in the historic New Year's Day caucus, and he had had the novel experience of being bluntly told by the majority leader that "Mississippi did not win this election." Cox of Georgia had been similarly told off and was left to inquire feebly what would happen if he violated the decision of the caucus.

The coalition that had plagued Roosevelt for most of his years in office was too weak to stand up to a determined assault on the very citadel of its power. After a defeat of this magnitude, it should be only a question of time before the Rankins are retired in favor of Representatives who have a party behind them, politics being a hard-boiled and realistic game—even in the magnolia country.

On Being Equal

Barkley Says All Men Are Not Born Equal And Tells His Five Reasons Why

BY FRED TAYLOR

The word "equality," much used by both statesmen and demagogues, has troubled men's souls more and more in recent years. It becomes really explosive when "racial" is connected with it.

The Declaration of Independence says:

"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

Concerning the equality of men, Vice President Alben Barkley had some pertinent things to say on his peace-making visit to Birmingham.

TAYLOR

* * *

EQUAL OPPORTUNITY—Barkley took issue with the declaration that all men are created equal. That is, he took issue with the general conception of what that section of the Declaration of Independence means.

He said:

"Men are not born equal intellectually.

"Men are not born equal financially.

"Men are not born equal socially.

"Men are not born equal racially."

But the vice president emphasized that men are born to have the right of equal opportunity.

Thus, he pointed out, the "equal rights" clause in the Democratic Party platform adopted at Philadelphia last July—the section that generated so much political heat and controversy—"must mean equal rights to enjoy the fruits of our nation."

"Otherwise," he said, "it is but a sham and a pretense and will be used against us by those from abroad who would destroy us."

DEFT TOUCH—The Kentuckian fully realized how explosive the "civil rights" issue is, particularly in this Deep South state. It had split the party and deprived the Truman-Barkley ticket of Alabama's, Louisiana's, Mississippi's and South Carolina's vote.

So Barkley, with the deft touch of a man long practiced in dealing with touchy issues, kept pretty much away from the party-splitting "civil rights" proposals. But he didn't dodge the issue completely. He said there was a "strong probability" that some of the measures would be enacted. But he added it would be "presumptuous" for him to say what the Senate would do with this legislation, which has not come up for consideration, except indirectly in the recent filibuster fight.

On his mission here for party unity, the vice president made it plain he did not come to Alabama to appease anybody. But he emphasized his belief that all Democrats could work together in harmony and with mutual benefit.

Mayor Meighan Successor To Chairman McCorvey?

Montgomery Advertiser

THE Democratic National Committee gave its nod of approval this week to a man around whom penitent Truman bolters may find it easy to rally with party "loyalists."

He is Mayor J. Herbert Meighan of Gadsden. National Chairman J. Howard McGrath named him Alabama finance director for the party.

While he didn't take the stump for Truman and expresses a strong belief in State's Rights, Meighan refused to take the pledge to withhold his vote from the party's nominee if he were Truman, and Meighan were an elector. Only those who took the pledge were elected.

MAHAN

Meighan has friends, close friends, among both bolters and loyalists.

Some who don't like the Dixiecrats politically or the Truman civil rights program basically, have advanced Meighan as a possible candidate to replace Gessner T. McCorvey, chairman of the State Democratic Executive Committee—if McCorvey doesn't run for re-election or is beaten, and Meighan manages to get himself re-elected to the committee.

TWO STATE committeemen told me yesterday, "Herbert would make a good man" around whom state Democrats could consolidate from their new dispersed positions.

Meighan already has come out for party harmony. In accepting the finance directorship, he issued this statement: "It is my hope that we can consolidate the party here at home and pull for its further development and the further development of our great state."

Marc Ray (Foots) Clement, the Tuscaloosa lawyer, Boy Scout leader and war savings booster, was mentioned along with Meighan by one state committeeman as a possible consolidator.

And from Baldwin County comes reports that W. C. Beebe, the former state legislator, would like to take over the state committee reins. Like both Clement and Meighan, he didn't join those who went all-out against Truman.

The Meighan appointment followed by a day a report from coat-tail riders of Gov. James E. Folsom that he was taking over all arrangements for the party's fund-raising Jackson Day Dinner in Alabama. The mayor's appointment carried with it complete authority to handle all details of the dinner, and indicated the National Committee isn't interested in tying itself too closely to Folsom—once a Truman pants kicker and now a Truman kisser.

Phrasing Of McCorvey Poll Vexes Demo Committeemen

By Geoffrey Birt

Staff Writer, The Alabama Journal

LAST WEEK Gessner T. McCorvey, chairman of the State Democratic Executive Committee—the party machine—wrote a letter to all 72 members of his committee. He asked flat "yes" or "no" to two questions:

1. Are you in favor of the State Democratic Executive Committee refusing the resignation of Col. Marion Rushton as Democratic national committeeman for Alabama?

(Rushton asked to resign in 1948. Until now McCorvey took no action on his request.)

2. Are you in favor of the State Democratic Executive Committee of Alabama instructing both our Democratic national committeeman and committeewoman to advise the Democratic National Committee (in Washington), that the Democrats of Alabama will see to it that in 1952 the nominees of the so-called National Democratic Party will not receive a single, solitary electoral vote from Alabama unless and until the Democratic Party abandons its anti-Southern Hate program otherwise known as the Civil Rights program.

BIRT

Phone calls were placed to a random selection of the committeemen in all parts of the state to find their reactions to these questions from McCorvey. Some proved to have no phones. Others were absent; some had gone fishing. Below are comments of those who were located.

Off the record most of the committee commented unfavorably on the phrasing of McCorvey's second question. One thought the language "intemperate" and "lacking the cool objectivity expected in a chairman and former president of the Alabama Bar Association."

Others resented the way the question was begged. Some allowed their criticism to be on the record.

Although it is known that the present committee is dominated by those favoring the Dixiecrat movement, the answers below clearly show a split in the group.

Next spring this committee comes up for re-election. It is expected then that the Dixiecrat vs. Democrat issue will be paramount. It will be a fight to control politics in the state for the next four years.

These answers already indicate that a series of passionate fights for control of the state political machine lies ahead.

★

J. H. FAULKNER, Bay Minette—If Rushton wants to resign, he should be allowed to do so. As for the second question, we are all for States' Rights and against Civil Rights. I have only just received McCorvey's letter and not yet replied to it. The wording seems peculiar. I am unwilling to have the question phrased for me. It almost looks as though he is trying to get us out on the limb either way we answer. It also looks to me very similar to that Horace Wilkinson letter sent to us all before the race for delegate to the national convention in Philadelphia. I don't know how I will reply yet. We'd all better be careful or we shall all be outside the Democratic Party.

Lawrence T. Oakley, Dothan—I have not yet received my letter. Therefore I cannot exactly answer the questions until I have read them. I am in favor of the spirit of the letter. I want to serve notice in any way I can that we won't take lying down the Democrats' Civil Rights program.

★

LUCIEN P. BURNS, Selma—I can answer neither yes nor no without some expatiation. I don't see how the committee could possibly make such a decision. I don't see how it could direct our committeeman and committeewoman to make such a statement before the National Democratic Committee. It would first be necessary to know how the electors felt first. Therefore, it will be up to the people in 1952, not the committee, to decide on that issue.

BURNS

I don't see how I can give a flat "yes" or "no" to such a long and involved question—I will certainly have to expand a bit on my answer.

★

BART J. COWART, Haleyville—Of course, let Rushton resign. He ought to do so, and wants to do so. If McCorvey had the same high regard for the Democratic Party that Rushton has, he would resign too. Then he and Rushton could both go off and start a party of their own. I think McCorvey ought to resign.

I don't like that Civil Rights program either—and I'm for States' Rights.

Let's fight for this thing properly in the party. No good walking out, running off. . . . I'm glad you phoned me about this. I feel very strongly. I wanted to make a statement.

W. G. RAINS, Gadsden—I have told McCorvey that Rushton should go. I have also told him that no such instructions as he proposes should be issued to our committeeman or committeewoman.

I think the second question is out of order. I think the committee is without jurisdiction in such a matter. It is the people who elect the electors. It is then the electors chosen by the people who cast Alabama's votes. It is not for the committee to dictate.

They (the McCorvey followers) are trying to establish another Democratic Party apart from the official national Democratic Party.

I don't agree with Civil Rights. There're a lot of us in the committee who are against Mr. Truman. But I don't want to do a thing to bust up the party.

★

WINSTON HUDDLESTON, Wetumpka—I have not yet received my copy of the letter. If Rushton wants to resign he should be allowed to resign.

The second question was then read to him.

Wait a minute . . . that's going to carry me a bit too fast. That question asks me to say that I will withhold the vote of the state from the Democratic Party unless the national party abandons the so-called Civil Rights program.

Now I'm pretty definite in my own ideas on that subject. I think we should be left alone down here to work out our own problems.

I doubt if the committee can itself determine such a course. . . I'll want to read and study that letter . . . I doubt if a flat "yes" or "no"—as asked for—can be given to a question like that.

MIZELL

★

FRANK MIZELL, Montgomery — I voted against acceptance of (Rushton's) resignation.

I did not vote on the question as to instruction of the national committeeman and national committeewoman for several reasons. (1) None of us can presume to say how and for whom the Democratic electorate of Alabama will vote in 1952. . . . (2) The question is too limited in scope. (3) I think the matter raised is of such surpassing importance that a committee meeting should have been called (instead of a mail referendum.)

★

H. M. ABERCROMBIE, Birmingham (who was also a walk-out delegate at the National Convention)—I have voted not to accept Col. Rushton's resignation.

As regards the second question I have voted "Yes" because when I broke away from the National Democratic Party I took the position that they had abandoned the principles of the Democratic Party . . . had abandoned the Constitution. . . . We have not left the party, but the party has left us. We States Rights Democrats are the only Democrats now left.

Our position is gaining strength. It is not diminishing. By 1952 we shall hold the balance of power. I think by then we shall have Georgia and Texas join us.

MILES C. DOBBS, Fayette—We should refuse to accept Rushton's resignation.

I have replied "yes" to McCorvey's second question. I don't like Harry Truman. I don't like him pouring something down our necks we don't like. Roosevelt tried to ram this Negro question down our throats before. We won't have it.

★

THOMAS W. BRADFORD, Centre—Rushton's resignation should be accepted. As for the second question, I have not received my copy of the letter yet, but I'll say this:

Every candidate's name should be on the ballot. Those who want to vote for the Democratic nominee should be given the opportunity for doing so.

Last time I had any number of people come to me and ask how they could vote for Mr. Truman. I had to tell them there was no way whatever they could vote for the President.

Everyone ought to have the right to vote for who they please.

I don't know yet how I'll answer Gessner's letter till I see it and study it a bit. His second question seems long and involved.

★

J. M. FLOWERS, Montgomery—I have voted for Col. Rushton's resignation to be accepted. I am in favor of accepting any man's resignation—in private or in public life—who wants to resign. And Rushton has steadfastly said for a long time he wanted nothing more to do with the Democratic Party.

As for question two, I have voted "no" on that also. How do we know how the people of Alabama will want to vote in 1952? It's up to the people.

Democrats Confident And Ready To Take On Dixicrats.

Montgomery Advertiser

TRUMAN Democrats, at least a cocky 1,100 of them, have put Alabama's belligerent States' Righters on notice that if they want a fight they can get it—right now or any other time.

Tues 4-14-49

At least that is the impression I got at Birmingham's Jefferson-Jackson Day dinner, where Vice President Barkley took several swipes at those who led Alabama to the Thurmond-Wright ticket last November.

Montgomery Ala

A lot of people are visualizing the fur that'll fly off Democrat and Dixiecrat campaigners in next year's elections. But the primary cat fights will be an anti-climax.

The real head-bustin', shillelagh-swinging is coming next January. The state democratic executive committee, on which States' Righter Gessner T. McCorvey now has a majority of followers, meets in January — to fix the rules for the 1950 primaries!

A. F. Mahan, Jr

As the rules have stood since the ouster of Tom Heflin, the last Senator who supported Herbert Hoover in preference to Al Smith, they require that all primary candidates must have supported and voted for nominees of the Democratic Party.

OF course, Chairman McCorvey's flock will insist Thurmond and Wright were the nominees of the "true" Democratic Party, and point out that NOBODY in Alabama could have voted for Truman and Barkley, even if they'd wished to do so.

A lot of other committeemen will argue differently and heatedly. Both sides already are putting on the pressure, and the meeting doesn't come off for another nine months.

Another little item to be disposed of at that meeting is the resignation of Marion Rushton as Democratic national committeeman. Rushton joined McCorvey in supporting the Thurmond-Wright ticket, resigning his party post to the state committee. McCorvey has called no meeting for action; says he hopes the resignation will be rejected.

If J. Miller Bonner or any other Dixiecrat was keeping tab on persons attending the Birmingham dinner he had a very busy night. There were many prospective candidates there, despite Bonner's promise to put them on the States' Righters black list if they attended.

MAYOR Cooper Green, of Birmingham, seeking reelection to the city commission and hoping to run for governor next year, was among the more prominent candidates there.

There were three House members from Alabama who must seek reelection next year. They were: Jones, Rains and Elliott. Both senators expressed their regrets on being detained in Washington and joined in the radio introduction of Barkley. Two other Alabama congressmen, Battle and deGraffenreid, expressed their regrets.

Which reminds me that Dothan's $2-a-plate dinner of States' Righters was given in honor of members of the House and Senate who have "stood up for States' Rights"—but that it drew not a single congressman.

The Dothan affair drew only two current prospective candidates for governor, unless you count Rep. Wallace D. Malone. They were: Handy Ellis, a Folsom casualty three years ago, and Probate Judge Claiborne Blanton, of Selma, who would like to feel the Dixiecrat mantle draped across his broad shoulders.

I hear Ellis is considering running for the State Senate, unless gubernatorial lightning strikes pretty soon.

The States' Righters did not attempt to make a profit on their $2 dinner (which actually grew into four affairs attracting 500 persons). As Malone said: "It was given purely in appreciation."

Tues 4-14-49

MAYOR Herbert Meighan, of Gadsden, Democratic party finance director for Alabama, reports that the Birmingham dinner (split into four affairs itself) grossed a profit of $11,550. Meighan paid $4.50 for each plate; sold each for $15. Through contributions and dinner receipts he hopes to raise $60,000 for the Trumanite party.

For that $15, besides seeing and being seen, the diners got: filet mignon, shrimp cocktail, green peas, potatoes, a salad and ice cream. At Dothan the diner got ham instead of filet. Otherwise the menus were almost identical.

Governor Folsom, who had his hirelings in Birmingham by offices-full, almost got left out of the speaking when Cooper Green ran too long in his remarks. Meighan had only 30 seconds before Barkley was to go on the radio when Green finished his chit chat. The mayor slapped the Vice President on the air, passing Big Jim.

As Barkley wound up, however, Meighan recovered the fumble. He asked Folsom to express the state's appreciation of Barkley's visit. The big One responded.

THE States' Righters put it all over General Chairman John Foster and Meighan in the matter of organization. There wasn't a hitch in Dothan. Things never did get untangled in Birmingham.

In Dothan, the diner knew to which dining room they'd been assigned. In Birmingham it looked like everyone tried to get into the one where Barkley was to do the speaking, although loud speakers carried the message to the two other main rooms.

The stairs and lobby were jammed. A lot of luminaries and would-be sombodies scrambled to get in—along with the working press and the photographers.

Miss Loula Dunn, state welfare commissioner, who rode from Washington to Birmingham in Barkley's plane, almost missed out. Finally, Gen W. P. Screws, of the state liquor board, talked the doorman into letting her in. She got a seat at the press table. Screws didn't ~~get in.~~

Tues 4-14-49

AMONG those left standing and finally booted out of the main dining room were the Associated Press and United Press representive and Osburn Zuber of The Birmingham Post. There was no workroom for the press. Foster distributed a total of three texts of Barkley's speech, one to The Age Herald, one to AP and one to UP. I finally borrowed AP's.

When newsmen arrived in Dothan, they were greeted at the Houston Hotel by Editor Nat Faulk of The Dothan Eagle. They were escorted to a suite, where a dozen typewriters and desks had been set up—along with a bar. They were handed printed copies of all speeches and of a resolution to be submitted that night.

Sure, it's our business to get the news. Our point is: Some people make it hard; others make it easy.

Further Thoughts On The Democratic Dinner

Montgomery Adv. 4-18-49

BIRMINGHAM, Ala., April 12.

NOT the least ingratiating device of Vice President Barkley in his rebroadcast of his famous "12 Long Years" jeremiad was his roll call of the famous Alabamians who have played their parts on the Washington stage.

Barkley called their names and projected his laudatory apostrophe to the works of all the congressmen and senators from Henry Clayton on down to Hill and Sparkman.

But somehow he failed to mention the name of the Alabamian who rose higher in the government than any other save Vice President Rufus King—Supreme Court Justice Hugo Black.

We surmise that this was an unintentional omission, for Barkley and Black were Senate colleagues for years.

★

NO SOONER did we make our best effort to spring the presidential ghosts of Jefferson, Jackson, Roosevelt, T. R., and Wilson from the miscegenetic embrace of the Dixiecrats, than Barkley imposed upon us the Clioesque duty of delivering President Grover Cleveland from the Democratic embrace.

Barkley named the Democratic presidents as though they were uniformly and exclusively the agents of liberalism and the handmaidens of social and economic justice.

It is preposterous that Grover Cleveland should be claimed as a liberal as Barkley understands the term. He was a fearless, but impenitent, and unregenerate conservative.

As Barkley pronounced his benisons upon the liberalism of "Good Grover," we wondered if the present and attending CIO Chief Carey Haigler and AFL Bill Mitch were remembering that Cleveland was a strike-breaker from away back and in whose administration Eugene V. Debs went to prison.

★

IT IS understandable and forgivable that a Democratic party spokesman at a political rally should, as Barkley did, club all Democrats as engines of liberalism and guardians of the people's interest and Republican presidents as reactionaries and guardian's of Wall Street's interest.

But how phoney a thesis! William Howard Taft was probably as liberal as Wilson. Wall Street never had a more hated enemy than the trust buster Teddy Roosevelt.

BARKLEY wanted to be certain that he adequately described the tragedy of Hoover's administration. He called it a "disastrous catastrophe"—but did not enlighten his hearers on what other kind of catastrophe there is.

★

MR. LOUIS PIZITZ, the merchant prince of Jones Valley, was present, looking somewhat like Toscanini.

★

WE ENTERED the banquet room behind Mrs. Mabel Jones West.

Shortly thereafter Mrs. Nanna Thomas, the Democratic national committeewoman, entered. She was attired in a black ensemble.

Mrs. West was likewise attired in a black ensemble, but she imparted a certain gaiety with a large corsage.

★

ONE alert politician who cased the assemblage thought that the crowd was predominantly North Alabama.

That, we believe, is true only if you except the teeming, swarming mass of Folsom agents—Sheriff Cecil Folsom, Fred Folsom, Highway Director Ward McFarland, State Senator Broughton Lamberth, State Senator Joe Langan, Revenue Commissioner Phil Hamm, Unentitled Ross Clark, Secretary O. H. Finney, Conservation Director Bert Thomas, Annie Lola Price, Finance Director Bill Drinkard, former Legal Adviser Kenneth Griffith, Pitt Tyson Maner, Public Safety Director Bankhead Bates.

Full Col. Bill Lyerly, chief of the Highway Patrol, was the vice president's aide.

Thur 4-14-49

They were pleased and honored at their foremost position in the Alabama affairs of the Democratic Party. They righteously applauded Barkley's tributes to President Truman. Yet this time last year every one of these Folsom agents was—if he was loyal to Folsom—out supporting Folsom's candidacy for president against Truman . . . Folsom who this time last year was telling the world that not a man, woman or child in Alabama had confidence in Truman.

★

WELL, if you went to Dothan, you allied yourself with Horace Wilkinson.

If you went to Birmingham, you allied yourself with Folsom.

But what's the odds?—up until the Dixiecrats left the party we were all in the same party together.

All In Favor Of Truman And Folsom

Montgomery Advertiser

IT HAPPENS that today is the inauguration day of two political figures in support of whom The Advertiser has not distinguished itself.

A million people are in Washington to see President Truman inaugurated. The millionth visitor is Gov. Folsom. Jan. 20 is the second anniversary of his inauguration as governor.

Montgomery, Ala.

It seems to us that this is a meet occasion on which to summarize all the favorable things we can say of the President and the governor.

It is not amiss today, we believe, to present a one-sided estimate of these two men. A lot of it we have said on other occasions, but always in attempts to balance the good with the bad. In this endeavor we shall be concerned exclusively with the praiseworthy.

Adv. 1-20-49

PERHAPS we should not merge our estimate of President Truman with Gov. Folsom, for the President is by no means an item of political curiosa. He is quite plainly a commanding figure in U. S. political history.

The story of Truman's lonely but dauntless campaign for the presidency is undoubtedly a story destined to become the text of parents in future generations seeking to inculcate in their offspring the importance of courage and steadfastness.

No politician in American history, Andrew Jackson included, has made a more enduring contribution to the tradition of the political gamecock than Harry S. Truman. Truman's tread in the plowed ground will inspire "defeated" candidates for generations to come.

For those reasons it is not too much to say, since a nation's courage lies partly in its traditions, that Truman has strengthened the moral fibre of this country. His grit will become the grit of others who have been knocked out of the ring but climb back in. And he will be the more magnetic inspiration because he is a plain and ill-equipped man.

As we have emphasized repeatedly, our chief quarrel with Truman is not his civil rights proposals. Originally he was only going through some ritualistic motions like an Alabama governor indorsing reapportionment of the legislature. Did not President Roosevelt, for whom this state voted solidly four times, actually put an F. E. P. C. into operation during the war?

Our quarrel with Truman was on the basis of our belief that he is incompetent. He is several cuts above Calvin Coolidge, but on the face of his long record of fumbles and clanging ineptitude, we feared that his presence in the White House will continue to prove unfortunate if not dangerous.

But we cannot question that Truman and his program are the emblem and expression of the aspirations and will of the American people.

He is far more honest and less devious than T. R. Roosevelt; he is better trained, knows more and thinks more than Coolidge; he is as courageous as Jackson; he is as steadfast as Cleveland; he is more loyal than Franklin Roosevelt; he has a superior grasp of public sentiment to that of Hoover; he is as kindly, winsome and dutiful as William Howard Taft; he is as little vindictive as Lincoln; a less gullible man than Grant; as good a piano player as Thomas Jefferson was violin player—and in every single direction except looks the superior of Warren Harding.

With a stronger cabinet, and that given free rein, and with a capacity to profit by on-the-job training—President Truman might well mock our estimate of his incompetency as overwhelmingly as did FDR in the case of Walter Lippman, who in 1932 wrote that Mr. Roosevelt was simply a pleasant gentleman in tweeds who wanted to be President but lacked all the qualifications.

WE BELIEVE that in the two years Folsom has been governor we have earned the distinction of being the worst [illegible]. Certainly no other paper has printed as many exposures of the Folsom Administration and assailed his antic occupancy of the governor's office with more frequency and spirit than The Advertiser. Had we not been telling the truth, libel suits would have emptied the counting room coffers.

From the time we heard him open his campaign in 1946 in Cullman, we have believed that Folsom was what Folsom said Folsom was, and so thoroughly bad for Alabama. We were as right about that as we were wrong in believing that Chauncey Sparks as governor would be as reactionary as Sparks the legislator.

Adv. 1-20-49

Since Tom Heflin no other politician has been excoriated and abused as has Folsom. We believe there is no inch of his hide which we haven't daubed with sulphur. He knows that we have no misgivings about a single application.

Yet despite all attacks, Folsom has, in our personal contacts, never done more than chuckle and discourse on the feebleness of the press.

In the course of all this, friendly personal relations have endured. Folsom has been a guest in our home, and we in his. When the editor received his appointment, he was on the coast with Folsom. A few days later Folsom entertained at a champagne party on the occasion of the editor's appointment—and the guests were mainly other newspaper tormentors.

On other occasions we have hunted together and bent elbows beside the well of 100-proof bottles.

Once—a long time ago—we told Folsom that we were distressed over the number of enemies we were making by attacking and exposing him and his administration.

"Don't you worry a minute about that," he counselled with gravity. "The point is, you got 'em talking—and that's what made me governor."

We've never been sure we understood how Folsom could take it all in such good part, but that's the way it was, and is.

Adv. 1-20-49

THE most admirable thing we can adduce in the name of Folsom is his cold refusal to exploit prejudice against Negroes. He has exploited other predudices but he has considered the Negro off-limits.

We have watched him closely on that point; we have never, despite his obvious temptations, detected a lapse; his disposition and actions in this realm have been consistently decent. This is all the more notable because the Folsom apostolic following was one to which Negro-baiting seems to appeal.

The blacktop road program and the teacher salary program of Folsom were beyond the means of the state when considered with other necessary state services. But his fantastic espousal of them has undoubtedly made the state move towards these goals with longer strides.

Folsom's campaign and election provided a desirable political lesson. He demonstrated that a man who can catch the popular imagination need not wait for the cash outlays of Jones Valley money to go out and win the governorship. Leather lungs and a salable program of positive measures can nullify political organizations and deflate Vulcan's currency.

For all of the bogus "branchhead" solicitude of Folsom, his election occasioned a striking demonstration of its lumped power. It was a salutary illustration that people, not persons, are sovereign. Folsom's election re-oriented the thinking of countless politicians and that was all to the good. Demagogues do not commonly thrive where political leadership has a sense of the whole.

Adv. 1-20-49

And finally, the state's melancholy experience with Folsom will probably render it more cautious in the selection of governors for perhaps a generation. That has been true in the case of Tom Heflin and the U. S. Senate.

The state will not be wrecked at the end of his term.

Etowah Demos Ask McCorvey To Quit Post

Montgomery Ala.

Chairman Is Criticized For Spending Party Funds In Primary

Adv. 4-17-49

GADSDEN, ALA., April 16.—(AP)—The Etowah County Democratic Committee today demanded that Gessner T. McCovey resign as chairman of the state Democratic party fund, and praised Mayor Herbert Meighan for his work as state finance chairman for the national committee.

Meighan was chairman of a drive to raise $60,000 for the national party. The drive ended with the Jefferson-Jackson Day dinner at which Vice-President Alben Barkley spoke in Birmingham.

Introduced By Hawkins

The resolution criticizing McCorvey, of Mobile, was introduced by George Hawkins, Gadsden attorney. It charged McCorvey spent party funds for uses other than in aiding Democratic candidates in general elections.

The issue was part of a fight last year in the race for delegates to the Democratic national convention.

A resolution adopted by the Etowah group criticized McCorvey "for spending party funds in the primary elections" last year.

It added that such expenditures were "not in keeping with the traditions of the Democratic Party."

The committee also voted to contribute $25 to the national Democratic party fund.

McCorvey was directed by the state committee to publicize the stand of delegate candidates pledged to walk out of the convention if President Truman was re-nominated or if the civil rights program was made a part of the platform.

Gov. James E. Folsom ran last in the runoff race for delegate.

The 26-man delegation was divided between those who walked out, and the group headed by Senator Lister Hill and former Gov. Chauncey Sparks that stayed in. Former Lt. Gov. Handy Ellis was delegation chairman and led the walkout group from the convention. Jur-4-17-49

Pro-Folsom legislators were considering earlier this week the possibility of introducing legislation to keep the state committee from using party funds to back any candidate in a primary election.

At that time, McCorvey commented that "if it comes to the point where I can't carry out the committee's orders, then I'm going to resign as chairman."

Plea To Quit Has No Effect On McCorvey

Mont Advertiser 4-17-49

Democratic Chairman Turns Down Demand By Etowah Group

MOBILE, ALA., April 18.—(AP)—Gessner T. McCorvey replied tonight to a demand of the Etowah County Democratic Committee that he resign as chairman of the State Democratic Committee.

"Such request has no more effect on me than pouring water on a duck's back," he said.

Asked for comment on the Etowah County demand, McCorvey issued a statement in which he indirectly accused Gadsden Mayor Herbert Meighan of being behind the Etowah resolution, although he didn't call him by name.

Meighan was chairman of the recent Jefferson-Jackson Day dinner in Birmingham and was defeated for presidential elector in last year's primary election.

Spending Criticized

A resolution adopted by the Etowah group criticized McCorvey "for spending party funds in the primary elections" last year. It said such expenditures were "not in keeping with traditions of the Democratic Party."

McCorvey, a leader in the States' Rights movement, said in part:

"What is really griping these Truman supporters is the fact that our state Democratic Executive Committee determined to smoke out the candidates so that the people of Alabama would not be compelled to vote in the dark.

"As soon as the people found where the 28 candidates for presidential elector stood they overwhelmingly rejected at the polls every candidate who ever intimated he would support Truman or any other candidate advocating Truman's anti-Southern racial program."

Plan Drawn Up To Purge Demo Party Of Negroes

Birmingham News 4-13-49

Wilkinson Drafts It, Says They Can Form Own Group, Join GOP

BY FRED TAYLOR
News Staff Writer

A proposal "eliminating the Negro entirely from the Democratic Party in Alabama" is being drafted by Horace Wilkinson, Birmingham lawyer, for presentation to the Legislature in May.

Wilkinson, one o fthe States' Rights movement's chief planners, made this disclosure Saturday after announcement of the McCorvey qualification law substitute for the recently invalidated Boswell amendment.

The Birmingham attorney conceded that the substitute plan outlined by State Democratic Chairman Gessner T. McCorvey probably would prove workable as a voter registration requirement. It is based on a Mississippi voting requirement law, which has been upheld by the U. S. Supreme Court.

But Wilkinson pointed out that his proposal, which he is drafting in the form of a constitutional amendment for the Legislature's consideration, has "nothing to do with voter registration at all."

* * *

"IT SIMPLY ELIMINATES the Negro entirely from Democratic primaries," the attorney said. "If the Negro wants to have a party, let him organize one of his own, or join the Republican Party."

Wilkinson said he would have his proposal in its final form next week.

He pointed out that Gov. Herman Talmadge is sponsoring for Georgia a voter registration requirement similar to the court-tested Mississippi law.

As explained by McCorvey, the Mississippi statute requires a prospective voter to be able to read any section of the state constitution or to understand it when read to him, or, in the alternative, to be able to give a "reasonable interpretation" of it.

Alabama's Boswell amendment, called a bar to mass Negro voting in the state, was declared unconstitutional by a three-judge Federal Court panel last week. This amendment required on interpretation by the prospective registrant of the Federal Constitution, without any "reasonable" qualification.

It directed that registration applicants be able to 'understand and explain" the Federal Constitution to the satisfaction of Bounty Boards of Registrars.

* * *

THE TALMADGE PROPOSAL in Georgia provides that a prospective registrant must "explain in a simple, fair and reasonable manner" any section of the state or Federal Constitution.

McCorvey, in alluding to the fact that the U. S. high tribunal had upheld validity of the Mississippi law, would substitute the Alabama Constitution for the Federal Constitution in the voter test.

Asked if he thought the U. S. Supreme Court would uphold validity of such a measure, based on the mississippi statute, if adopted for Alabama, Wilkinson said: Jul-1-13-49

"I should think so, although they are as changeable as the weather up there."

The Mobile County Board has registered twice as many Negroes during the week since the Boswell amendment was declared unconstitutional as it did during more than a year under the amendment.

McCorvey also proposed in his letter that the amended Alabama law retain from the constitution of 1901 a provision that prospective voters be of good character and understand the duties and obligations of citizenship under a Republican form of government.

Vice-President Takes Swipes At Dixiecrats

Montgomery Ala. Advertiser 4-13-49

'No Voice For South If Rupture Occurs'

By A. F. MAHAN, JR.
Assistant Managing Editor
The Advertiser

BIRMINGHAM, ALA., April 12.—Vice President Alben Barkley declared here tonight that "it would be a tragic thing if that partnership between the South and the Democratic Party were destroyed."

He spoke at a $15-a-plate Jefferson-Jackson Day dinner of more than 1,000 Democrats loyal to President Truman.

The event drew many of the state's outstanding politicians, a lot of whom couldn't force their way into any of the three dining halls.

Barkley took several swipes at the States' Rights Party which split off from the Democrats here last July, but did not mention them by "Dixiecrats" or any other name. Wed-4-13-49

Alabama was one of four Southern states which voted for the States' Rights presidential ticket of Thurmond and Wright, 500 of whose followers rallied at Dothan four days ago to express at a $2 dinner their appreciation to congressmen who have stood up for states' rights. They bitterly opposed President Truman's civil rights program.

Barkley was introduced by radio by Senators Hill and Sparkman, who said they were delayed there by a prospective vote on a Tennessee Valley appropriation bill, which includes funds for a steam generating plant at New Johnsonville, Tenn.

Apparently in answer to a Dothan resolution pledging the States' Righters to join any party or group which "sincerely advocates States' Rights and constitutional government," Barkley said, "The Democratic Party is not going to disintergate now no matter if the special interests would like to see such things occur."

Turning to discussion of the party's rupture within the South, the vice president said, "that continuance of the cleavage would leave the South without effective means of promoting its own high aspiration."

He added: "It would leave that great area, high in culture and traditions, without a voice in the counsels of the nation."

Barkley, whose ruling that debate could be limited upon Senate rules changes irked Southern congressman, recently forecast passage of major portions of President Truman's program.

He did not comment specifically on the civil rights program, which the President accords a high priority and which includes anti-poll tax, anti-lynching and so-called fair employment proposals.

The civil rights issue caused half of Alabama's delegation to walk out, forming the States' Rights Party which opposed Truman and Barkley last November.

Barkley singled out as likely to pass: Federal aid for education, a federal health scheme and federal housing program.

Gov. James E. Folsom, Mrs. Lennard Thomas, national Democratic committeewoman, and Mrs. Dorothy Vredenburgh, secretary of Democratic National Committee, met Barkley at the airport upon his arrival here.

Mrs. Thomas only Saturday changed her mind a second time deciding to attend when requested to do so by Senator J. Howard McGrath of the National Committee. Previously she said she'd boycott the dinner because of a prominent spot given Mrs. Mabel Jones West of Birmingham.

Lennard Thomas, husband of the committeewoman, was among scores who held tickets—including members of the working press—who were unable to force their way into any of the three dining rooms.

The three U. S. House members attending, Reps. Rains, Jones and Elliott, and Gov. Folsom managed to make the speakers' table, but such others as Ed E. Reid, executive director of the Alabama League of Municipalities, Rep. E. L. Roberts of Gadsden, Pitt Tyson Maynor, George Bliss Jones and John Overton of Montgomery, and M. C. (Waterboy) Mauney, AFL representative from Gadsden; Gen. W. P. Screws of the state liquor board, Frank Bunkley, chairman of the state liquor board, Ward McFarland, were among those left cooling their heels with Mr. Thomas or scrambling for a bite in the hotel's overcrowded cocktail lounge. Wed-4-13-49

One disappointed Democrat declared that service in the Continental Room was "so slow you can't even drown your troubles much less get anything to eat."

Among those crowding toward the entrance of the main dining room were T. E. Martin (he made it) of Montgomery; Mrs. Lucy P. Tucker, tax assessor of Bullock County; Mr. and Mrs. J. W. McLendon, Mrs. Carl Green of Union Springs. In the hotel lobby jammed tempers became so short and the crush so great that Sam Watkins, Dora druggist and Probate Judge Cecil Gray of Walker County came to blows. They were quickly separated by state highway patrolmen.

States' Righters broke into the news and on page one, too, despite the headlines grabbed by the Vice President.

The 11 who pledged themselves to vote against Truman under any circumstances and carried it out—announced they would run for re-election and would stick by their pledge in 1952.

In opening, Barkley told the diners, through whom Herbert Meighan, party finance chairman for Alabama hopes to enrich the Democratic treasury:

"The Democratic Party and the states of the South have had a long and fruitful partnership. It would be a tragic thing if that partnership were to be destroyed. "That has been particularly true if the special interests would like to see such a thing in the South because the Democratic Party is the only party that occur. It represents today the only means through which the aspirations of the mass of American people can be met. As long as it will be a vibrant force in the life and government of our nation."

After tracing the party's history, Barkley turned briefly to international affairs.

"The Democratic Party is not going to disintegrate now, no matter if the special interests would like to see such a thing in the South because the Democratic Party is the only party that occur. It represents today the only means through which the aspirations of the mass of American people can be met. As long as it will be a vibrant force in the life and government of our nation."

After tracing the party's history, Barkley turned briefly to international affairs.

"The Democratic Party is the oldest and most experienced political party of our nation . . .

"It has, through the decades of its life, and the rise and fall of its fortunes, seen dozens of political groups which aspired to the name of a party, vanish with the changing year.

"The Democratic Party is not going to disintegrate now, no matter if the special interests would like to see such a thing in the South because the Democratic Party is the only party that occur. It represents today the only means through which the aspirations of the mass of American people can be met. As long as it will be a vibrant force in the life and government of our nation."

After tracing the party's history, Barkley turned briefly to international affairs.

On arrival earlier today, Barkley told newsmen he believed all "Democrats can work together in harmony and with mutual benefit."

Lennard Thomas, husband of the committeewoman, was among scores who held tickets—including members of the working press—who were unable to force their way into any of the three dining rooms.

The three U. S. House members attending, Reps. Rains, Jones and Elliott, and Gov. Folsom managed to make the speakers' table, but such others as Ed E. Reid, executive director of the Alabama League of Municipalities, Rep. E. L. Roberts of Gadsden, Pitt Tyson Maynor, George Bliss Jones and John Overton of Montgomery, and M. C. (Waterboy) Mauney, AFL representative from Gadsden; Gen. W. P. Screws of the state liquor board, Frank Bunkley, chairman of the state liquor board, Ward McFarland, were among those left cooling their heels with Mr. Thomas or scrambling for a bite in the hotel's overcrowded cocktail lounge.

One disappointed Democrat declared that service in the Continental Room was "so slow you can't even drown your troubles much less get anything to eat."

Among those crowding toward the entrance of the main dining room were T. E. Martin (he made it) of Montgomery; Mrs. Lucy P. Tucker, tax assessor of Bullock County; Mr. and Mrs. J. W. McLendon, Mrs. Carl Green of Union Springs. In the hotel lobby jammed tempers became so short and the crush so great that Sam Watkins, Dora druggist and Probate Judge Cecil Gray of Walker County came to blows. They were quickly separated by state highway patrolmen.

States' Righters broke into the news and on page one, too, despite the headlines grabbed by the Vice President.

The 11 who pledged themselves to vote against Truman under any circumstances and carried it out—announced they would run for re-election and would stick by their pledge in 1952.

In opening, Barkley told the diners, through whom Herbert Meighan, party finance chairman for Alabama hopes to enrich the Democratic treasury:

"The Democratic Party and the states of the South have had a long and fruitful partnership. It would be a tragic thing if that

DEMOCRATIC (GEORGIA)

Talmadge In Speech And Action

Birmingham News

Last Tuesday the General Assembly of Georgia met in an organizing session to hear the message of Gov. Herman Talmadge. Many citizens of his state and some outside it were anxious to hear the program he recommends for the next four years. People wished to know how closely he would follow the policies of his father. What they heard was largely the sort of speech any governor of any state might make. There were, however, several variations from this impression.

1-11-49

Birmingham Ala

But on Wednesday Talmadge's legislative leaders introduced a four-point white supremacy program in contrast with the relative lack of demagogy in the speech.

Talmadge began his address by commending the assemblymen on their willingness to sacrifice their personal affairs for the good of the state. Such sacrifice is admirable. Even if that motivation is not as invariable as it might be, it is to be recognized and encouraged.

Then Talmadge spoke of the need for increasing conservation measures in relation to soil and forestry. He urged continuation of encouragement to industrial development. He spoke of the plight of education and urged better pay schedules in all levels from the primary grades through college. He asked for more funds for vocational work. He spoke his approval of regional education as recommended by the Southern Governors' Conference.

He suggested that towns and counties make use of the provisions of the Hill-Burton act in building hospital facilities. He asked for funds for old age assistance and for highway improvement. He recommended the establishment of a constitutional highway authority. He asked for consideration of veterans' needs.

When he spoke of appropriations, he said he would insist on the earmarking of all funds for specific uses. He would require that all measures to increase taxes be submitted to the people.

Rec 1-16-49

Like other Southern governors, Mr. Talmadge believes in a strong defense against the imposition of objectionable civil rights legislation by the federal government.

Macon Man Named New Head Of Democratic Club

Daily Herald Atlanta, Ga. 1-24-49

MACON, Ga.—T. B. Hooper was elected recently as president of the Middle Ga., Democratic Club. The new president will serve along with other elected officers for the term of one year.

Wk. 4-20-49

Other elected were Moses Lightfoot, vic president; Roland W. Pitts, secretary; Mrs. Fannie D. Moore, treasurer; Ross Pitts, chairman of the Advisory Board; and E. D. Maynard, chairman of the Steering Committee.

4-30-49

After the election the group pledged their support of the local, state and national Democratic Party.

34 d 1949

Democratic (Inauguration)

"LADY FOR A DAY"—Bidding farewell to Mrs. Mary M. Bethune, left, founder and head of the NCNW, and her life-long friend, Mrs. Irene C. Mallory, right, founder-president of the Saints Industrial School, Lexington, Miss., was the only resident of her city to receive a formal invitation to President Truman's inaugural ball and its attendant functions.

34d 1949

DEMOCRATIC (Mississippi)

Mississippi Demos In Jurisdictional Row With States' Righters

Birm News

JACKSON, Miss., July 8—A flare up between States' Righters and pro-Truman Democrats stirred Mississippi politics today.

The administration group, meeting in Jackson, declared that all seats on the State Democratic Executive Committee are vacant.

Members of the pro-Truman Democratic Central Committee said they acted "under the powers invested by the National Democratic Party."

Birm, Ala.

Three pro-Truman leaders signed the declaration. They are: Clarence E. Hood, Meridian, pro-Truman national committeeman; Mrs. John Clark, DeKalb, pro-Truman national committeewoman, and Frank Mize, Forest, chairman of the central committee.

They declared that their group would "fill these existing vacancies" after a public meeting scheduled in Jackson July 15.

Birm. 7-8-49

IT IS SAID the "so-called committee, headed by J. Knox Huff, Walter Sillers (speaker of the House of Representatives) and others had vacated and abandoned any office or actual connection with the Mississippi Democratic party and the National Democratic Party by heretofore actively identifying themselves with the National States' Rights Party."

The regular executive committee is headed by Huff. J. B. Snider, Bay St. Louis, is national committeeman, and Mrs. Hermes Gautier, Pascagoula, is national committeewoman.

The 23-member executive committee, elected at the State Democratic Convention in 1948, supported the States' Rights ticket in the November election. Gov. Fielding L. Wright was vice presidential nominee on the States' Rights ticket.

This executive committee charged the July 15 gathering is a "rump convention," called by "usurpers" who have no legal authority in the state party.

7-8-49

IT POINTED OUT that it had been elected by the convention and the law's provision that its members shall handle Democratic Party affairs in the state until 1952.

States' Righters charged that those attending the pro-Truman gathering would be, in effect, endorsing President Truman's civil rights program.

Scorn Is Heaped On Gov. Wright

Advertiser Montgomery, Ala.

JACKSON, MISS., July 15.—(AP)—Pro-Truman Democrats today repudiated President Truman's civil rights proposals, heaped scorn on Gov. Fielding L. Wright and the States' Rights movement, and prepared to organize their own Democratic Party in Mississippi.

7-16-49

Two scheduled events failed to take place. One was Vice-Chairman Phil Mullen's planned resolution continuing present committee officers in their jobs. He had feared a move to oust them.

The other was National Committeeman Clarence E. Hood's failure to present affidavits supporting his charge that Republican money had been used to pay some States' Righters expenses. He had hinted he would produce them today and Governor Wright had challenged him to "put up or shut up."

34 d 1949

DEMOCRATIC (MISSISSIPPI)

Rankin Kicked Off Un-American Body

WASHINGTON, D. C.—(NNPA) Rep. John E. Rankin, Democrat, Mississippi, leader of the "white wash bloc" in the House, and other reactionary Democratic have been ousted from the House Un-American Activities Committee.

Their ouster was accomplished by the adoption by the Democratic Committee on Committees of two new rules which swept from the Un-American Activities Committee all Democrats, except Rep. John S. Wood of Georgia, the prospective chairman. Along with Rankin went Rep. F. Edward Hebert, of Louisiana.

Rankin was barred from consideration by a resolution providing that no chairman of any other major committee would be assigned to the Un-American Activities Committee.

Hebert was ruled out under a resolution establishing a policy of selecting "only experienced members of the bar."

DEMOCRATIC BENEFITS IN SOUTH ARE TRACED

But Alabama Electors Stick Fast As Barkley Talks

Memphis Press

BIRMINGHAM, April 12.—(AP)—Vice President Alven W. Brakley told a Democratic rally here Tuesday night the party and "the South have had a long and fruitful partnership. It would be a tragic thing if that partnership were to be destroyed."

His talk was delivered at a Jefferson-Jackson Day dinner, with most of the $15-a-plate charge going to the National Democratic Treasury. Wed. 4-13-49

The Vice President, speaking in the city where States' Rights Democrats nominated their own ticket last July, did not mention by name the Southern revolt last year. Alabama was one of the four states carried by the States' Rights ticket.

Barkley did, however, devote many minutes to a discussion of the South's role in past Democratic administrations. He also predicted:

"The Democratic Party is not going to disintegrate now, no matter if the special interests would like to see such a thing occur.

"It represents," he said, "the only means through which the aspirations of the mass of Americans can be met. As long as it remains so, it will continue to be a vibrant force in the life and government of our nation."

But earlier, the state's 11 presidential electors pledged to continue the States' Rights fight in 1952 "if we are threatened with the same peril ... we faced in 1948."

South's Demos Given New Tag

Indianian Asks Purge Of 'Fellow-Travelers Of GOP Minority'

Advertiser Montgomery, Ala

DES MOINES, June 13—(AP)—Southern Democrats who have helped block President Truman's program in Congress were termed "fellow-travelers of the Republican minority" at the Democratic Midwest conference today.

Ira Haymaker, Indiana state chairman, called them that in asking for a purge.

"Is our party to be dominated by a little group of willful men who represent a small section of the country, who hold seniority positions and who are fellow-travelers of the Republican minority?" he asked.

Time To Clean House

"This question comes from a group of fair deal Democrats," he said, "who think that is time for the party to clean its house and purge its membership."

"What is our national leadership going to do about it?" he queried. Sat. 6-14-49

He was supported in his statement by Byron G. Allen, Democratic-Farmer-Labor national committeeman of Minnesota.

"There has always been room in our party for differences of opinion," National Chairman J. Howard McGrath replied. "That is why it is a great Democratic party."

Disagreement Permitted

He said the party had not made a practice of reading out of its ranks those who might disagree with it. Truman wasn't the only president that had the problem of party revolts, he said. Roosevelt had them, too.

"Before the 81st Congress sees the end of its days I am confident that the major portion of the Truman program will be enacted," McGrath said. "And we'll have enough votes to pass it without reading anyone out of the party in order to do it."

34 d 1949

DEMOCRATIC (SOUTH CAROLINA)

Negro Leader Wants Representation At Demo Dinner

The Post, Birmingham, Ala.

COLUMBIA, S. C., June 25—(AP)—A Negro leader argued today his race should be allowed to attend a Democratic Party dinner here July 1. Vice President Alben Barkley will be chief speaker. John H. McCray, chairman of the South Carolina Progressive (Negro) Democratic Party, said "the question of segregation does not apply." Federal Court decisions giving Negroes full Democratic Party membership privileges extend to the dinner also, McCray said in an open letter to those in charge of the dinner. Sat. 6-25-49

IF YOU WERE TRUMAN

St. Louis Argus

The same old crowd who danced to the music which swept the country during the past year saying that Truman couldn't win (both before and after his nomination) are still trying to defeat Truman. Only this time the crowd is suffering from a bad case of bitter defeat at the hand of the little man who is now in the White House after all of them said "it can't be done" and ain't they mad-blood-mad.

St. Louis, Mo

Early last year when Harry S. Truman came out on his Human Rights program, his declaration stirred the nation from center to circumference. Thos. E. Dewey with his Wall Street backing, rushed in, squelched all the little GOP aspirants and ran away from Philadelphia with what he thought was a ticket for a seat in the White House for at least the next four years.

6-3-49

34

Of course, Dewey like his crowd, assumed that Mr. Truman would-be his party's nominee and that he (Truman) would stick by his rights platform, which would mean an easy victory for the GOP at the November election. But they were not only surprised, but disappointed.

Mr. Truman, his supporters, admirers and friends recognize the fact that the Chief Executive has a fight on his hands to get through Congress the much-needed legislation. Never in the history of this nation has there been such strong opposition from quite so many directions as there seems to be against the President and it is all because Harry Truman before his nomination had the courage to stand up for the prinicples which he believed to be right.

His brand of politics was strange, indeed, to not only the Dixiecrats, and leaders among the Republicans, but many of the leaders among the President's own party were confounded and gave up in despair a long time ago. As a result of their frustration before the election, they are still saying: "it can't be done."

St. Louis Argus, St. Louis, Mo.

In trying to carry his progressive program, the President runs head-on with that crowd who said: "it couldn't be done" and every trick in the bag is played to defeat him.

In their propaganda against the President, they are saying that Mr. Truman does not trust members of Congress and some of his men who are in responsible places. This sort of propaganda is intended to wreck the President's program by making members of Congress and Cabinet members, mad.

In the meanwhile, it should be remembered that only a few, a very few men, even those close to him who have his broad vision on domestic affairs.

Fri. 6-3-49

And while we admit that the coalition of the GOP the big interests and the Dixies are doing their damnedest to make the President repudiate the National platform of the Democratic Party adopted at Philadelphia last July; yet it is our firm belief that he will not retreat; he will not, at a time like this, desert to his foes.

6-3-49

The President, the nation and the people of the world have more to gain by fighting for real democracy for all, than can possibly be gained by the publishing and propagating a million lies in an effort to fool the people.

It was just a short six months ago when this same crowd was hollering Panic! Depression! and Violence! would overrun the nation should Truman be elected. But we see none of these things, not even on the horizon. Therefore, it is reasonable to believe that the people's answer to this present line of propaganda is: "We are not as dumb as you take us to be---We live too near the woods to be frightened by the hooting of owls."

Tu. 6-3-49

Of course, any human who is heir to the vicissitudes which accompany the biggest Public Office in the world is liable to some mistakes. But to Hell-alulia with that faithless crowd which today dominates the Congress of the United States.

New Deal, Fair Deal Ordered By Americans, Daniels Says

The Montgomery Advertiser

Montgomery, Ala.

WASHINGTON, Jan. 17—(AP)—The New Deal and President Truman's program "are not the plans of Presidents but the directions of America," Jonathan Daniels, Raleigh, N. C., editor, said here tonight.

Tues 1-18-49

In an address before the District of Columbia Bankers Association, Daniels called "the Truman program" the expression of the American's faith that "his government's function is to help him have the security and decency of which his country is capable."

Daniels, editor of the News and Observer and an adviser to the President during the election campaign, said "by now we should be able to realize the significance" of the Truman campaign.

"Harry Truman then was not merely producing 'Give 'em hell, Harry' messages for voters," he said. "The man and the people understood that what he said was not merely 'the Truman program' but the American plan.

"Of course, this is not merely a 'Truman program.' The crowds around his train shaped that plan as much as any candidate now or in the past.

Tues 1-18-49

"Actually it is the design for democracy in an age in which men more and more realize that political freedoms must be accompanied by social and economic assurance.

"Of course this is revolution. The important thing is that it provides a revolutionary dynamic for democracy and freedom in the world. In the best sense the Americans who share the faith he stated are determined that it will not come to a defensive, uncertain or uncourageous stop in their time."

TRUMAN IS HOPING TO SAVE FAIR DEAL DESPITE REBUFFS

New York Times Sat. 3-19-49

In Conference at Key West He Says Congress Is New and Behind Its Schedule

'DIXIECRATS' ARE SCORED

But President Bars Comment on Others in Coalition as the Senate Heads to a New Fight

By ANTHONY LEVIERO

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

KEY WEST, Fla., March 18—Despite the rebuffs he has received in Congress this week, President Truman declared today that he was determined as well as hopeful that his "Fair Deal" program would be enacted.

In a news conference that was noteworthy for its conciliatory tone toward the Eighty-first Congress, the Chief Executive said its session had been set back a month by the Inauguration Week ceremonies.

He said he felt that Congress should have more time to act, and consequently held his fire against the opposition that has formed on Capitol Hill to destroy or cripple major Administration proposals. More than once he reiterated his confidence in ultimate success.

[In Washington, the Senate, halted by the civil rights filibuster since Feb. 28, got down to work, but it appeared to be heading toward a new controversy on other aspects of the Truman "Fair Deal" program.]

Mr. Truman dubbed the Southern States' Rights group as Democrats who were not good, and he asserted that they had imposed a third-party system on the country. This was the only suggestion of criticism that came from him, apart from an acid comment on newspaper speculation on what he might be thinking or planning to do.

Specific Questions Rejected

The States-Righters and other Southerners constituted the shock troops in the Democratic-Republican coalition that wrecked Administration plans to toughen the Senate rule against prolonged debate, as in the filibuster. Mr. Truman declined to comment on this defeat and on all other measures in which Administration forces have fought losing battles on Capitol Hill.

The substantial modification of his rent control bill and the refusal of the Senate Armed Services Committee to confirm his friend, Mon C. Wallgren, as chairman of the National Security Resources Board, failed to tempt Mr. Truman into some of the sharp language he used during his political campaign.

Sat 3-19-49

All questions on specific topics such as these were turned aside with "no comment" answers. Mr. Truman left open the possibility that he might tour the country again to rally the people behind his program. Even in this, however, he would not go beyond the bare statement to this effect which he made in his address at the Jefferson-Jackson Day dinner on Feb. 24.

The news conference was held on the lawn of the cottage which serves as a winter White House at the naval station here.

White House correspondents and local newsmen sat in a circle around the President.

Mr. Truman started by saying he was having the usual vacation press conference and that there was no significance whatever in it, although he had seen all the questions and all the answers in the Miami newspapers and the local paper, (The Key West Citizen.)

Train Tour Still Planned

Mr. Truman said he had not read Washington papers much since he came here but he thought that because most of the questions had already been asked and were now carefully answered in the newspapers, maybe there would not be many questions from the reporters this morning.

Mr. Truman also remarked that any prognostications might be of the same quality as those that were being made last September and October, when his defeat was being freely predicted.

When Mr. Truman ended these prefatory remarks, a reporter for a Miami Newspaper asked, "You wouldn't say those answers are correct then?"

The answers would answer themselves at a later date, Mr. Truman replied. You have to depend on those because you made them yourself, he added.

The next question was whether he had given any more thought to his cross-country train ride. The Chief Executive responded that he had made the announcement, but that no details had yet been worked out, although reporters would be notified in plenty of time to pack their trunks.

Did Mr. Truman believe that the Administration defeats of the past week indicated that we have a three-party system? Well, it might be considered that way, the President replied, adding that we had such a system in the recent political campaign. The same questioner observed that there was hope that some of the opposition might have seen the light immediately after the election.

He still had that hope, was Mr. Truman's reply. He said he thought that most of the members of Congress were fundamentally all right. Sometimes they got excited, he continued, and it should be remembered that this was a new Congress and that it had difficulty in getting adjusted because of the inauguration three weeks after it was convened.

Congress was only now just practically getting started, was the way Mr. Truman explained the present situation on Capitol Hill. He said we ought to give Congress a chance to act before commenting on what they might do, as nobody could know now what they might do.

Sat 3-19-49

There was a mollifying tone in the words Mr. Truman used to answer another question. A reporter quoted Senator Wayne Morse, Republican, of Oregon, as saying that Democrats and Republicans had agreed to pass only one civil rights bill, one to abolish the poll tax.

Mr. Truman said he could not comment on that, as Mr. Morse was in Congress and he was not, and he, as Chief Executive, only advised Congress on what was good for the country. Congress, for its part, agreed as it saw fit, the President added.

Wallace Party Ignored

Continuing this theme, Mr. Truman said we had three independent prongs to the Government—the executive, the legislative and the judicial—and none of them ought to interfere with either of the others.

A reporter harked back to Mr. Truman's comment on three parties and asked him to name them. Mr. Truman said they were the Republicans, the Democrats and the Dixiecrats. Did he imply that the Dixiecrats were not good Democrats? Of course they are not good Democrats, the President replied.

"What happened to the Progressives?" asked a reporter. Those present assumed that Henry A. Wallace's third-party movement, called the Progressive party in the campaign, was meant by the questioner.

Mr. Truman either deigned not to recognize the Wallace movement or misunderstood the question. He told the reporter to ask Bob La Follette, that Bob La Follette had buried the Progressive party. (Robert M. La Follete changed the old Progressive Republican label to the Progressive party in 1940 when he ran successfully for the Senate.)

Asked about a Washington report that Democratic leaders had urged him to call a summer special session of Congress to deal solely with his civil rights program, Mr. Truman said he had heard nothing about it and that it was a little early to talk about a special session.

Did he believe the setbacks suffered thus far constituted a groundswell against his program? Mr. Truman said they had no such significance at all. On the weakening of his rent-control extension bill he said he never commented on legislation until it was on his desk ready for signature.

A reporter asked whether in summing up it could be said he was still hopeful for the major part of his Fair Deal program. Mr. Truman replied that the program had been sent to Congress and he would not comment until Congress was finished.

"I was thinking only of your hopes," the reporter repeated.

Mr. Truman responded that he had sent his program to Congress, and that conveyed exactly what he hoped to accomplish. He added that he had not changed his mind about any part of it and that he thought he was going to accomplish the program.

...th Says Truman Tries ... To Buy Labor Bill Passage

New York Times

Hebert of Louisiana Tells House President's Demand for Loyalty as Cost of Patronage Puts Price Tag on Members' Votes

By JOSEPH A. LOFTUS

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, April 28—President Truman's accent on party loyalty as the test of patronage privileges stirred Southern anger on Capitol Hill today, where the House spent an inconclusive day debating labor legislation.

Some Southern Democrats shouted their resentment [illegible] House floor and concern was reported with President Truman a reporter asked the President if he could wait and see how the thing throw any further light on a conference he held with party leaders answer itself as they went along. on Wednesday on patronage and Shortly after the House convened, Representative F. Edward party loyalty.

The President said he did not think it was necessary to do that. Hebert, Democrat, of Louisiana, Democrats, complained that the President had those people who support the Democratic platform, which he regards as the law of the Democratic party. They should support it, he said, after the election as well as before it and keep campaign promises. He said that was what he was doing.

The President was asked whether he would consider votes which is not consistent with my understanding as to what the situation is, but it comes from a gentleman who, if he had had his way, would have made possible that we would not have a Democratic majority today in the House, and we would not have a Democrat as President."

Mr. McCormack added that Mr. Truman replied that he certainly would.

Another reporter asked confirmation of a story that the effect would be to deny patronage to the "officially placed a patronage purchase tag on the votes on this measure today." He told the members their "vote is for sale, for a job or jobs." Applause rang out on the Republican side.

Representative John W. McCormack, Democrat, of Massachusetts, majority leader, replied: "The gentleman has made a statement which is not consistent with my understanding as to what the situation is, but it comes from a gentleman who, if he had had his way, would have made possible that we would not have a Democratic majority in the House, and we would not have a Democrat as President."

Mr. McCormack added that Mr.

Saturday session may be necessary.

At 2 morning news conference

Herbert should have remained silent because he had supported a "splinter party" and if some in Democratic caucus had not suspended judgment he would have been denied the privileges of a Democratic member of the House.

Senator J. Howard McGrath, Democrat, of Rhode Island, the Democratic National Chairman, told newspaper men that President Truman's news conference replies went beyond the discussion in the White House political conference on the preceding day. He said the conferees had not discussed voting records on legislation in connection with patronage.

"I guess you would call it an extension of the Truman Doctrine," the Senator added with a rueful smile. N.Y.T. 4-29-49

A story that the Administration, with the acquiescence of labor leaders, had decided to support five amendments to the Lesinski Bill repealing the Taft-Hartley Law also caused reverberations. Representative Vito Marcantonio, American Labor party, New York, said the story in THE NEW YORK TIMES called for a statement from the majority leadership, and that if it was true it was a "betrayal of campaign promises."

[illegible] Issues Statement

The Democratic leadership took no [illegible] notice of the story or of Mr. Marcantonio's challenge. A short time earlier on the House floor, Representative Augustine B. Kelley, Democrat, of Pennsylvania, manager of the Lesinski Bill, told a questioner, "I have not been taken into the confidence of the leadership of either side of the House" about amendments.

Philip Murray, president of the Congress of Industrial Organizations, issued a statement saying that "the CIO stands solidly with President Truman and the Administration in support of the Thomas-Lesinski Bill. This was the CIO's position when the Thomas-Lesinski Bill was introduced. It is the CIO's position today—and it will continue to be our position.

"I make this statement merely because of unfounded newspaper reports and rumors that the CIO has altered its stand on the type of legislaton that should be enacted to repeal the Taft-Hartley Act."

Mr. Murray's statement appeared to be in the nature of a diplomatic denial, prompted possibly because some friendly House members felt they had not been fairly informed or consulted on developments.

The amendments, as reported yesterday, would permit the Government to seize plants for a limited time in national emergency strikes, require loyalty oaths of employers and union officers and union financial reports where the services of the National Labor Relations Board are invoked, give employers more explicit free speech guarantees and require unions to bargain in good faith.

The House leadership was reported to have some doubt whether seizure in national emergencies was strong enough to get the necessary votes. On that score labor leaders said they would go no farther and would not acquiesce to an injunction provision.

When the reading of the Lesinski Bill began today, Representative John S. Wood, Democrat, of Georgia, offered his bill, a modified Taft-Hartley proposal, as a substitute. A full reading of the sixty-seven-page bill, backed by a North-South coalition, was waived and the measure was thrown open promptly to amendments.

Mr. Wood spoke in support of his own proposal, vigorously denying labor union charges that it was more restrictive than the present law. He named more than ten changes. N.Y.T. 4-29-49

One of these changes touches on the vital issue of permitting workers, who go on strike for economic reasons, to vote in a union representation election at a plant after permanent replacements have been hired. The present law says "employes on strike who are not entitled to reinstatement shall not be eligible to vote." Critics of the law called this a "union-busting device" that would be used by employers whenever there was appreciable unemployment.

The Wood bill provides that an employe on strike shall be eligible to vote "even though he is not entitled to reinstatement, if his place has not been validly filled by a permanent replacement for ninety days or more preceding the date of the election."

Dixie Trumanites Nix Civil Rights

The Times-Picayune

BIRMINGHAM, Ala.—Truman Democrats in Virginia, Mississippi, and Alabama have expressed themselves strongly against civil rights, but Truman in no way has rebuked them or refused their support. Sun. 10-2-49

The Birmingham News said editorially that it favored Truman but it refused to support civil rights. Jonathan Daniels, editor of the Raleigh News and Observer, issued a similar statement. Mississippi Trumanites have repeatedly announced to the public that they are not for civil rights.

State To Send Dixiecrat Unit To Washington

Instructed Delegates' Voted By Committee; Ballot Backs Rushton

MOBILE, ALA., Aug. 20—(AP)—The Alabama Democratic executive committee voted tonight to send instructed delegates to the national committee meeting in Washington.

State Committee Chairman Gessner T. McCorvey said the group voted four to one in a mail poll to send Alabama's national committeeman and committeewoman to the Aug. 24 meeting.

The delegates were instructed to tell the national committee Alabama would refuse to support the Democratic nominee again in 1952 unless the national party abandoned its civil rights program.

In the same poll, the state committee rejected the resignation of Committeeman Marion Rushton, Montgomery. Rushton, a States' Righter, resigned several months ago, and his resignation had never been acted upon.

McCorvey said 39 of the committee's 72 members voted in the mail ballot, and that 17 members constituted a quorum. He announced the vote was 32 to 7 in favor of rejecting Rushton's resignation and 27 to 7 in favor of sending instructed delegates to Washington.

McCorvey said the seven committeemen who voted against the proposals were Mrs. J. Herbert Meighan, Gadsden; W. G. Rains, Gadsden; Y. G. Allen, Gadsden; W. P. Pruitt, Jr., Chatom; DeWitt Carmichael, Anniston; John Morgan Flowers, Montgomery, and Silas D. Cater, Montgomery.

Mrs. Lennard Thomas, Alabama's committeewoman who is regarded as a Truman supporter, was invited by the committee and plans to attend. She is regarded as in the Truman camp.

McCorvey said in announcing the vote:

"I should think by now that Washington gang would realize that the people of Alabama are made of stern stuff and that they are going to fight for maintenance of our constitution, for home rule and for local self-government. Our people stand for principle, not expediency."

Marion Rushton said here last night that he was pleased with the results of the committee poll. Earlier he said that he was a good soldier and would abide by the committee's instructions.

Advertiser
Sun. 8-21-49

Falsely Labeled

(From The Montgomery Advertiser)

One of life's handicaps in the case of the Dixiecrats is that they cannot shake the designation "Dixiecrats." At first they struggled against it, but now they are disposed to wince and let it go.

It was an inevitable term. If a North Carolina headline writer hadn't coined it, a dozen others would have. For a Democratic bolter in 1928 was a Hoovercrat; hence the 1948 bolter in the South inescapably became a Dixiecrat.

No amount of protest could ever purge Dixiecrat for common usage, any more than it could get rid of the word ain't. It's fixed in too many records; for example, the monumental work "Southern Politics" uses Dixiecrat in chapter titles and nothing else.

We're neither rejoicing nor sorrowing over this handicap; we simply started out to remark that Dixiecrat is being very carelessly corrupted by organs that ordinarily are more thoughtful.

The term Dixiecrat is so wide used to designate, not only a person who bolted the party, but any Southern congressman who stands or votes against the Fair Deal. For example, in The New York Times we find Mayor O'Dwyer saying:

"A Democratic defeat in this city would be hailed by the forces of reaction throughout the country as a repudiation of the Fair Deal. . . . It would strengthen the Republican-Dixiecrat coalition."

That won't do. The Southerners combining with the GOP are not Dixiecrats. The plain truth of the matter is that Southern congressmen and senators, however opposed to Truman, were conspicuously absent from the Dixiecrat ranks. One of the reasons for the Dixiecrat bust was that Southern congressmen almost to the man gave it the cold shoulder.

McCord Carries Banner—

States Rights Fight Shapes Up

BY FRED TAYLOR
News Staff Writer

New attention was centered today on the rapidly developing battle between States' Righters and national party Democrats for control of the state party organization.

McCORD

Gadsden's Roy D. McCord, carrying the banner of the National Democratic Party, leaped into the race for Democratic national committeeman from Alabama. However, this office normally would not be open to campaign until 1952.

In doing so, McCord said he would run as "regular old line Democrat against Dixiecrat."

McCord, lawyer and former legislator, was one of Alabama's delegates who refused to walk out of the Democratic national convention at Philadelphia last year.

* * *

HE SAID HE WOULD qualify "at the proper time" as candidate for the post to which Montgomery's Marion Rushton, Alabama States' Rights campaign director in last year's presidential race, was elected in 1948.

The national committee recently refused to seat Rushton as national committeeman from Alabama because of his activities in behalf of the Thurmond-Wright ticket in the Southern revolution against President Truman and his "civil rights" program.

McCord declared he "intends to take issue with Rushton, Gessner McCorvey, chairman of the State Democratic Executive Committee or any other Dixiecrat who has announced intentions of trying to retain control of the state party organization."

McCord said he would be a candidate for national committeeman in the 1950 Democratic primary.

* * *

BUT McCORVEY, contacted at Mobile, said there would be no race for Democratic national committeeman in Alabama next year unless the state committee called a special election. He does not believe it will do this.

"Marion Rushton is still our national committeeman," said McCorvey.

"If that gang of socialists now in control of the so-called National Democratic Party, who are masquerading as Democrats, are unwilling to seat the committeeman elected by the Democrats of Alabama by an overwhelmingly majority, then it is my personal opinion we should leave that seat vacant as a protest.

"I'm certainly not in favor of the state af Alabama being placed in the position where we will only be permitted to send as our representative on the Democratic National Committee some man who is approved by that committee.

"I am not in favor of any Munich appeasement action.

"I am still hoping the Washington group, headed by men like Hubert Humphrey, Howard McGrath and Harry Truman, will come to their senses and realize the foundation stone of the Democratic Party, as we know it in the South, is the doctrine of states' rights.

"EVERY INTELLIGENT man and woman in the South knows the reason the white people of the South, of all classes, have aligned themselves with the Democratic Party for the past 80 years is because the Democratic Party, back in Reconstruction Days, recognized the right of each state to govern its own affairs and repudiated the action of the National Republican administration in dividing the South into military districts, with a federal general backed by bayonets of Northern troops in charge of each district.

"The Southern people will still support a national party which believes in states' rights and which accords to each state the right to govern its own affairs."

States' Righters Launch Campaign

Advertiser

Tom Abernethy of Talladega was named by Alabama States Righters yesterday to head their campaign to retain control of the State Democratic Executive Committee next spring.

Abernethy was named campaign manager for the 1950 elections at a meeting of the Alabama States Rights Democratic Committee, Col. Marion Rushton, Montgomery, announced.

Rushton is chairman of the States' Rights Committee.

He said the group intends "to prevent domination of the Democratic Party in Alabama by outsiders who advocate socialism and the Truman civil rights program."

Rushton said Donald Comer, of Birmingham, vice-chairman of the committee; Robert Albritton, Wallace Malone, Walter Lusk, Robert K. Gree, Charles Wiggins, Norman Harris, Sid Smyer and Abernethy attended the meeting.

Our Opinions

Democrats In Historic Move

There was a new chapter written in American political history last week in Washington. The grip of the South on the Democratic Party was dramatically broken. The Dixiecrats were bounced out of the Democratic National Committee and the South was told to fall in line or get off the reservation.

For generations, the Southerners have tried and often succeeded in calling the tune for the Democratic Party. The votes of the "solid South" were always considered essential for a Democratic victory in a national election. The crafty Southerners knew how to use the big stick to enforce their demands upon the national body.

Last Wednesday, there were shouts of joy as the Democratic National Committee voted to oust those members who betrayed the party in the last election. The new committemen and women from Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi and South Carolina will be Democrats and not Dixiecrats.

President Truman proved that the Democratic Party can be victorious without the "solid South." He demonstrated that the big stick which had been held over the party's head by the Southerners was a wand made of paper.

Repercussions of the move of the Democratic National Committee will be felt throughout the Southland. The die-hards who refuse to support the liberal program of the party have nowhere to go. They have been crawling out on a limb and now the limb has been cut off. The Republicans cannot get them and the Democrats don't want them.

This is an encouraging development to all Americans who want a truly liberal political party. This is an answer to the Wallace extremists who have tried to make capital out of the fact that the Democratic Party has been traditionally the party of the South. This answers also the jibes of the Republicans who try to play the game of throwing a rock and hiding their hands in the Congress.

Credit for this turn in history must go to President Truman and his loyal aides. They have kept the faith. They are determined to carry out the platform pledges of the Democratic Party. Those who rebel against their solemn pledges to the people have no moral right to power. President Truman believes that promises are made to be kept, not broken.

We rejoice over the decision of the Democratic National Committee, and congratulate the party chieftains for an act of courage unequaled in the politics of our time. They have opened up new vistas for the future and given all of us fresh hope in the fight against bigotry and prejudice in America.

Blow At Dixiecrats

Barkley's Visit To State Seen As Move To Break Back Of States' Rights Party

BY FRED TAYLOR

Political observers have realized all along that Vice President Alben Barkley planned his visit to Birmingham today to do more than deliver a pep talk to Alabama Democrats at a dinner rally.

This column pointed out weeks ago that the vice president's trip to this Deep South States' Rights stronghold was aimed at winning dissident Democrats back to the party fold.

The bull-throated Barkley, one of the nation's most powerful speakers, wants Alabama Democrats to play on the same team again. He wants them to close ranks and march together.

TAYLOR

It is needless to say that his chief, Harry S. Truman, and Democratic National Chairman Howard McGrath, want this.

* * *

BREAK DIXIECRATS' BACK — States' Rights Democratic leaders feel Barkley is coming here—he will address the 7 p.m. Jefferson-Jackson Dinner at the Tutwiler—in an attempt to break the back of the Dixiecrat movement in Alabama.

They are convinced strategy of Truman, McGrath and other party big wheels is to hit hardest in this state. Because it was in Alabama that States' Righters took over the Democratic Party organization completely. And it was in this state that names of Truman-Barkley elector candidates were not on the ballot last November.

They believe Truman, McGrath and Company look at it this way:

If Barkley, with his overwhelming oratory, can strike a crippling blow at the States' Righters in Alabama, then the task of knocking out the Dixiecrats in other Southern states would be a comparatively easy job.

Truman and Barkley were represented on the ballot in other Southern states (Louisiana, Mississippi and South Carolina) carried by the Thurmond-Wright States' Rights ticket.

* * *

COOL—Many States' Righters are cool toward the "Malone gesture."

The "Malone gesture" was the move made in the direction of the Republican Party at the Dothan States' Rights dinner last Friday night.

Rep. Wallace Malone, Dothan banker and heavy States' Rights backer, organized the Wiregrass "appreciation dinner." And he headed a committee of 75 there in a resolution that said:

"We will join hands with any national group or party which sincerely embraces states' rights and constitutional government."

While the word Republican was not mentioned in the resolution, it was tossed around freely at the dinner.

The very forthright Malone is frank to say he votes Republican when he feels like it.

Toastmaster at the Dothan dinner was Richmond Flowers, a glib, personable young man, who was president of the Young Republican Club at University of Alabama last year.

States' Righters I have discussed the mater with since the Dothan banquet, to which Malone rallied more than 500 persons, say they doubt very many of their number will ever join the GOP.

Republicans Give Only Halfway Welcome to New States' -Rights Coalition Bid

By JACK BELL.
Associated Press Staff Writer.

Washington, April 9.—Republicans today gave only a halfway welcome to a new bid from the South to form a working states'-rights coalition with Democrats aroused by proposals of President Truman.

Senator Brewster of Maine, head of the Republican senatorial campaign committee, told a reporter the G.O.P. is glad to work with Southern Democrats who "want to return to constitutional Government."

But Brewster said that if the Dixie Democrats want help in blocking civil-rights legislation they will have to look for it outside the Republican Party.

"Our record on civil rights is clear," the Maine senator said. "We are in favor of pushing anti-poll-tax, antilynching, and other bills to a vote in Congress.

"But the Republican Party welcomes the support of all of those who believe in constitutional Government—those who oppose the centralization of power in Washington and its consequent regimentation of the people."

Brewster's comments came in response to a bid from a States'-Rights dinner held in Dothan, Ala., to show "appreciation" for members of Congress—irrespective of party—who oppose President Truman's civil-rights program.

Many of the 550 persons who attended approved a resolution offering to "join hands with any national group or party which sincerely embraces states rights and constitutional Government."

Senator Lucas of Illinois, the Democratic leader, declined comment on the resolution, telling reporters he thought the action was a local matter.

The Dothan banquet preceded a scheduled appearance next Tuesday of Vice-President Barkley at a regular Democratic Jefferson-Jackson Day dinner in Birmingham.

Democratic Chairman J. Howard McGrath is known to be counting on Barkley to help smooth out some of the rough spots in the national committee's relations with the Southerners who deserted the ticket in last November's election.

Barkley had to cancel two scheduled appearances in Georgia yesterday because the Senate was voting on the European Recovery Administration legislation. However, he has a program calling for additional speeches below the Mason-Dixon Line.

McGrath's line has been to welcome back into the party States' Righters who want to return, with the exception of those who took outstanding parts in supporting Thurmond-Wright States' Rights ticket.

Democrats to Deny Jobs To Dixiecrat Backers

Washington, April 27 (AP)—Democratic leaders agreed in a conference with President Truman today that nobody who openly opposed the President's election last November will get a federal patronage job.

Democratic Chairman J Howard McGrath told a reporter this means that those who supported the Thurmond-Wright States' Right ticket won't be cleared by the national committee for any appointment.

He said this included persons who publicly made derogatory personal remarks about the President in connection with his civil-rights program, as well as Southerners who asked that their names be taken off Democratic rolls.

While McGrath said this "loyalty test" will be applied to prospective appointees, he denied that there is any move afoot to punish Dixie members of Congress who sat on their hands as far as the Truman-Barkley ticket was concerned.

The understanding reached at the conference with the President, McGrath said, was that members of Congress will continue to make recommendations on federal jobs.

He added that these recommendations will be received and acted upon without reference as to how the lawmakers vote on particular Administration proposals before Congress.

McGrath denied as a "vicious untruth" reports that some House members had been threatened with loss of patronage unless they support the Administration's substitute for the Taft-Hartley Labor Law.

House members give recommendations to the party heads on postmasters and this year will have the opportunity to pass on applicants for 1950 census jobs.

Agitation by House members over the census plums was said to have been the main factor in sending McGrath to the White House for the conference with Truman.

Dixiecrats Without Future In Democrat File—McGrath

WASHINGTON—(UP)—Sen. McGrath, Democrat, Rhode Island, Chairman of the Democratic National Committee, said bluntly yesterday that "a Dixiecrat has no future in the Democratic Party."

He made the statement during a discussion of how the National Committee will carry out President Truman's policy of denying patronage to Democrats in Congress who vote against Administration bills included in the Party platform.

While there was some disagreement between the President and McGrath on their original statements of patronage policy, they seem agreed on how it would apply to bolting Southerners.

McGrath said at first that votes in Congress would not be a test of Party loyalty. But, Mr. Truman said they would.

McGrath accepted the President's dictum with an acknowledgement that "He makes the appointments."

The Party chairman emphasized that a Party member will not be labelled a "Dixiecrat" automatically just because he does not agree with Democratic policies in Congress.

McGrath said at first that votes in Congress would not be a test of Party loyalty. But, Mr. Truman said they would.

McGrath accepted the President's dictum with an acknowledgement that "He makes the appointments."

The Party chairman emphasized that a Party member will not be labelled a "Dixiecrat" automatically just because he does not agree with Democratic policies in Congress.

He said Federal aid to education, housing and school health legislation are all proof that the Administration is trying to help every detail.

There is no "future value to the Party," he said, in a Democrat who won't go along with the Party platform. On that basis, he added with emphasis: "A Dixiecrat has no future in the Democratic Party."

Meantime, Sen. Kefauver, Democrat, Tennessee, said in a radio talk there is "small place in the growing democracy of the South-land for men who would turn back the clock.

"I don't think there is a place for the Dixiecrat Party in the nation," he said.

"I think from a purely Southern viewpoint that we in the South will be much better off in trying to strengthen the Democratic Party to give proper representation to the Southern States."

He said Federal aid to education, housing and school health legislation are all proof that the Administration is trying to help the South and not "ram" some thing down its throat.

McGrath sees the Democratic Party as the instrument for progressive and liberal legislation.

THE HORIZON

By P. L. PRATTIS

How Would Dixiecrats Act If They Were the Victims of An Invader?

HOW DOES a conquered nation act? How would Americans, including the Dixiecrats, act if they became the victims of a foreign invader? What would happen to their fighting hearts and their martial spirit? Would they act like men or dogs? Would they comport themselves with dignity or would they resort to genuflections and antics to win favor and sustenance from the hands of of their masters? Would they not be like any conquered people reduced to a mass of living which required accommodation to the wishes and whims, implied and expressed, of the conqueror?

Mr Prattis

These questions did not come to me until I had been in Germany for quite some time. I had read about the proud Russians and also about the haughtiness of certain classes of Germans. I knew, because of their many, many contributions in the arts and sciences that the Germans thought themselves a superior people. But as I walked the streets af Frankfurt, Nurnberg and Munich, I did not see people whose carriage betokened hauteur or pride or superiority. In fact, they seemed quite the reverse.

• • •

SUDDENLY, IT CAME to me that these Germans carried themselves like Negroes do in the United States. Negroes are under the weight of a dominant majority. The Germans are under the weight of several armies of occupation. There was no particle of difference, except color, between the German who carries his present load and the Negro who has been carrying the load of the white man's dominance for three centuries.

From the same causes, it appears, you get the same effects with human beings. I have heard whites in the United States charge that Negroes lack a sense of dignity. I guess maybe many of them do. But now I think I know why. The Germans you see these days lack a sense of dignity, too. Dignity results from a certain inner composure and adjustment — also from certain satisfactions. The Germans, just like American Negroes, don't have those spiritual factors to buttress their mien. They lack dignity. They don't look too worthwhile. Now is not the time for them to think too well of themselves — certainly not the time for it to show on their faces.

• • •

AS A CONSEQUENCE, you notice, after awhile, a strange phenomenon among Germans in cities where the conqueror lives. The Germans all seem to be walking around with their heads down. This is not actually so, but you sense that they don't look your way, that they are preoccupied and that you are on the outside of where they are, even though you tread the same sidewalk. The feeling you get is eerie. These can't be the Germans of Goethe, of Wagner, of Schubert, the manufacturers and industrialists and militarists who came within an inch of whipping the entire world. These are people who look as though their tails are tucked between their legs.

It comes to you from time to time, however, that these Germans, just like Negroes, are doing their darned best to make the most of a grim situation. They are at the complete mercy of their conquerors. Their very lives are not their own. But for the invader, thousands would starve. They have been torn loose from their moorings. That is why they genuflect. You enter a hotel for Americans. The boss may be an American sergeant. All the servants will be Germans. You know perfectly well that some of those Germans know infinitely more about operating a hotel than the American sergeant. But they must not act like it. You discover that they are obsequious, almost deliberately obsequious. That is what starts you thinking. They are smart cookies, biding their time.

• • •

WHAT WE IN the United States regard as "Uncle-Toming" is not peculiar to Negroes. It is a product of a certain up-down relationship between peoples. The German "Uncle Toms," with their antics, their histrionics, their skill would make many of us feel ashamed. But the German has the scientific approach to whatever he essays. This German "Uncle Tom" is the answer to the questions at the beginning of this piece.

Any conquered, dominated people, genuflects. Regardless of the heroics of a Churchill, had the Germans invaded and occupied England, the English would be "Uncle-Toming" today. And if the cold war should be superseded by a hot war in which the Russians came out on top, Strom Thurmond, 'Gene Talmadge, Louisiana's Ellender and all the other white supremacists would learn to do a jig quickly. What passes for dignity with them now would be quickly transformed into the dejection of the outcast. They would learn that they could only feel and act lordly when they were lording it over somebody else, and that it was impossible to feel or act lordly when somebody else was lording it over them.

I feel much better about my own folk since I have seen the proud German bend the knee. The German needs our gift of humor.

Dixiecrats Say GOP Could Be Ally

Birmingham News

Dothan Dinner Speakers Declare Old Differences Between Parties Are Gone

Birmingham, Alabama

BY FRED H. TAYLOR
News Staff Writer

DOTHAN, Ala., April 9—Merger of States Rights Democrats and Republicans in Alabama seemed a step nearer Saturday. But such a wedding was considered still a long way off.

Thrown behind such a coalition was the declaration by an outpouring of States Righters here last night that:

"We will join hands with any national group or party which sincerely embraces states rights and in it lies the one hope for the preservation of the liberties of America," added Dixon. "The other way lies darkness and despair."

Charles J. Bloch, Macon, Ga., attorney, and main speaker for the Dothan rally, delivered a message to the North, East and West.

"Our message from the South to the North and the East and the West," Bloch said, "is really an invitation.

"If it had, you wouldn't have been

constitutional government."

The neucleus for a new party already exists in the teaming of Southern Democrats and Republican conservatives against President Truman's civil rights and labor proposals, John Temple Graves pointed out.

Graves, Birmingham columnist, told the more than 500 States Righters who gathered here from over Alabama and other Southern states that "today there is no more reason for voting Democratic than voting Republican.

"Gentlemen, let us not wince any more when we hear the word Republican," Graves told the Wiregrass rally.

Former Gov. Frank Dixon, addressing a throng at the Dothan Recreation Center, reviewed the history of the States Rights movement, declaring:

"From the shock of the realization that the end of our liberties was near came the States Rights movement."

"In Alabama we are united in in our opposition to the vicious civil rights program of the National Democratic Party," said Dixon. "This movement has proved that the South is no longer in the bag.

"This movement to preserve local self government will go on because

DIXIECRAT LOSES PLACE ON RULES COMMITTEE

WASHINGTON, (ANP) — An avowed Dixiecrat, Rep. Colmer of Mississippi, lost his place from the house of representatives most powerful committee, the rules committee, last week when Speaker Rayburn snubbed his request for a return to the group.

The Mississippi congressmen had been a member of the group in the 80th congress, but lost with Rayburn for a spot.

Rayburn answered him, "As a Dixiecrat, you don't have much claim for consideration."

"But Sam," Colmer retorted, "it took a lot more courage to be a Dixiecrat than it did to be for Truman."

"If it had, you wouldn't have been a Dixiecrat," Rayburn replied. That ended Rep. Colmer's drive for the rules committee.

TRUMAN WELCOMES ALL LOYAL DEMOCRATS BACK TO PARTY FOLD FOLLOWING MAYFLOWER PURGE

Dixiecrats Shout Defiance and Announce They Will Fight Again in 1952

McGRATH ACTS AS HATCHET MAN

WASHINGTON.—(ANP)—President Harry S. Truman supported his party's purge of several Dixiecrats at the Mayflower hotel last Wednesday night and at the same time welcomed all "loyal Democrats" back into the fold.

The national committee brought into play the 50-year-old expurging rule and dismissed from the party Marion Rushmore of Alabama, J. B. Snider and Mrs. Hermes Guatier of Mississippi, William H. Talbot of Louisiana, and Mrs. Herbert Agnew of South Carolina.

Truman, in his off-the-cug speech told the party members gathered that no one section of the country won the last election; that all sections together put the program over. He also indicaed that this will be needed again in the next election. He pointed to the fact that Congress was getting new blood, which it sorely needed, and that the influx would continue.

He said:

"The tail no longer wags the dog. We won the election last November without New York, without the industrial East, and without the Solid South . . . that does not mean we are not inviting the industrial East, New York and the Solid South and the rest of the country to join the party of the people and help the country go forward."

Sen. J. Howard McGrath, recently appointed attorney general, and former chairman of the National Democratic Committee, acted as hatchet man for the committee in his last ogicial act as chairman. William M. Boyle jr., a Kansas City, Mo., lawyer, is the new chairman.

Truman lashed out at the Republican party by praising the Democrats. He said the party was never in better condition to accomplish its aims and program and that the Republicans had tried to talk to death the program the people wanted.

When talked to by the press, the ousted committee members from Mississippi and Alabama said they would fight the party again in 1952.

The purging came about as a result of the bolting of the Democratic party during the national convention in Philadelphia by most of the delegates from Louisiana, Alabama, Mississippi, Georgia and South Carolina. However, the ax fell on those committeemen who attended the rump convention later in Birmingham and who made no overtures to come back into the party. J. Strom Thurmond, governor of South Crolina, would have been "expunged," but he resigned of his own will.

Deep South Party Members Blamed

Do Not Feel Bound by Platform Pledge

DIXIECRAT BLOT

Seniority Rules Help Stymie Legislation

By LOUIS LAUTIER

NNPA Service

WASHINGTON

Whatever his motives may be, President Truman has been entirely consistent in his fight for civil rights legislation. Ever since he sent his special civil rights message to Congress on Feb. 2, 1948, he has fought for his program. Not once has he taken a backward step.

True, the Resolutions Committee report at the Democratic National Convention in Philadelphia in 1948 had a weak civil rights plank which Mr. Truman had approved. Sen. Francis J. Myers of Pennsylvania, and Maurice J. Tobin, now Secretary of Labor—led the fight for adoption of the committee's report without any changes.

Dixiecrat Bolt

But once the convention rejected their plea and wrote a strong civil rights plank into the platform, Mr. Truman has been foursquare on the issue.

The Dixiecrats bolted the Democratic party because of the civil rights issue. But Mr. Truman sat in final judgment. It was he, as titular head of the Democratic party, who issued the orders for their representatives to be put off the National Committee.

One reason why Mr. Truman has not been able to get more of his "Fair Deal" program written into law by the Eighty-first Congress is the resistence of members of his own party. Moreover, these Democratic congressmen do not consider themselves bound by the 1948 Democratic platform.

Not Duty Bound

This point of view was expressed by Sen. Spessard L. Holland of Florida, in a radio interview. He said, "I personally have taken my own position against civil rights, both when I ran and ever since I've been up here, although I stayed with the party."

His attitude is typical of that of nearly every Senator and Representative from the Deep South. Members of Congress from the Deep South, some of them Dixiecrats, are in key positions to block Mr. Truman's "Fair Deal" program. Through seniority rules some are at the heads of important committees.

Through the seniority rule, the 80-odd year old Sen. Kenneth McKellar, of Tennessee, is chairman of the important Senate Appropriations Committee. Sen. Tom Connally, of Texas, who is nearly as old as McKellar, heads the Senate Foreign Relations Committee; Sen. Burnet R. Maybank of South Carolina, heads the Senate Banking and Currency Committee.

Bigots Hold Key Spots

In the Eightieth Congress Sen. William Langer as chairman of the Post Office and Civil Service Committee, had an investigation made of racial discrimination in the postal and civil service, which showed glaring practices of racial discrimination against applicants and workers.

Sen. Olin D. Johnston of South Carolina, became the chairman of this committee in the Eighty-first Congress. The Langer report, which should have been followed up, has been pigeon-holed. On the House side, the chairmanships are in just as reactionary hands.

Dixiecrats Credited In Nipping Welfare Plan

NEW ORLEANS, Sept. 24—(AP) A visiting Republican said here today that "you've got to give credit" to the States Righters "for the cohesion of forces in stopping Mr. Truman's welfare program."

"If it hadn't been for that movement we would be further down the road toward a socialistic program," said Walter S. Hallanan of Charleston, W. Va., in an interview with the New Orleans States.

Hallanan, Republican national committeeman from his state, spoke here last night at a dinner session of the Louisiana-Arkansas division of the Mid-Continent Oil and Gas Association.

The Dixiecrat Purge

Those Dixiecrats who bolted the Democratic Party during last year's Presidential campaign last week found themselves still on the outside looking in.

The Democratic National Committee, following the dictates of President Truman, made it very plain that unless the deserters are willing to embrace the party platform with its civil rights plank, they will not be welcomed back into the fold.

This was a stinging rebuke to the bolters who somehow believed that all would be forgiven and last year's defection forgotten.

The usual custom is for bolting members of the national committee to resign immediately. But the smell of patronage in the air was too tempting for the Dixiecrats to resist. They passed their plates but got nothing in return.

President Truman's upset victory was achieved without their aid. Why, then, should they be needed now?

The Dixiecrats remind us of the boy who wanted to eat his cake and have it too. They are now learning the hard way what everyone else knew all of the time.

The Democratic National Committee is to be commended for its action. No organization can afford to retain in its leadership men who deserted it when the going was tough.

It's time that the tail (Solid South) stopped wagging the dog.

Can Return on Condition

At a dinner ending the day's activity by the national committee, which included the election of William M Boyler Jr., former Kansas City policeman, as committee chairman, President Truman invited the bolters to return to the Democratic fold accepting the Administration's program, including civil rights.

"The Democratic party is the party of the people," Mr. Truman said. "The Democratic party is a national party and not a sectional party any more. The tail no longer wags the dog.

"We won the election last November without New York, without the industrial East and without the Solid South and I am prouder of that than anything that ever happened to me."

The ouster was recommended by the credentials committee of the Democratic body.

Replacements to Come From States

At a press conference after his election, Mr. Boyle said vacancies on the committee would be filled

The ousted Dixiecrats were members of the Democratic National Committee from Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi and South Carolina, who admitted that they had opposed Mr. Truman in the last national campaign.

Those removed were the States' Rights presidential ticket of Governor J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina and Gov. Fielding Wright of Mississippi. Wright were Marion Rushton, Ala.; William H. Talbot, Louisiana; J. B. Snider and Mrs. Hermes Gautier, Mississippi, and Mrs. Anne A. Agnew, South Carolina.

Thurmond's name also was stricken from the membership roll, although he had resigned.

IT'S COLD OUTSIDE:

Dixiecrats Get Bum's Rush From Committee

WASHINGTON — (NNPA) — President Truman last Wednesday night endorsed the action of the Democratic National Committee in ousting five Dixiecrat members who had opposed the Truman-Barkley ticket in the Presidential campaign last year because of the civil rights issue.

by the respective State organizations. The committee elected Sen. Burnet R. Maybank of South Carolina, no Dixiecrat, to take the seat formerly held by Thurmond.

Senator Maybank expressed appreciation but said he would have to clear up his status at another meeting of the South Carolina State executive committee which had elected him to fill the vacancy on condition that Mrs. Agnew be retained as a member of the national committee.

Sen. J. Howard McGrath, who was presiding at his last committee meeting before assuming his duties as Attorney General, told Mr. Maybank that South Carolinians could not direct the action of the national committee.

States' Rights Bureau Set Up

Leander H. Perez, New Orleans, named director of a new States' Rights bureau opened headquarters on the same day of the national committee meeting.

The committee threw out a contest brought against Wright Morrow, Texas committeeman, by Byron Skelton of Temple, Texas. Skelton had questioned Morrow's party loyalty in the last campaign, but the committee found no evidence to support the charges.

Both Talbot, a 300-pound man known as "Little Eva," and Rushton said they would fight the Democratic party again in 1952.

The credentials committee used "Section II" as a basis for ejecting the Dixiecrats. The rule was used in 1896 to oust two men who swung away from William Jennings Bryan and attended a rump convention.

Our Opinions

Democrats In Historic Move

There was a new chapter written in American political history last week in Washington. The grip of the South on the Democratic Party was dramatically broken. The Dixiecrats were bounced out of the Democratic National Committee and the South was told to fall in line or get off the reservation.

For generations, the Southerners have tried and often succeeded in calling the tune for the Democratic Party. The votes of the "solid South" were always considered essential for a Democratic victory in a national election. The crafty Southerners knew how to use the big stick to enforce their demands upon the national body.

Last Wednesday, there were shouts of joy as the Democratic National Committee voted to oust those members who betrayed the party in the last election. The new committemen and women from Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi and South Carolina will be Democrats and not Dixiecrats.

President Truman proved that the Democratic Party can be victorious without the "solid South." He demonstrated that the big stick which had been held over the party's head by the Southerners was a wand made of paper.

Repercussions of the move of the Democratic National Committee will be felt throughout the Southland. The die-hards who refuse to support the liberal program of the party have nowhere to go. They have been crawling out on a limb and now the limb has been cut off. The Republicans cannot get them and the Democrats don't want them.

This is an encouraging development to all Americans who want a truly liberal political party. This is an answer to the Wallace extremists who have tried to make capital out of the fact that the Democratic Party has been traditionally the party of the South. This answers also the jibes of the Republicans who try to play the game of throwing a rock and hiding their hands in the Congress.

Credit for this turn in history must go to President Truman and his loyal aides. They have kept the faith. They are determined to carry out the platform pledges of the Democratic Party. Those who rebel against their solemn pledges to the people have no moral right to power. President Truman believes that promises are made to be kept, not broken.

We rejoice over the decision of the Democratic National Committee, and congratulate the party chieftains for an act of courage unequaled in the politics of our time. They have opened up new vistas for the future and given all of us fresh hope in the fight against bigotry and prejudice in America.

States' Righters Must Leave Demo Party For Help—Rushton

MONTGOMERY, Ala., Aug. 26—(AP)—Democratic National Committeeman Marion Rushton said today "there is no hope" of solving the states' rights wrangle within the party.

"Nothing remains but for us to resist," Rushton said in a prepared statement. He was one of the Southerners booted off the national committee Wednesday.

The committee's attitude, he complained, is one of "unreasoning triumphant insistence upon a program under which Alabama Democrats cannot live." He referred to President Truman's civil rights policies that touched off the party split.

"The present party leaders comprehend, but do not care to help us solve, our deep troubles," Rushton's statement continued, "nor grant us time to solve them ourselves despite the fine progress we have made and are making."

MANY PEOPLE IN other states realize "this country is too big to be dictated to or run from Washington," the Montgomery attorney said. "We can and should join with such people to restore local self-government and genuine democracy to the people of this country."

Rushton turned his resignation in to the State Democratic Executive Committee several months ago, but committee members voted in a special mail ballot last week to reject it.

They also instructed him to attend the national committee meeting and demand states' rights recognition.

"It has become entirely clear there is no hope of working out our problem within the party," his statement said. "Its present leaders . . . have chosen our enemies, believing them to be stronger politically and better placed for vote-getting purposes. They intend to force the issue at once, regardless of wisdom or common sense.

Rushton cautioned, however, against lining up with another party too quickly.

G.O.P. And Dixiecrats Dead, Gov. Folsom Tells Newsmen

The Republican Party is through in the United States and the "Dixiecrats are, too," Gov. James E. Folsom said yesterday discussing the outcome of current elections.

Democratic victories in the New York Senate race and elsewhere proved, Folsom told reporters, that the GOP "is impotent to render any effective opposition."

"Wall Street is not going to let the Republicans offer a program acceptable to the American people," he added.

Folsom said the States' Rights movement "died with President Truman's victory (last November) and was buried yesterday. It's a dead issue and there's no use discussing a political corpse."

Consequently, he added, it won't be brought up if he can help it during his current series of regional meetings throughout the state.

"There's another very practical reason why the Dixiecrats are dead," the governor continued. "They are not building dams for public power, they are not passing out any school houses and they are not passing out any highway money. The Republicans aren't either."

He mentioned public power because it will be the chief topic of discussion at the next cabinet meeting in Dothan Monday.

In a jovial mood, Folsom also confided to reporters that Alabama's daily press, which he has denounced repeatedly as "them lying newspapers," has actually been a big help to him.

"No administration has been served better by the press than mine has," he said, explaining that constant criticism and opposition has "kept me on my toes. I appreciate it."

The governor talked with newsmen as members of his cabinet prepared to leave for south Alabama to undertake "Operation Fact." That's the name Folsom has given to a series of speeches during which his appointees will "tell our side" of the controversy between the administration and its foes.

Pardon-Parole Board Member Bill Drinkhard, Revenue Commissioner Philip J. Hamm, State Labor Director R. R. Wade and the governor's legal adviser, Ira Thompson, were first on the schedule with appearances in Monroe County last night.

THOMAS L. STOKES

Divorce Among Democrats

Atlanta, Ga. Constitution

WASHINGTON.—The casual way in which the retiring chairman of the Democratic National Committee, Senator J. Howard McGrath, Republican, Rhode Island, omitted invitations to four Dixiecrat members of the committee to the meeting here next week to elect a new chairman caused some surprise when it became known a few days ago. It wasn't in the usual political tradition.

But nothing very unusual has happened as a result of that blackballing of the National Committee members from the four States—Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi and South Carolina--which bolted to the Dixiecrat candidate for President last November, except in the case of that candidate, himself, Governor J. Strom Thurmond, of South Carolina.

His resignation as National Committeeman from his State was accepted at a stormy meeting of the State Democratic Executive Committee which replaced him with Senator Burnet R. Maybank, who remained regular last year. Also in South Carolina and the other three States the Dixiecrats were giving forth indignantly, and arranging meetings among themselves, and two of the uninvited members were even threatening to come here. If this happened it might add spice to what appears now will be a routine session to elevate William B. Boyle, Executive Director of the Committee, to the Chairmanship.

But no responsible Southern Democratic leader has raised his voice in protest. Nor is there any violent revolution evident among the plain people of the South. This is a very refreshing and encouraging sign—for the South and nation.

Mon. 8-22-49

The attitude here seems to be that the Dixiecrats, since they formed their own party, should go ahead and operate in it and, if they desire, hold all the meetings they want among themselves and with their big corporate backers. The latter financed the movement in an effort to defeat the President and, if possible, stop any New Dealism or Fair Dealism.

Atlanta

President Truman, himself, put the situation rather aptly and succinctly when he was asked at a press conference if he approved withholding invitations to the Dixiecrat Committee members. He replied merely that the National Committee is in control of its own membership and is made up of Democrats.

Of course, he did approve it. No such action is taken without the consent of the party leader, in this case the President. It is part of his determined course to disassociate himself completely from the Dixiecrats. He embarked upon it right after the election with his remark that he was glad he got elected without the votes of New York and the South. He pursued it thereafter by a policy of denying patronage to bolters, the customary mode of discipline in a political party.

His bill of divorcement against the Dixiecrats is related to a larger scheme manifest in this Congress. This is to give permanence, if possible, to the voluntary alliance in the last election of labor and Midwest farmers, the combination responsible for the Truman victory, and thus to minimize dependence upon the "Solid South," which is no longer very solid.

That explains the President's 100 percent backing of labor in its demand for outright repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act. It explains his orders to his leaders in Congress, when that was not possible, to drop efforts to get a compromise, which would have been possible, so that repeal again would be thrown into next year's congressional elections as a major issue to arouse labor to get out the vote. It explains also the Brannan Farm Plan and the Des Moines Midwest Democratic Conference in June to unveil it, and the projected stumping tour of Secretary of Agriculture Charles F. Brannan in behalf of the plan which President Truman revealed frankly was at his instruction.

Divorce of the Dixiecrats and all they stand for in the way of racial policy and economic stand-pattism will help the Democratic Party all over the country, including the South itself. For the Dixiecrats do not represent the real aspirations of the Southern people, and their narrow sectionalism is anathema to people elsewhere.

Their influence in this Congress has been negligible. As a matter of fact, more Southerners have slipped the noose of the Republican-Southern Democratic coalition than previously. That reflects the slowly increasing progressivism of the South under which it is certain that the Dixiecrat movement eventually will wither away and die. Contributing to that result is President Truman's decision to ignore it and withhold sustenance.

The Man Thurmond

J. Strom Thurmond having been the presidential candidate of the fourth party, the Dixiecrats, it is easy in the course of the turmoil to forget the nature and endowments of the man.

The fact is, Gov. Thurmond of South Carolina is a first-rate man. So ferocious a critic of the universe as H. L. Mencken said last summer that Thurmond was the better of Truman, Dewey, and Henry Unmentionable.

Thurmond made an outstanding war record. And he is much too decent for some of the company he keeps. He has gone after lynchers in his state like a bulldog fed on gunpowder. He makes a lot of his Dixiecrat pards uneasy with his scorn of the White Supremacy cry.

He diverted himself to a rabbit trail with the fourth party movement when Gov. Laney, of Arkansas, got cold before him, but that same rabbit trail also attracted such topflight political figures as Bob LaFollette and T. R. Roosevelt.

Ques. 8-16-49

When The Alabama Journal speaks of the head of that lodge as a scholar it is not stretching it a great deal. This we concluded after reading the text of Thurmond's speech before the Alabama Bar Association. He went back to the ancient writings of the Greek historian Polybius to buttress his warning against stateism:

"When, in their senseless mania for reputation, they have made the populace ready and greedy to receive bribes, the virtue of the democracy is destroyed, and it is transformed into a government . . . of the strong hand. For the mob, habituated to feed at the expense of others, and to have its hope of livelihood in the property of its neighbors . . ."

As far as we're concerned, a politician who can quote a relatively obscure Greek historian on the cycles of governmental change is respectable and certainly unusual.

States Righters Ignore Snub

Atlanta

No Committee Invitation Unimportant, Says 4 Bypassed States

Ques. 8-16-49

WASHINGTON, Aug. 15.—(AP)—A snub by the National Committee for some States Righters apparently left President Truman's civil rights critics unworried today about their position in the Democratic Party.

Retiring National Chairman J. Howard McGrath announced that members from some of the southern states who didn't support the President in last year's election haven't been invited to a meeting here Aug. 24. This is the meeting in which the committee is expected to pick William Boyle, Jr., as McGrath's successor.

Members of Congress from the four states given a cold shoulder —Mississippi, Louisiana, South Carolina and Alabama — shrugged off the slight as of little consequence.

Practical Politics

In the practical exchange of politics, involving patronage, these members said — with one or two exceptions — they aren't having any trouble with the National Committee at this time.

They reported that while their states may not be represented when Boyle, lawyer and former Kansas City policeman, is chosen to head the committee, they still are getting satisfactory results on their recommendations for appointments.

Similarly, southern Democrats who are running for re-election next year said they had heard no rumors of an attempted purge.

For instance, friends said they are pretty certain that if Senator George (D-Ga), who has had his differences with President Truman over civil rights, taxes and other matters, seeks re-election the administration won't bring out a primary candidate against him.

Demo Opponents

Neither have President Truman's backers shown any interest in getting Democratic opponents into the field against Senators Fulbright (D-Ark) or Long (D-La).

Senators Hill (D-Ala) and Pepper (D-Fla) are likely to have active administration support in their primary races.

And in South Carolina Mr. Truman's friends apparently will have to choose between Senator Olin D. Johnston and Gov. J. Strom Thurmond, who headed the States' Rights ticket which took 39 electoral votes away from the President last November.

However, South Carolina Democrats today chose Senator Maybank (D-SC) as national committeeman to succeed Gov. J. Strom Thurmond, who headed the States Rights ticket. Maybank accepted and there was no doubt that he would be welcomed by the national committee as a

Truman Backs Decision Not To Invite Some Southern States

By JACK BELL

WASHINGTON, Aug. 18—(AP)—A pledge of future party loyalty may be asked of any Southern States Righters who show up to vote on the choice of a new Democratic national chairman.

Atlanta

This formula for dealing with committee members who joined in the civil rights rebellion last year was laid down by a high Democratic official today as President Truman implied that the decision not to invite some Southern members has his full backing.

Ques. 8-19-49

The national committee meets next Wednesday for the scheduled election of William M. Boyle, Jr., now a $30,000-a-year executive director, to succeed Senator J. Howard McGrath of Rhode Island as chairman.

McGrath, unanimously confirmed by the Senate today to succeed Attorney General Tom C. Clark, now draws no committee pay.

Mon. 8-22-49

In his call for the committee meeting, McGrath said he hadn'dent replied that the committee invited members of the national committee who strayed of its own membership.

With a significant look at the reservation last fall in support of the Thurmond-Wright States Rights ticket, newsmen, Mr. Truman said the committee is made up of Democrats.

When reporters asked McGrath if he didn't send invitations to some of the committeemen and committeewomen in four states where the States Rights Democrats have controlled the organization — Mississippi, Louisiana, South Carolina and Alabama.

member.

There was still a contest in sight for the committeewoman's post from South Carolina. Senator Olin Johnston (D-SC) said he hoped Mrs. Anne Agnew, of Columbia, would be retained in the place. However, she may be challenged by Mrs. J. Prichard Allison, also of Columbia.

The situatiotn may be complicated by the fact that the executive committee of the Democratic Party of South Carolina, before selecting Senator Maybank for the national committee post, voted to instruct him not to take his seat if Mrs. Agnew is denied a seat. Exactly how this particular situatiton would pan out was a question that nobody here seemed able to answer immediately.

If any of the States Righters show up at next Wednesday's meeting, and demand to be seated, they first will have to talk their way past a credentials committee headed by Frank McHale, national committeeman from Indiana.

Depends On Pledge

A Democratic official who declined to be quoted by name said the final decision on their seating probably will rest on whether they are willing to pledge themselves to go down the line for the Democratic ticket in future elections.

This apparently offered a chance for any States Rights prodigals to come back into the regular party fold.

But members of Congress from the states involved said they think few of the States Righters will show up.

Instead, in some instances the committee may recognize the claims of some of President Truman's supporters to the seats in question.

As an example, the party's national headquarters has been dealing in Mississippi with a pro-Truman group and ignoring J. B. Snider and Mrs. Hermes autier, the national members from that state.

Lawmakers here said there is some doubt whether W. H. Talbot and Miss Mary Evelyn Dickerson, Louisiana members, will show up for Wednesday's session.

Mrs. Lennard Thomas, Alabama committeewoman, will be recognized by the Truman group. Marion Rushton, the committeeman, has tendered his resignation but it has not been accepted yet by the State Democratic Executive Committee. The committee is being polled now on a proposal to reject the resignation.

Maybank Accepts Post From South Carolina

COLUMBIA, S. C., Aug. 18—(AP)—Senator Burnet R. Maybank was elected Democratic national committeeman from South Carolina today in a move to head a sharp party split. He accepted.

Sources here said Maybank did not commit himself in the Dixiecrat-Democrat fuss.

He was unopposed in the election by the executive committee of the Democratic Party of South Carolina. He succeeds Gov. J. Strom Thurmond, who resigned after he was nominated for president by the States' Rights Democrats last year. The resignation was not accepted then, however, and the state party organization supported Thurmond against President Truman.

Pro-Truman Democrats organized during the election campaign and since then their national committee members—Ashton H. Williams of Lake City and Mrs. J. Richard Allison of Columbia—have been recognized by Chairman J. Howard McGrath, national Democratic chairman. They were invited to attend a national committee meeting Aug. 24 to select a successor to McGrath, nominated for attorney general.

Thurmond insisted this week that his resignation be accepted and the executive committee met for the election today.

Williams declared last night he would not present his credentials at the Aug. 24 meeting if Maybank were elected to replace Thurmond.

Still up in the air, however, was the matter of a national committeewoman. Mrs. Allison, of the pro-Truman forces, has kept silent on the controversy. Mrs. Anne Agnew of Columbia was elected national committeewoman at the last state party convention. She has not resigned.

States' Rights Men Backed By Georgians

Georgia's delegates to the National Democratic Committee meeting in Washington tomorrow were lined solidly yesterday behind seating Committee members from four Southern States that voted Dixiecrat last November.

The meeting was called for the purpose of naming a new National Chairman to replace J. Harold McGrath. But the real issue will be the seating of Delegates from Alabama, South Carolina, Mississippi and Louisiana—the States that went for J. Strom Thurmond and the States Rights Democrats.

James S. Peters, of Manchester, Chairman of the State Democratic Committee; J. Robert Elliott, of Columbus, National Committeeman, and Mrs. Iris Blitch, of Homerville, National Committeewoman, yesterday joined Gov. Herman Talmadge in opposing McGrath's efforts to bar the Dixiecrats.

Peters will represent Georgia Democrats instead of Elliott, who has a conflicting engagement.

"I don't see any reason why good Democrats should be disqualified," Peters said. "Surely these States have stood by the Democratic Party in every election in the past. I don't see any reason why they should be denied seats on the National Committee."

Earlier yesterday, Gov. Talmadge said he was opposed to barring the Delegates from the four sister Southern States.

Dixie Split With Demos Is Still Wide

States' Righters Declare Truman's Peace Bid Is Too One-Sided

Will Meet Halfway

Talbot Of Louisiana Asserts President 'Out-WallacingWallace'

WASHINGTON, Aug. 25.—(AP)—The split between administration and Southern States Rights Democrats over civil rights appeared as wide as ever today despite a peace bid from President Truman.

The President last night invited the Southern bolters to come back into what he called a Democratic "national party." But he said they must be ready to go along with the 1948 platform — which included the civil rights plank that brought about the Dixie revolt.

This was no peace bid at all, some States' Righters said today. They made it plain that they had terms too, but that they were strictly against federal interference in what they regard as state problems. Civil rights, they said, still must be dealt with on a state basis.

Will Meet Halfway

Former Judge Leander H. Perez, of New Orleans, director of the States' Rights Washington bureau opened yesterday following a purge of five Southerners from the Democratic national committee for bolting the Truman ticket last year, had this to say:

"States' Righters will be glad to meet President Truman halfway. More than that, they will not do.

"Meeting the President halfway could not be on his terms. His terms are not based on Jeffersonian principles which are the principles of real Democrats and of the Democratic Party.

Dixiecrats' Conditions

"If the President will adopt Jeffersonian principles, we will come into the Democratic Party again."

Perez' home state of Louisiana joined Mississippi, Alabama and South Carolina last year in giving their electoral vote to the States' Rights candidates of Govs. J. Strom Thurmond, of South Carolina, and Fielding Wright, of Mississippi.

W. H. Talbot, of Louisiana, one of the five Southerners expelled from national committee membership yesterday, commented with all the vigor of his 300-pound frame:

"The President will remember Louisiana. We nominated him at Chicago as vice-president because we didn't want Wallace. We thought he was a better man than Wallace. He told us he understood our problem.

"Now he is out-Wallacing Wallace.

"Still Dictating"

"The President is still dictating. We are going to continue to fight for the Constitution whether we fight Truman or Stalin."

It was Talbot, known as "Little Eva," who balked when the credentials group hearing seating contests for the Democratic national committee asked him if he would go along with the party program in the future.

He said he told them he would if the party saw things his way.

Compromise Is Out, Says Gov. Thurmond

MIAMI, FLA., Aug. 25—(AP)—States' Rights Democrats were assured today by their 1948 presidential candidate that "we are not compromising" on returning to the Democratic party fold.

South Carolina Gov. J. Strom Thurmond said "we are not the ones who left the Democratic party."

He made the statement immediately after addressing the Golden Jubilee Convention of the Veterans of Foreign Wars.

Governor Thurmond was asked if he would accept an invitation to go to the White House and talk to the President.

"That would depend on what the invitation was for," he said with a smile, adding quickly that he would "go anywhere to serve my country."

The Dixiecrats Lose Their Places

The Democratic National Committee, the decision of the conventions of the future, or would walk out again if they could established by the convention and given not have their way?

broad authority within the party, has refused to seat five National Committee members from States which bolted the Democratic Party, formed their own Dixiecrat Party with a full slate of nominees and electors, and which opposed the Democratic nominees.

Without at all discussing the issue, these men had officially left the party; had opposed it with another party, and as such certainly had no standing in the Democratic Party unless they had forsworn allegiance to their own party and agreed to accept the results of party conventions. A political party, like a nation, must accept the majority decisions.

That the committee members should go to the meeting as Democrats is astounding. Has the Dixiecrat Party been abandoned? Do they mean to insist they can be members of the Democratic Committee one year and members of another party in election years? Did they mean to say that by coming back they would accept

Democrats Purge 6 States' Righters

Courier-Journal 8-25-49

National Committee Chooses Boyle To Succeed McGrath as Chairman

By ROBERT L. RIGGS
The Courier-Journal Washington Bureau.

Washington, Aug. 24.—Without a murmur of dissent, the Democratic Committee today found six of its members from four states guilty of the charge of being Dixiecrats. It removed their names from the committee's roster.

Having cleansed itself of those who worked openly against Harry S. Truman and for the election of J. Strom Thurmond last fall, the committee elected a new chairman in the person of William J. Boyle, Jr. Courier-Journal

The 46-year-old Boyle has been in charge or committee headquarters for some time as its $30,000-a-year executive vice-president. Like President Truman, Boyle is a graduate of the Pendergast Democratic organization in Kansas City. 8-25-49

Takes McGrath's Place.

He succeeded Senator J. Howard McGrath, who resigned to become Attorney General.

The same jury which returned a verdict of guilty against committee members from Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi, and South Carolina brought in a Scotch verdict of "not proved" in the case of the Texas committeeman. Hence, Wright Morrow of that state was allowed to keep his seat despite accusations that he dragged his feet during the Truman campaign.

In the most complicated case on the Dixiecrat docket, South Carolina wound up with a new committeeman in the person of Senator Burnett Maybank. It did not, however, get a committeewoman.

6 Vacancies are Left.

Thus there remain six vacancies on the national committee, as follows:

Alabama has no committeeman, but its committeewoman, Mrs. Lennard Thomas, was adjudged to be a loyal Democrat. The committeeman thrown out was Marion Rushton.

Louisiana has neither a committeeman nor a committeewoman. The effort of William H. Talbott to get back on the committee was turned down and there already was a vacancy in the post of committeewoman.

Mississippi has neither committeeman nor committeewoman, the committee having convicted both J. B. Snider and Mrs. Hermes Gautier of Dixiecrat activity. Clarence E. Hood and Mrs. John A. Clark, Truman supporters from Mississippi, sought to succeed the ousted pair, but the committee held it does not have power to elect its members—its power merely is to expel.

Thurmond Not Candidate.

The two ousted South Carolina members were not seeking seats. They are States' Right nominee Thurmond and Mrs. Albert Agnew. Nevertheless, the committee went through the formality of "churching" them. To succeed them the South Carolinians originally chose Ashton H. Williams and Mrs. J. Richard Allison.

But, in a recent maneuver in that state, it was agreed that Williams would withdraw in favor of Senator Maybank—with the stipulation that Mrs. Allison also be seated.

But the more ardent Trumanites in South Carolina charged that arrangement was a sellout to the Dixiecrats. Hence Maxie Collins of South Carolina sought to be seated in place of Maybank.

However, the committee decided in favor of Maybank, but did not seat Mrs. Allison. In accepting the place Maybank told the committee he did not know what his status would be back home, since his selection had been based on the provision that the committeewoman also be seated.

Later he told newspapermen:

"I haven't taken my seat and I am not going to take my seat. We were jointly elected. I take no orders from anybody but the state committee."

All those arrangements were worked out in a 10-hour session yesterday and last night by a credentials committee headed by Frank McHale of Indiana. McHale's reports were accepted without discussion or adverse vote by the national committee, with the exception of the Texas case. Courier-Journal

Question Put to Vote.

Committeeman Byron C. Allen of Minnesota, declaring that the Texas member looked just as guilty to him as the ones from four other states, moved that Morrow be denied his seat.

When the question was put to a voice vote, there seemed to be only two members willing to put Morrow out. His seat had been contested by Byron Skelton, whom a Texas convention put into Morrow's post during the height of the presidential campaign last fall.

Allen declared that if Morrow were not punished for his failure to push the Truman campaign, party officers in other states would feel free to be disloyal to the national ticket.

He pointed out that in Minnesita the Trumanites had to go to the State Supreme Court to keep some party officers from having Henry A. Wallace's name placed on the ballot as the Democratic presidential nominee.

Called Help to Truman.

McGrath replied that Morrow had been a great help to Truman last fall. McHale added that Morrow traveled with Truman when the President crossed that state during his campaign.

So smoothly did the committee work and with so little dissension that it scarcely seemed like a Democratic meeting until the very end, when the committeeman from Arkansas, Dr. R. B. Robins, rose to make a few remarks.

The physician member launched into a vigorous denunciation of the national-committee staff for what he called agitation on behalf of national compulsory health insurance. Truman

The health program is a part of the Truman Administration's policy, but Dr. Robins denounced it as a threat to the Democratic Party. 8-23-49

Exceeds Allotted Time.

Robins had obtained permission to speak 5 minutes. When he had run over his allotted time by several minutes, Jonathan Daniels, committeeman from North Carolina who is a long-time supporter of the New Deal, sought to shut him up on a point of order. However, Daniels yielded to Robins' request that he be permitted to finish his statement. Courier-Journal

When Robins had finished, his remarks were expunged from the session's record and turned over the resolutions committee, headed by Governor Earle C. Clements of Kentucky. Clements announced his committee had deferred action on the Robins' views until the next meeting of the national committee, which will be whenever the chairman calls a session.

Party Gives Thanks.

Daniels also got the national committee to adopt a resolution expressing the party's thanks to all those members of the "resistance movement" who stayed loyal to the national ticket when the regularly chosen officers of the Democratic Party in their states were chasing off after the Dixiecrats.

Boyle is a lawyer and a long-time friend of the President.

In an acceptance speech, he called for a united party and the election of a Congress in 1950 that "will support the programs of the President at home and abroad."

He did not mention the civil-rights revolt, but said the party was strong and flexible enough to have room for honest differences of opinion.

Danger of U. S. Rule Over States' Rights Told UDC

Atlanta Constitution

By PAUL WILLIAMS
Constitution State News Service

GAINESVILLE—The United States today is facing a challenge as to the extent to which the Federal Government can be centralized as against States' rights and still retain the safeguard ofd emocracy and retain its position of world leadership, Dr. Josiah Crudup, President of Brenau College, told delegates to the State UDC convention here yesterday.

The United Daughters of the Confederacy have a part in this challenge, he said, and also in another challenge, that of holding the line against doing away with all color lines in race relations prematurely. 8-25-49

"Give the Negro people a few more generations of civilization and they will evolve into a state where race lines will gradually disappear," he stated. He does not believe they can be erased by legislation or force, but that the South is correct in its idea that, at present, the ideal social order can best be attained with some form of segregation.

Dr. Crudup sounded a warning against too much government bureaucracy and any one political party with too much power. He said that at no time in our history was there greater need for American idealism than today. He pointed to "the plight of our mother country, England, declaring that we should discern wisely and see that Socialism can be the undoing of a great people.

The second day of the UDC conclave was a full day of activity, beginning with the breakfast at which Dr. Crudup spoke, followed by two business sessions, a memorial hour and the annual tea, and ending with a chapter presidents' evening at Brenau Auditorium at 8 p. m. last night.

Georgia Division officers for the forthcoming year will be elected and installed at the closing session this morning. Mrs. L. C. Bittick, of Forsyth, is unopposed for the State President's post. She will succeed Mrs. S. Y. Stribling, Jr., of Habersham.

Historical awards made annually by the Georgia Division of UDC to local chapters were announced at the historical luncheon yesterday at which Sidney O. Smith, of Gainesville, past Georgia District Governor of Rotary International, spoke on Gen. Robert Toombs, whom he referred to as "premier of the Confederacy" and "a giant statesman."

The historical awards were distributed as follows: Mildred Lewis Rutherford Cup, Cabaniss chapter, Forsyth; Minnie Lewis Roundtree Price, Moultrie McNeill chapter, Moultrie; Georgia Raines history banner, Alfred W. Colquitt chapter, Atlanta; Laura Kendall Rogers Goblet, Sidney Lanier chapter, Macon; $5 award for best history of any chapter, Agnes Lee chapter, Decatur.

Winners of the state-wide John B. Gordon student essay contest where Cliff Carswell, Americus, Senior high school; Burke Hodgson, Athens, Junior high; Jannis Parrish, Atlanta, seventh grade; Sara Cordell, Albany, sixth grade; Annie Inez Spivey, Gordon, fifth grade.

Other chapter awards made during the day included: The Pauline Burns Sutton cup, won by the Cordele chapter, Cordele; Eliza Hill Manry cup, Savannah chapter; Zora Beall trophy, Atlanta chapter; Alice Baxter cup, Sharman of Upson chapter, Thomaston; Tallulah Adkins, Margaret Carr Hunt and Rena F. Travis cups, all to the Moultrie McNeill

Young Democrats And Dixiecrats

One need not be surprised at the action of the Young Democrats of Alabama in rejecting the States' Rights movement. The Dixiecratic splinter party was definitely a party of marked conservatism and reaction. These are not characteristics of youth or of that outlook which is generally regarded as youthful regardless of the years of the holder.

Much satisfaction is to be gained from the positive stand taken at the Young Democrats' meeting in Montgomery last week-end. They rejected in plain terms the claims of the leadership of the State Democratic Executive Committee to represent the wishes of the Democrats of Alabama. They condemned as undemocratic the actions of the committee in separating the Democrats of Alabama from the national party. They emphasized their belief that divisions within the party should be fought out within the party and deplored the formation of "splinter" parties. And they set in motion plans for active affiliation with the national Democratic Party.

Wed. 10-26-49

The Montgomery meeting was no rump affair. Among those who attended were Mrs. Lennard Thomas, national committeewoman; Mrs. Dorothy Vredenburg, secretary of the Democratic National Committee; James J. Mayfield, a member of the State Democratic Executive Committee; State Sen. Joe Langan of Mobile; James H. Faulkner, Bay Minette, non-walkout delegate to last year's national convention, and other leaders in state party matters. The meeting was presided over by the Young Democrats' state president, Jim Smith of Tuscumbia. Lecil Gray, probate judge of Walker County, was one of many speakers in behalf of party unity. The meeting was attended by persons of proved loyalty to the Democratic Party and to its principles.

Some persons in Alabama may attack the meeting as representing support of the Truman civil rights program. Such efforts will be false and unjustified. The resolutions adopted by the Young Democrats give not the slightest warrant for such charges. They simply set forth the conviction that the states' right movement proved ineffective and that its continuance as a separate party will be a detriment to the people of Alabama. They emphasize the belief that opposition to the Truman civil rights program should be fought out within the party. To construe such action as disloyalty to Southern traditions would be pure fabrication.

The action of the Young Democrats is further evidence of the moribund state in which the splinter party movement has existed since the election. Having failed to command even a regional dominance, to say nothing of a strong national following, the States' Rights Party has no hope of supplanting the Truman-headed party as the Democratic Party of the nation.

But that does not mean surrender of certain principles of states' rights for which the splinter movement stands. It does not mean acceptance of undesirable doctrines, or supine submission to questionable leadership. It means simply a change of the battleground. It is to the best interests of the Democrats of Alabama to follow the leadership of the Young Democrats in restoring affiliation with the national Democratic Party.

The battle in Alabama in the developing campaign over the states' rights-civil rights question will enter, of course, into every phase of the campaign. The States' Right group already is mapping a drive to elect its supporters to membership on local Democratic committees as well as to the State Democratic Executive Committee. No race, however, will be without its overtones of last year's schism.

Perhaps the contests with the most significance in their bearing on the South's fight for local handling of certain complex and delicate questions will be those for the state's nine seats in the national House of Representatives and one place in the Senate. The state's delegation to Congress will have key positions in furthering the state's interest in the matter. Its members will have far more direct influence in the case than will all the members of party committees in the state.

That battle for seats in Congress, like the race for governor, is already shaping up, far ahead of the time when primary candidates usually get busy. Candidates are already making known their positions on the civil rights issue, even though they cannot officially qualify until after the State Democratic Executive Committee meets in January.

It may be presumed that all incumbents in the House will seek reelection except Rep. Sam Hobbs, who already has announced his retirement. Sen. Lister Hill is regarded as a certain candidate for reelection to the Congress where he has served, first in the House and then in the Senate, since 1924.

In Judge Hobbs' district, the Fourth, candidates identified with one side or the other in last year's division have appeared. The race there is almost certain to be hot. In other districts, the issue may be expected to play a conspicuous part.

At least one member of the state delegation to the House already has been put on the spot. He is Rep. George Grant of the Second District. Attending a National Guard meeting in Montgomery, in his district, recently, Grant was presented with the following prepared question:

"Can the civil rights platform be best opposed in the halls of Congress, or through the organization of a States' Rights Democratic Party of Alabama, as opposed to the National Democratic Party?"

Mr. Grant, according to a *Montgomery Advertiser* political writer, thought for a moment and then replied carefully and slowly:

"We in Congress who have systematically opposed these so-called civil rights at all times are still members of the National Democratic Party. Within that party we still have our seniority and our assignments. There are those who say we should stop running with the National Democratic Party. I think we should see what we can do within that party before we take any other course."

* * *

This paper believes that as tempers cool and minds clear after last Fall's hectic campaign, more and more Alabamians will come to see the wisdom and the practicality of Mr. Grant's position. For Alabama Democrats to turn their backs now upon the National Democratic Party would be to lose a strategic position that will enable them in Congress to fight more effectively for what they think right than they ever could do through a separate party or a separate movement.

Mr. Grant, like other members of the state's delegation to Congress, knows well the advantages of seniority and of continuing committee assignments. Alabama would surrender those advantages if it furthered the break with the National Democratic Party by next year's congressional choices. But we do not believe that will be done. We believe that Mr. Grant, with his political experience as well as his devotion to principle, knows that he has nothing to fear in taking a stand against the Dixiecratic split. We expect other incumbent candidates to feel much the same way.

Battle For Democracy Is Launched

An Editorial in The Anniston Star

When both the Dixiecrats and the rejuvenated Young Democrats of Alabama met in Montgomery last week to prepare for the campaign to gain control of the Democratic Party in this state, the stage was set for one of the most momentous battles that have taken place in Alabama since the time of the Populist Revolt. It is significant, too, that it should have been the Young Democrats who have challenged the Dixiecrats. For youth is traditionally forward-looking, while the Dixiecrats, composed principally of Alabama's political ringmasters, are anachronistic in their thinking, trying always to turn back the clock of progress.

In his definitive book on "The Development of Southern Sectionalism," one of 12 volumes of "A History of the South," published by Louisiana State University, Charles S. Sydnor shows conclusively the deplorable efforts on Southern economy that followed in the wake of the Dixiecrat movement that got under way in South Carolina in the 1830s. And in his recently published Pulitzer prize-winning volume, "The Disruption of American Democracy," Ray Franklin Nicols shows how the fire-eating oratorical Dixiecrats of that period started something they could not stop — the event being a war between the states, from which we still have not recovered.

At a time when the South now is making progress in every direction, it would be deplorable, therefore, if a little group of opinionated, power-loving men should cause history to repeat itself and cause us to become so engrossed in the flogging of the dead horse of history that economic development once more would come to a standstill. That would be the inexorable result if the latter-day Dixiecrats should succeed in divorcing the South from the Democratic Party. Hence, we are delighted to note that the Young Democrats of Alabama have unsheathed their swords to do battle with the reactionaries in this state.

We have just seen how a congeries of splinter parties succeeded in virtually paralyzing the state in France, the nation having been forced to operate for 18 days without a government. And even now the Bidault government has but a tenuous lease on life. Eight or nine parties destroyed the German Republic after World War I, and now a group of splinter parties is about to disrupt the new government of Israel, which seems to be following in the footsteps of France, Italy, Greece, Bolivia, Chile and other European and South American countries.

America and England, the most enlightened countries in the world, have grown to greatness under the two-party system—America under the Democrats and Republicans and the British under the Liberals and Conservatives, now the Conservative and Labor Parties. If the Dixiecrats do not like Democracy, let them join the Republicans and thus preserve the traditions of stability in our domestic and foreign relations. Of a certainty, we here in Alabama do not want to perpetuate in office a group of men who last year usurped the machinery of the Democratic Party, used the funds of the State Democratic Committee to defeat all candidates who remained loyal to the party and so manipulated the national ticket that the people of Alabama were unable to vote for the presidential candidate of their choice. Let us fight out our intraparty differences on the floor of Congress—the only place where they finally can be settled.

THOMAS L. STOKES

States' Righters Try a New Tack

WASHINGTON—The Dixiecrats, or State righters as they prefer to be called, are preparing to set up headquarters here. The aim, according to Horace Wilkinson, of Birmingham, one of their leaders, is not a national political party, but a national movement to try to get a State rights amendment in the Constitution. As a political party, it may be recalled, the Dixiecrats carried four Southern States last November for their presidential candidate, Gov. J. Strom Thurmond, of South Carolina, not enough to realize their objective which was to defeat President. The States were Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi and South Carolina.

Interesting in Mr. Wilkinson's announcement was his statement that he expected Washington headquarters of the new State rights organization to be directed by Leander B. Perez, of Louisiana, which is a frank step, to say the least. For it is a dead giveaway of one of the chief interests behind the Dixiecrat movement—oil—among other big interests that backed the abortive movement and exploited racial prejudice for private selfish purposes.

Leander B. Perez, whose official job is Attorney General of Plaquemines Parish, is heavy in oil, as it is put. He owns royalties all over his Louisiana domain. He combines business and politics in a way of life that has made him both rich and powerful. Plaquemines Parish embraces that section of the delta at the mouth of the Mississippi and is reputed to have more miles of coast line—tidal lands—than it contains square miles in its entirety.

Mr. Perez is undisputed boss—in its most literal meaning—of Plaquemines Parish and adjoining St. Bernard's Parish. He runs a virtual dictatorship which not only puts other famous bosses—the Hagues, Pendergasts and Crumps—in the shade, but also makes a farce of the Dixiecrat mouthings about returning government to the people and reviving local democracy. There's scant democracy there. The people have very little to say. The pattern of the Perez fief is similar to others, only more tightly controlled, with the usual perquisites and the opposition regularly granted a handful of votes, just to be polite.

Leander Perez was the chief architect of the Dixiecrat movement in Louisiana. In that State the chief issue, as far as interests behind the Dixiecrats were concerned, was State rather than Federal control of oil-bearing tidelands. President Truman was for Federal control. Therefore he must be defeated at all costs.

Mr. Perez was behind the action of the State Democratic Central Committee last Summer in ruling President Truman's name off the ballot in Louisiana. This was so bold and shocking and stirred up such a protest outside the State that Gov. Earl Long called a special session of the Legislature to put the President's name on the ballot, though under the sign of a donkey rather than the rooster so familiar to Southern voters, which was pre-empted by the Dixiecrats. The Perez tactics paid off. The Dixiecrats carried Louisiana.

Here on the ground, as director of the Washington headquarters of the State rights organization, Mr. Perez would be in a convenient position to carry on the fight of the States to get control of oil tidelands which is now in hot dispute in Congress with negotiations on for a compromise of some sort. He is a clever and skillful operator.

He, with his oil interests, is typical of other leaders of the Dixiecrat movement, with their special interests. Such interests used the Dixiecrats to try to defeat the President because of his economic policies in favor of the general public interest rather than special interests. These interests have fought that battle for years in the South, ever since the beginning of the Roosevelt New Deal. They exploit the racial issue and maneuver the rotten borough political system in the South which is fostered by disfranchisements of so many voters, white and black, in the low-income brackets.

Oil has long been powerful in Louisiana politics. This reporter investigated 10 years ago the running of "hot oil" out of Louisiana's bayous and coastline contrary to conservation regulations. The Federal Government uncovered all the necessary—and unsavory facts—but no prosecution resulted. Some of the powerful political business figures of that era in Louisiana were involved.

Politics is more than honest citizens going to the polls periodically to cast their votes.

The Excommunication Is Generally Merited

AS WE were saying recently, the time is at hand when Dixiecrats are to be forced to take off their whiskers and abate their impersonation of Democrats.

Here's the schedule—

WASHINGTON, Aug. 13—(U.P.)—States Rights Democrats will be read out of the Democratic Party officially when the national committee is called here late this month to pick a new chairman, it was learned today.

Committeemen from . . . Alabama (Col. Marion Rushton) and Thurmond's South Carolina will not be mentioned in McGrath's call because they have resigned or been removed . . . .

The unfrocked committeemen from Louisiana and Mississippi will be given a chance to say their pieces before the credentials committee of the party, but they will be told in advance that they are not invited to the Washington conference . . . .

That will not be surprising or unpleasant news to Alabama Committeeman Rushton. Sometime ago he expressed his opinion of the Democratic Party by offering to resign as national committeeman. This was proper as the Colonel is the enemy of the Democratic Party the same as Tom Dewey, Henry Wallace and Norman Thomas—all associated with other parties devoted to the defeat of the Democratic Party.

★

THIS yanking of the welcome mat at the meeting of the Democratic National Committee is the first formal step in rectifying a ludicrious circumstance.

The Dixiecrats have never abandoned the pretense that they are Democrats, "the party went off and left them," etc. They have never been willing to stand on their own bottoms and proclaim themselves a third party in all senses of the word (except strength).

When they call themselves Democrats, they are imposters.

They voted against the Democratic Party in 1948 the same as Horace Wilkinson in 1928.

NOW bolting, as we have said often enough, is a most honorable enterprise. This newspaper has itself bolted the Democratic Party thrice. But what we object to is the timid and perverse refusal of so many Dixiecrat bellwethers to accept the onus and consequence of bolting.

★

IN NEXT year's election a new Democratic Executive Committee will be elected. The contests for the 72 posts will undoubtedly be fought for on the basis of loyalty vs. disloyalty to the National Democratic Party. There is little doubt in our mind but that the loyalists will prevail.

★

WHAT we are rueful about is that the leaders of the Dixiecrats—despite their pesky, persistent impersonation of Democrats—are going to be offered up as burnt offerings to a vainglorious folly in 1948.

This is unpleasant for a majority of the voters of this state are just as eligible for being read out of the Democratic Party and disciplined as Committeeman Rushton. There just isn't any question but that in the febrile, tumultous spring and summer of 1948 the Dixiecrat bolters were responses to the indignation and anger that boiled up out of the sidewalks.

The victory of Truman without the Solid South has sobered and given the people pause, but at the time Truman's name was such anathema that no 11 men would qualify as Truman electors.

The Dixiecrats are an unutterably tiresome lot with their croaking pretensions, but it must be conceded that they were men of spirit and some resource who gave a leadership that was attractive before the South was shown that it did not, never has and never will own the Democratic Party.

Dixiecrats Crash The Party

The Columbus Ledger

IT MAKES no difference to States' Rights Democrats that the Democratic National Committee will cold-shoulder them when it meets in Washington to replace Chairman Howard McGrath.

Their committeemen—held in disrepute because they and other Southern Democrats supported a splinter party against President Truman in the last election—apparently will go to Washington and make their voice heard.

In Alabama, Party Chairman Gessner T. McCorvey said the state will send delegates to Washington whether they are invited or not.

McCorvey wants Rushton to tell the national committee that Alabamians will refuse to support Democratic nominees in 1952 unless the party "abandons its anti-Southern hate program, otherwise known as the civil rights program."

Mr. McCorvey's aim is commendable but somehow we feel that the Alabama delegate might save himself a long ride, if we interpret the national chairman's sentiments correctly. He has blackballed the recalcitrants; he simply doesn't want them at the meeting.

And his actions do not indicate that he or the party is especially concerned about what the delegates in question think.

The Democratic Party naturally would like to heal the breach in its ranks; its strength is wasted in this defection, notwithstanding the whopping victory last November. We can be sure that for the political wars ahead, the party had just as soon have the Solid South solid again.

ALABAMA has been especially troublesome. Truman's name didn't even appear on the ballot, which means that

her voters had no chance to vote directly on a president. The same situation may recur, of course, if the Democratic machine remains firmly entrenched there.

Thousands of Alabama Democrats disdain their predicament, and we in Georgia have hoped that more liberal men could get the reins of the Alabama party if for no other reason than that many voters would have their franchise restored.

At the moment, however, the status remains quo, and the national party, its vanity wounded, still is having nothing to do with the rebels who continue to hold out.

There are stirrings in Mississippi and South Carolina which may result in the restoration of party harmony — which will be a good thing if it comes about. Splinter parties have proven themselves to be no more than futile gestures and the Democrats' strength lies in unity.

GLADSTONE WILLIAMS

34 d

The Dixiecrats Have No Place To Go

Atlanta, Ga. Constitution Mon. 8-29-49

WASHINGTON—President Truman's friends on the Democratic National Committee have effectively slapped down members from the Dixiecrat States who sought to retain their standing in the national party organization after refusing to support the Truman-Barkley ticket in the 1948 campaign.

Looking at the action in retrospect, there seems to be little else the National Committee could have done in the circumstances. Perhaps the most surprising thing about it all is that the Dixiecrat committeemen—those who supported the Thurmond-Wright ticket—should have had the effrontery to present themselves for recognition in the first place.

What would have been more proper was for them to resign their posts and open the way for regular Democrats to be elected in their place. For a person who openly bolted the party ticket in the last election the Democratic National Committee is no place to sit.

As to the effects of the Committee's ousting of the members from the four Southern States of South Carolina, Alabama, Mississippi and Louisiana, these are expected to be nil. Most of the brethren went back home in a huff over the treatment meted out to them by the Truman steam roller in the National Committee. Some were threatening reprisals come the next national election. But there is little they can do about the situation. They cannot take their vengeance out on Mr. Truman very well because he is not expected to be a candidate for a third term. He has already virtually declared himself to that effect, in fact.

The Dixiecrats insist that they will not support the candidacy of any Democratic nominee for President who espouses the civil rights cause. But they cannot go over to the Republicans for the same reason since the GOP is equally committed on the same controversial issue.

In an effort to find a solution to their problem they are seeking to set up a new States' Right Party. To this end, headquarters have been established in Washington. There is a suspicion, however, that some of those behind the movement are more interested in the title of Government-owned tidelands oil property than they are in civil rights issues. The charge is made that most of the financing of the Dixiecrat campaign came from oil sources.

The National Committee had to do what it did if the party is to maintain any semblance of discipline. It is one thing for Democrats to lambast each other and fight over the controversial issues that continually beset the party, but it is quite another thing to go out and bolt the party ticket. The same thing applies to the Republicans, of course.

The position taken by leaders of the party is that Democrats should settle their differences within the party instead of veering off in a new political movement whenever one faction gains the upper hand in a controversy over policy. That was the course followed by Democrats in the main body of Southern States, where the civil rights question runs hot. They did not like this phase of the President's program, but they refused to deny him support on that ground alone. The result was that all but four of the Southern States remained in the Democratic fold.

After the Committee meeting President Truman sought to patch up some of the sore spots by sounding an appeal for the Southern dissidents to return to the party fold to adjust their differences. The party is too big for the tail to try to wag the dog, he said in effect.

The President gives the dissenters good advice. They can expect to gain little or nothing from going off at loose ends. If that happened in the two major parties every time some faction got muffed over a matter of policy, it would not be long before our two-party system would be destroyed. We would soon end up with the confusion and despair that marks the political systems of many European countries.

The country has gone pretty far under our two-party system. We can keep it that way by remaining either Democrats or Republicans. There is no room for a lot of factional schisms.

Dixiecrats At The Wailing Wall

The New Orleans Item

WE ARE not at all impressed by the indignation of some Dixiecrats over the refusal of the Democratic National Committee to invite them to a meeting which will choose a new party chairman.

The Dixiecrats did what they could to bring about a Republican victory last November. They would cheerfully have profited by that victory if President Truman had been defeated.

Having backed the loser, they are clearly in no position to demand a place at the winning window.

Many wise old proverbs cover this situation. Those who run with the hare can't hunt with the hounds. No one can have his cake and eat it too. What's sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander.

The dissenters who walked out of the Democratic National Convention last summer in Philadelphia thereby claimed a right to oppose the nominee of a party whose platform was objectionable to them.

In that case, however, they must concede with good grace that the party has exactly the same right they demanded for themselves.

They said to the national Democratic organization: "We will have none of you."

The organization is now saying the same thing to them, namely:

"We will have none of you."

Advertiser

IF ONE is right, so is the other. Taking it the other way, if it is wrong for the Democratic Party to exclude Dixiecrats from its inner councils, it was wrong for the Dixiecrats to exclude the Democratic Party and its nominees.

Sat. 8-20-49

As a practical matter, the purpose of the Dixiecrat movement was not to elect Strom Thurmond, but to defeat Harry Truman.

Montgomery, Ala.

So far as the breach between Democrats and Dixiecrats is concerned, we suspect it will be healed. The door to a possible reconciliation was obviously left open.

8-20-49

But there is a difference between reconciliation following some show of repentence, and a demand that those who worked to bring about the Democratic Party's defeat now be admitted to its ruling body as a matter of high and holy right.

McCorvey Seeks Authority On Bolt

Birmingham Ala. News

BY FRED TAYLOR
News Staff Writer

MONTGOMERY, Ala., Aug. 18—Gessner T. McCorvey, state Democratic chairman and militant States' Rights leader, today asked 72 men for the power to threaten another Alabama "bolt" from the Democratic Party in 1952.

He called for a mail ballot of the 72 members of the State Democratic Executive Committee on these issues:

Wed. 8-18-49

1. Whether to instruct Marion Rushton, Montgomery, Alabama Democratic National Committeeman, to attend the party's national committee meeting in Washington next Wednesday, and

2. Whether to instruct Alabama delegates to make this threat to the national party; abandon the civil rights program or lose Alabama's support in 1952.

* * *

McCORVEY HAS mailed out letters asking for a vote on these questions and expected to add up the replies in Mobile Saturday.

Specifically, the executive committee was asked to reject the resignation of Rushton from his national committeeman post. He offered the resignation more than a year ago, but the committee has not yet acted on it.

Alabama's committeewoman, Mrs. Lennard Thomas, Montgomery, has been invited to attend the Washington meeting, but no invitation has been extended to Rushton.

Capitol observers feel certain McCorvey's mail ballot will result in a refusal to accept Rushton's resignation.

Rushton told this reporter he would not go to the Washington meeting "unless instructed to go by someone in authority."

There is no doubt that Rushton consider the State Committee "someone in authority."

A Credentials Committee of the national party group would decide before the Washington meeting opens whether or not to seat Rushton.

Sen. Howard McGrath, Democratic national chairman, has served blunt notice on members of the National Committee from Louisiana and Mississippi that they won't be admitted to the meeting.

Chairman McGrath left an opening in the door to next week's meeting when he said:

"Persons claiming a seat on the national committee may present their case before the Credentials Committee prior to the meeting."

* * *

STRATEGY OF THE MAIL ballot was plotted at last week's revival meeting of States' Righters during the Alabama Bar Association meet at Mobile.

A closed-door session was attended by Gov. Strom Thurmond, States Rights presidential candidate; McCorvey, former Gov. Frank Dixon, Sidney Smyer, Horace Wilkinson, Rep. Wallace Malone and others.

It was learned reliably the general sense of the meeting was that States' Righters want to emphasize again that they are Democrats and not heading up a third party.

It is with this in mind that they want to see Rushton inside the national meeting at Washington.

The Mobile huddle also decided to open the long-delayed National States' Rights Bureau in Washington Monday—two days before the National Committee meeting.

Leander Perez, Louisiana States' Righter, will be director of the bureau which will be headquarters for States' Rights gospel in the national capitol.

Dixiecrats Talk '52 Fight If Booted Out

Courier-Journal

Southerners Hear Party Law From Committee

Wed. 8-24-49

By the Associated Press.

Washington, Aug. 23.—States Righters threatened today to fight the national Democratc Party again in 1952 if they are ousted from the national committee for bolting President Truman on the civil-rights issue last year.

They were told that under party rules the committee is required to remove from ts membership those who failed to support the regular Democratc ticket.

Louisville Ky.

The Southerners who bolted the Truman ticket in 1948 to support the States Rights candidacy of Governor J. Storm Thurmand of South Carolina stated their case at a long closed session of the Credentials Commttee. Pro-Truman forces sought to replace some of them.

Group Reports Today.

The credentials group, headed by Frank McHale of Indiana, will make its report to the national committee tomorrow in open session. With this hit fight disposed of, the committee will proceed to elect a successor to Chairman J. Howard McGrath, who is entering the cabinet as Attorney General.

This election is a foregone conclusion. William M. Boyle, Jr., of Kansas City, Mo., has no opposition for the chairmanship. He has the backing of President Truman and McGrath.

Besides seating controversies from Alabama, Louisiana, Missisippi, South Carolina and Texas, the Credentials Committee was asked to recommend filling of a vacancy in Wisconsin. There, Robert Tehan has resigned to go on the federal bench. Carl Thompson of Madison has been nominated to succeed him.

Hearings Off to Late Start.

The Alabama and Louisiana cases were the first heard. The Credentials Committee did not start until late afternoon and newsmen had to get what information they could from witnesses as they left the hearing.

Marion Rushton, Alabama committeeman and States Righter, had resigned. But he appeared at the hearing on instructions from some members of state committee who had voted against accepting his resignation. This group also instructed him to fight the civil-rights program against which many Southerners revolted last November.

Rushton told reporters he made a factual presentation. He said he was officially seated as a committee member last year after being elected by a direct vote of the people of his state and that he had heard nothing today to indicate he didn't still have the seat.

1896 Party Rule Cited.

The Credentials Committee cited a party rule dating back to 1896 which, officials said, required the national committee to expunge from its membership those who did not support the nominees of the national convention.

Mrs. Leonard Thomas, Alabama committeewoman, was not contested as she is regarded in the Truman camp and was invited to tomorrow's meeting.

William H. Talbot, Louisiana committeeman and a States Righter who was not invited, challenged the jurisdiction of the Credentials Committee. He contended his membership, to which he was officially chosen at the last national convention, is a matter that lies with the people of Louisiana and the State Democratic Committee.

Declines All-Out Pledge.

"The Credentials Committee asked me if I would work with them in the future," he told newsmen, "but I told them I would only if they saw things my way."

With Leander Perez, his attorney, the 300-pound Talbot, who is called "Little Eva," challenged the statement by McGrath that Talbot had left the Democratic Party by supporting Thurmond.

Courier-Journal

"The Democratic Party has left us," he asserted, because of its civil-rights program and its tendency toward "left-wing socialism."

Louisville Ky. Wed. 8-24-49

"If the national committee kicks me out," he said, "I will take my fight back to Louisiana and slap them down as we did in 1948. If they kick me out I feel they will have kicked out the entire electorate of Louisiana and will have slapped the Democratic State Committee in the face."

Says She Backed Truman.

Perez said no action was taken against Southern committee members after the 1928 election when several Southern states went Republican in a bolt from Alfred E. Smith. Neither, he added, did those Southern Democrats who went along with Smith get any bouquets.

"Consistency, thy name is mud," Perez shouted to reporters outside the hearing room.

Miss Mary Evelyn Dickerson, Louisiana committeewoman, also uninvited to tomorrow's session, said she told the Credentials Committee that while she was not active in the last campaign she did not support Thurmond but voted for President Truman.

If the Louisiana members are expelled their seats will be vacant because no pro-Truman group has come forward to succeed them.

Party Bigwigs To Act Today On Dixiecrats

Courier-Journal

5 States Involved In Credentials Contest

Tues. 8-23-49

Washington, Aug. 22 (AP)—The first official move to bar States' Righters from the Democratic National Committee since they bolted the Truman ticket last fall will be made tomorrow.

The moves will be made at a closed session of the Democratic credentials committee, a subgroup of the national committee.

Some of the Southerners who helped put Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi, and South Carolina into the States' Rights anti-Truman column last November in a civil-rights rebellion will try to retain their seats. There also will be a contest from Texas.

Louisville Ky.

Hoosier Heads Committee.

The credentials committee, headed by Frank McHale of Indiana, has nine members, but only one is from Dixie. And he is Jonathan Daniels, North Carolina editor who helped run the Truman campaign.

The group will make its recommendations Wednesday in an open session of the national committee called primarily to pick a new chairman. William M. Boyle, Jr., executive vice-chairman, has no opposition to succeed J. Howard McGrath, who is resigning the chairmanship and his Senate seat to become Attorney General. The President and McGrath have recommended Boyle.

Not Invited to Meeting.

While the Southern bolters were not invited to the Wednesday meeting, McGrath gave them the privilege of presenting their case to the credentials committee.

Party officials say unless the bolters are willing to pledge future loyalty to regular party candidates they will have little chance of retaining their memberships.

Pro-Truman forces seeking to replace these members, whose protest centered on the President's civil-rights program, will have to prove their nominations were made in accordance with State laws.

Clements and Reeves Plan Washington Visit

Frankfort, Ky., Aug. 22 (AP)—Governor Clements and Revenue Commissioner Clyde Reeves will be in Washington tomorrow and Wednesday.

The Governor said he will attend the Democratic National Committee meeting there. He is a member of the committee.

Reeves said he has several jobs to accomplish. One is to talk to Internal Revenue officials to determine if contributions to a non-profit educational corporation are tax exempt.

He referred to a contemplated corporation which would promote interest in the passage of the constitutional amendment in Kentucky to raise the $5,000 salary limit to $12,000 on State officers and the Mayor of Louisville. The amendment also would set a maximum of $8,400 on circuit judges and $7,200 on City and County officials. It will be voted on November 8.

Reeves said the articles of incoporation for the promotional agency might be filed here late in the week.

The Future For Southern Democrats

What lies ahead for Southern Democrats in the matter. Gov. Wright, vice presidential candidate on last year's States' Rights ticket, has indicated he will call a special session of the Mississippi Legislature to arrange for a popular vote on whether the state should continue to line up with the States' Rights faction or seek peace with the national party organization. Mississippi members of the National Democratic Executive Committee have not been invited to the Aug. 26 meeting now that the National Democratic Executive Committee has barred from its Aug. 26 meeting those who led last year's States' Rights movement and do not come seeking reinstatement? The question is one that has to be answered by individuals and also by party organizations.

Birmingham Ala.

Mississippi Democrats may be given a direct chance to Dixiecrats their feelings in

although it is announced that they will be permitted to carry their cases before the credentials committee.

Wed. 8-17-49

A popular vote in Mississippi on the question would be an interesting event. Its value, however, would be influenced by the clarity with which the issue was presented. If the election was permitted to degenerate simply into an expression of feeling on the civil rights issue, there is no doubt about the outcome. Mississippi Democrats would express themselves emphatically in disapproval of the Truman program.

But there is a more basic issue. The issue is whether the South can more advantageously present its cause within or outside the National Democratic Party organization. The question, last Fall and now, is how the South can most effectively carry on its battle. It is fraught with possibilities important to the South.

Alabama faces the question as well as Mississippi. Our position now is on the fence. This state's National Democratic Committeewoman, Mrs. Lennard Thomas, has been invited to the Aug. 26 meeting. Marion Rushton, committeeman who has resigned but whose resignation has not been accepted, was not invited. States' Rights leaders say Alabama Democrats have no connection with the national party except through the state committee. But not all Democrats accept that idea.

* * *

It may be considered a certainty that next year's primary election will see candidates of opposing views for the state party committee. There will be a States' Rights faction and a faction that stands for fighting for states' rights within the national party organization. Suppose the Dixiecrats win. They already have a tight grip on the party organization in the state. Would there be a split in the party? Would we have two groups calling themselves Democrats in the state?

There are signs of that already in Mississippi. Some Democrats loyal to the national party have formed an organization and are planning to send representatives to the Aug. 26 meeting with a plea that they be seated in place of the uninvited Dixiecrats. Questions of political appointments have arisen. It is almost a certainty that open rebels against the national committee will not be named to federal jobs. The pull of patronage will create a division where nothing else will.

Alabama Democrats may well ask themselves, therefore, where they are going. Last year's campaign showed that a majority of Southern Democrats did not want to split the party. For Alabama Democrats to break off from the national party would hurt not only themselves but the whole state. One state could ill afford to do what the region refused to do last November.

'Handwriting' In 10 Point

THE Advertiser has remarked that thousands of Alabamians, if they're thinking, are presently confused over their political status. At this point they have a choice of the Democrats, Republicans or Dixiecrats. They find all unsatisfactory.

Advertiser

We say, therefore, that there's confusion. But we are instructed by The Pell City News that there is no confusion. Only The Advertiser is confused. Alabama, testifies The News, is securely in the embrace of the Dixiecrats.

It might be added that The News is run by Edmund Blair, who was one of the 11 Dixiecrat electors who withheld Alabama's vote from the Democratic Party, as pledged and commissioned.

The News says:

Tues. 9-6-49

"The Montgomery Advertiser . . . says . . . that the average voter is 'confused' over his party allegiance. It seems to us that the only confusion exists in the mind of the editor of The Advertiser . . .

"We can assure The Advertiser that the average voter in Alabama is not at all confused, but the average Alabamian is a keen, intelligent man or woman, who will, so long as the ballot is preserved in this onetime democracy, vote against regimentation and against those who would take away individual and states rights . . .

"No, Grandma, if you are trying to stay on the side of the most people, it's really you who is confused, not the voters. With your big ears can't you hear the swelling tide of popular opinion against socialism and regimentation and for states rights and individual freedom? With your big eyes can't you see the handwriting on the wall, written there in bold, dashing type, type much larger, Grandma, than you or I will ever have in our shop?"

★

HANDWRITING on the wall, huh? Well, here's some handwriting from the Decatur Daily in its bold, dashing 10 point—handwriting by one Ben Bloodworth, editor.

Like Publisher Blair, Editor Bloodworth was one of the 11 electors elected to withhold Alabama's vote from the Democratic Party. Blair and Bloodworth last year were, therefore, both 32nd degree Dixiecrats, two acting as one.

But consider this handwriting of the disenchanted Editor Bloodworth in The Decatur Daily:

"Nationally, the states rights cause is lost and revival is doubtful if the issue is ever put to the voters. Actually, if you thumb back over the pages of recent political history you must come to the conclusion that a long pent-up hatred for the principles of Franklin D. Roosevelt burst forth upon the head of Harry S. Truman.

"The civil rights issue was almost as plain in the Democratic platform during the days of FDR. But FDR was too big to tackle. When his political power was laid down in death, those who had seethed for an opportunity to strike out against his principles did so . . .

"In our own state, in a lefthanded way, we defeated the party nominee. He wasn't on the ticket . . . So we find the conservatives in our state in a hole nationally with the Democratic Party. And apparently there is no way out without a test at the ballot box and if that comes, we do not doubt, Alabama will return to the Democratic ranks.

"Now why do we say this? For one reason we know our Southern men in the Congress will never agree to passage of civil rights legislation. The South has been successfully fighting such legislation year in and year out and any member of the Congress from the South couldn't go back there unless he took a personal part in the defeat of civil rights legislation . . ."

'Dixiecrat Tail Wags GOP Dog' -- Kroll

"THE DIXIECRAT tail is wagging the GOP dog," was the way CIO PAC director Jack Kroll described the antics of the present Congress in discussing political action with a group of Oregon CIO union members at Portland, Ore.

An immediate drive for PAC dollars was agreed by all to be the first and most important item on the docket. This is to be followed by an aggressive registration drive and concentration on getting out the workers' vote in 1950 so as to assure a different and better Congress for 1951.

The Republican Party members of the House and Senate are so anxious to defeat every legislative proposal made by President Truman that they have been pulled into a position of following the Dixiecrats, rather than the Dixiecrats following them, Kroll told delegates from local unions of the Woodworkers, Steelworkers, Communications Workers, Longshoremen, Textile Workers, etc. Some ninety representatives of the locals throughout the State were present to discuss politics with Kroll, George Roberts, director of PAC for the Western states, and Henry Zon of the PAC staff.

Mississippi States' Rights Re-Elect Purged Committeemen

JACKSON, MISS., Aug. 29 — (AP)— Mississippi's States' Rights Democrats defied the national party in two actions today.

1—The state Democratic executive committee unanimously re-elected the national committeewoman and committeeman who have been pulled by the national party from the Dixiecrats, rather than the Dixiecrats following them, Kroll told delegates from local unions of the Woodworkers, Steelworkers, Communications Workers, Longshoremen, Textile Workers, etc. Some ninety representatives of the locals throughout the State were present to discuss politics with Kroll, George Roberts, director of PAC for the Western states, and Henry Zon of the PAC staff.

Wright to ask a special session of the legislature to call a special election to name members of the state committee.

Wright has announced he would ask for such an election at one of two tentatively scheduled special legislative sessions this fall. And, he added, he plans to stump the state in support of the present committee which has unanimously supported his leadership movement.

Snider and Mrs. Gautier were reelected at an open session this morning at which their expulsion was termed "highhanded," "bootlicking" and a bid for the Negro vote in the industrial East.

Then, in executive session, the committee called on Governor

DIXIECRATS

Dixiecrat Balks Again

Daily World

WASHINGTON, D. C. (NNPA)—Representative Hugo Sims, Jr., Dixiecrat, of South Carolina, refused to attend the dinner sponsored by South Carolina Democratic party officials in Columbia, South Carolina, last Friday night, at which Vice President Alben W. Barkley spoke.

While he gave as the main reason for his refusal the fact that the party officials who sponsored the dinner were recognized by the Democratic National Committee in place of these who bolted to the States' Right party, he sought to justify their bolt to the ticket headed by Governor P. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina and Governor Fielding Wright of Mississippi on the issue of civil rights.

By opposition of South Carolinians to the election of President Truman, Mr. Sims said, he felt "they might be able to kill his proposals designed at ending segregation in the South."

Sun. 7-3-49

Mr. Sims argued that if other Southern States had joined South Carolina in the Dixiecrat movement, the election would have been thrown into the House and while Mr. Truman would have been President, his election "would have cost him the civil rights plank in the party platform."

7-3-49

TIRADE CONTINUED

Continuing his tirade, Mr. Sims predicted that "In the future South Carolina will oppose any presidential candidate of the Democratic party, if he is attempting to end segregation in the South, and if they feel that their opposition to him will prevent a social revolution.

"Passing legislation designed to end segregation in the South would only result in electing demagogues to public office, encouraging the Ku Klux Klan and destroying all semblance of liberalism throughout the South.

"There are some principles greater than party loyalty. Making a political football out of the problem of two races living harmoniously together in the South will always be opposed by all thinking Southerners."

Mr. Sims called for party unity by the resignation of party officials now recognized by the Democratic National Committee and the turning back of party matters to party officials who have opposed the participation of colored voters in primary elections and party affairs generally.

7-3-49

The only reason he saw for the recognized party officials not stepping aside is control of the machinery of the primary for the selection of a Democratic candidate for the Senate seat now held by Senator Olin D. Johnston, one of the worst of the Dixiecrats.

THURMOND 'REGRETS' BARKLEY FUND VISIT TO SOUTH CAROLINA

Columbia, S.C., June 20 (AP)—Gov. J. Strom Thurmond will not attend a national Democratic party fund raising dinner here July 1 at which Vice President Barkley will speak.

The governor, State Rights Democratic Presidential candidate last fall, said he found it "regrettable" that Barkley was visiting South Carolina in a political capacity, rather than as Vice President.

Chicago, Ill.

Former Gov. Ransome J. Williams, finance chairman for the national party in South Carolina, countered that he found it "regrettable" that the state's governor would "snub" the Vice President.

Jul. 6-24-49

Thurmond said the $15 a plate dinner would provide funds for the Truman-Barkley civil rights program. Because of that program, the state party and three other southern states cast their support to the state rights last fall.

Gov. Thurmond Will Ignore Barkley Visit

Montgomery Advertiser

South Carolinian Says Vice-President Seeks To Destroy Party

Sun. 6-19-49

COLUMBIA, S. C., June 18—(U.P.)—Gov. J. Strom Thurmond, 1948 States' Rights presidential candidate, today said he will not welcome Vice-President Alben Barkley's forthcoming visit to South Carolina.

Thurmond said he will not attend a Jefferson-Jackson Day dinner at which Barkley is to speak July 1 because the vice-president comes pledged to detroy the States' Rights Party.

Thurmond Barkley's visit has been termed an attempt to bridge the split between pro-administration Democrats and the States' Righters who bolted because of President Truman's civil rights program.

Thurmond said Barkley, as well as Mr. Truman, is pledged to "humiliate and punish South Carolina as a means of repaying minority blocs in other states for their votes" last November.

"I could not attend the dinner and remain true to the pople of South Carolina who showed that they have the courage to stand for what they believe in. I shall not attend the dinner," Thurmond said.

Barkley's visit has been labeled an attempt to restore harmony to the state's split Democratic Party.

Sun. 6-19-49

Last year the regular state Democratic Party deserted the Truman-Barkley ticket in rebellion at the civil rights program, and swung its support behind Thurmond and the States' Rights Democrats.

A minority went ahead and supported the Truman-Barkley combination and this naturally brought a split. Now, pro-Trumanites are hoping the vice-president's speech at a Jefferson-Jackson Day dinner will serve to bring reconciliation.

But Thurmond said the vice-president, as well as Mr. Truman, is pledged to a program which will "humiliate and punish South Carolina and the South as a means of repaying minority blocs in other states for the votes."

"It is regrettable that Mr. Barkley comes to our state, not as vice-president, to visit the people of South Carolina, but in his capacity as a politician, to assist these bolters in their efforts to destroy our party," Thurmond said.

Two Separate And Distinct Parties?

Montgomery Examiner

This time next May the first 1950 primary will be history.

Between now and then there is certain to be a hot struggle over the question of Dixiecrat status in Alabama.

Are the Dixiecrats Democrats, Republicans, mavericks or a new species?

Editor Brooks of The Brewton Standard, a strong weekly newspaper which perferred outright Republicanism in 1948 to the uncertain loyalties of the Dixiecrats, has delt with the whole issue in an engaging fashion. Referring to an editoral in The Selma Times-Journal which calls the Dixiecrats "Political Mavericks," Mr. Brooks says:

Montgomery Ala

"Editor Ed Fields is just now recognizing what became a face in November of 1948. The States Righters are not Democrats, and the double-talk about fighting out family squabbles within the Democratic party was camouflage for an open split in the party ranks.

"In this piece, the Selma editor asks: 'If the States' Righters are neither fish, fowl nor good red herring, under what emblem will they operate? If they are not Democrats nationally, how can they be Democrats in Alabama, and how can they expect to continue using the name and emblem of the Democratic Party?'

"Those questions should have been asked and honestly answered in the summer and fall of 1948 when the Selma paper among others was applauding the walk-out at Philadelphia. When the States Righters took over the Democratic party in Alabama, they were merely thoughtful enough to approprite the party name for their own uses. But way back when this newspaper declared its political independence and advocated a vote for the Republicans, it pointed out that regardless of what they called themselves in Alabama, the Dixiecrats are not Democrats.

Times 5-12-49

"The Selma paper thinks that the States Righters may have impaired their status to enter Alabama primaries. The funny part of the situation is that the Democrats, and not the States Righters, may have trouble getting on the ballot. "return to the faith of their fathers." To be accurate, the Democratic party will tell you that they are polled no votes at all in the general election, because the Dixiecrats simply didn't let them get on the ticket. There were no votes for Truman in Alabama in 1948. The law requires that a party poll a certain percentage of votes before its primaries can be held in the state. It can be truthfully said that the Dixiecratic party did both get enough votes to be represented in primary voting.

"Editor Fields winds up his piece with the hope that the States Righters will in

The Democratic party of the Dixiecrats to do the same thing. And therein lies the difference between the Democrats and the States votes for Truman in 1948. The Righters, two separate political parties." There will not be two separate and distinct parties in this state, plus the Republicans. However we expect many Dixicrats leaders of 1948 to appear in the Republican column by 1952, if not in 1950.

Explanation:

Montgomery Advertiser

Unless Gadsden has two citizens by the name of J. C. Inzer, the lieutenant governor of Alabama owes an explanation.

Montgomery Ala.

What remains and what remains unsettling it out next spring within the framework of the Dixiecrats battling Washington dispatch.

Times 3-5

We submit that in terms of the following

WASHINGTON, March 7.—(AP)—

Alabamians contributed more than $22,000 to the State's Rights Party in its unsuccessful campaign for the presidency last fall.

A report on file with the clerk of the House of Representatives showed that . . . among individual contributors were . . . J. C. Inzer, Gadsden, $100.

We do not understand—assuming that the Inzer listed is the lieutenant governor—this $100 contribution in light of a statement made to The Advertiser. Our Jan. 30 issue quoted Inzer, an announced candidate for governor, as saying:

"...I have never been a Dixiecrat . . ."

Our Feb. 6 issue again carried the statement of Inzer:

"...I have never been a Dixiecrat..."

This came out of a special interview with Inzer, and the Associated Press relayed the story over the state.

But that was not the last time.

The Talladega Daily Home suggested that The Advertiser had misquoted Inzer. Whereupon The Advertiser sent the following wire to Inzer on Feb. 17 and received answer as shown:

Lieut. Gov. J. Clarence Inzer
Gadsden, Ala.

The Talladega Daily Home says it has a letter from you asserting The Advertiser misquoted you in statement beginning, "I never was a Dixiecrat." . . . Please wire collect whether, and if so, how, you were misquoted.

EDITOR, THE ADVERTISER

Editor, The Advertiser:

Replying your telegram this date, I assume Mr. Tom Abernethy is referring to a letter written by me to Walter F. Miller . . . Mr. Miller stated that The Advertiser quoted me as saying: "The 11 Alabama presidential electors came out against President Truman after they were nominated."

I told Mr. Miller that I did not make that statement. I have not seen the article in question. I think it is generally known that the electors came out against Mr. Truman before the primary.

J. C. INZER

Thus, Inzer is thrice on the record as saying, "I have never been a Dixiecrat."

Yet congressional records disclose that Inzer contributed $100 to the cause . . . the same amount as Gessner T. McCorvey.

What is the explanation?

Taurus Of The Black Belt

Every now and then Alabama allows Imperial Jefferson County, to which in times past it has been hostile, to have a governor, two such in modern times having been Comer and Dixon. "Bull" Connor, a Birmingham city commissioner, thinks the time is ripe for another indulgence.

The heck of it is, Mayor Cooper Green thinks the same thing. They fear that they will nullify each other. A Birmingham candidate calculates on a prejudiced candidacy, but he also counts on leaving the county with perhaps 30,000 votes as compensation. Thus it might be assumed that Green and Taurus the Bull would have to split the Jefferson vote.

Nevertheless, Bull said in Birmingham yesterday:

"I'm in the governor's race."

Last week Green wrote a Montgomery friend, 'I definitely plan to run."

But yesterday when The Birmingham Post asked Green about this, his reply varied. In the first edition he hedged considerably, but in the Sunset Edition of that publication he hedged less. He frankly said it was a matter of getting "the dough" to run.

If Green ran, he would run as a Democratic Party loyalist.

Bull would—is—running as a Dixiecrat, as a member of the walk-out half of the Alabama delegation at the Democratic convention in Philadelphia, and as a spiritual and physical son of the Black Belt.

For the purposes of a campaign Connor would bank on Black Belt repatriation to purge the Imperial Jefferson stigma (which actually may be less burdensome now that Alabama is turning into a city rather than a rural state). He would accent his birth and youth in Dallas County, his marriage to a Plantersville girl. Like Paul, he has status as a citizen of Rome.

Taurus of the Black Belt might or might not be a formidable candidate. He is the entire superior to Folsom but he is, by endowment and cultivation, irretrievably a clown. In the wake of Folsom we have believed that the people probably would like a resumption of traditional dignity. However, it might be otherwise, for Connor's style puts him on the same wave length with a large element in Alabama.

He would undoubtedly run as the anointed, as the evangel of the Dixiecrats. He might become preoccupied with the race issue, and thus commit some excesses. Even so, Connor is essentially a kindly man and can truthfully point to contributions he has made to Negro welfare in Birmingham. In our judgment, it would not be fair to bracket him with some of the malevolent company he may keep.

At any rate, here returns Bull, a Dallas County boy who simply has been away in the big city for a while. It's me, boys—Bull.

The Dixiecrat Fallacy

(An Editorial in Our Southern Home, Livingston, Ala.)

Several readers of The Home have recently asked the editor to clarify his stand in opposition to the Dixiecrat, or so-called States' Rights, movement. In view of the fact that we have taken a number of potshots at the Dixiecrat citadel during the past few weeks, that request is eminently fair and reasonable; and we are glad to comply with it. Let it be said at the outset that we have deep respect for the opinions of our friends who are of Dixiecrat persuasion, but in all candor and sincerity we cannot agree with them.

Our objections to the Dixiecrat movement fall chiefly within the following categories:

As a political expedient, it is the sheerest nonsense and stupidity.

As a political philosophy, it is a gross and crude anachronism.

* * *

FIRST, CONSIDER POLITICAL EXPEDIENCY: If the purpose of the Dixiecrats were that of having unwanted legislation forced on the South, they could choose no more effective way of doing it than their present program. The only place that an effective fight can be made against undesirable federal legislation is on the floor of the United States Senate and in certain key committees of both houses. Committee appointments will not be made forever by the Democratic Party to Southern senators and congressmen who are forced into disloyalty by scatter-brained splinter-parties at home.

* * *

CONSIDER, NOW, Dixocracy as a political anachronism: The Dixiecrats might have made a convincing show in the period, 1861-1876. It happens, however, that this is 1949. They were about 90 years too late. The Civil War has been fought; the era of reconstruction is over and done with; the South has come into its own as a vital region of the United States. There is no further need for embattled warriors mounting shibboleths that have long since lost all meaning, or teaching these empty phases to those who will not or cannot think for themselves. This is the day of the New South, marching forward with the rest of the country, demanding a better life for all its peoples—a New South which deserves leaders with vision, understanding, and courage.

* * *

THE DIXIECRATS DO MUCH crying and breast-beating about the principle of states' rights. They apparently have no objection, however, to federal subsidies to agriculture which—by Dixiecrat standards—are pure socialism and a clear invasion of states' rights. The Dixiecrats call themselves the only true believers in the United States Constitution. Yet they are strangely silent on the subject of individual, human rights which make up the vital decalogue, the first 10 amendments to that constitution.

Finally, there is the question of party loyalty. We do not for a moment think that there is anything sacred about the Democratic Party, or any other party; but the Democratic Party is still a useful political instrument for the South.

* * *

DIXIECRAT BOLTERS, of course, try to maintain the pleasant fiction that the Democratic Party left them. Plain facts do not bear out this contention. (Back in 1928 and 1930 many of the same gentlemen sang a different tune on the same subject.) They had every right to start a new party of their own, but they chose to usurp the machinery of the Democratic Party in the Summer of 1948 with a neat example of political legerdemain which 90 per cent of the voters probably never understood. The Dixiecrats worked hard for Dewey in 1948—whether they intended it or not—and now they seem to be confused, bewildered, without a home.

A happy home for them, we submit, is the Republican Party for which they labored so diligently and from which they can draw spiritual sustenance. It, too, revolves in a vacuum.

Credentials Questioned

Dixiecrats Threaten '52 Bolt If Ousted From Committee

Wed. 8-24-49

By The Associated Press

States Righters threatened yesterday to fight the National Democratic Party again in 1952 if they are ousted from the National Committee for bolting President Truman on the civil rights issue last year.

They were told that under party rules the committee is required to remove from its membership those who failed to support the regular Democratic ticket.

The Southerners who bolted the Truman ticket in 1948 to support the States' Rights candidacy of Governor J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina stated their case at a long closed session of the credentials committee. Pro-Truman forces sought to replace some of them.

The credentials group, headed by Frank McHale of Indiana, will make its report to the National Committee today in open session. With this hot fight disposed of, the committee will proceed to elect a successor to Chairman J. Howard McGrath, who is entering the Cabinet as Attorney General.

Boyle Sure of Election

This election is a foregone conclusion. William M. Boyle, jr., of Kansas City, Mo., has no opposition for the chairmanship. He has the backing of President Truman and McGrath.

Besides seating controversies from Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina and Texas, the credentials committee was asked to recommend filling of a vacancy in Wisconsin. There, Robert Tehan has resigned to go on the Federal bench. Carl Thompson of Madison has been nominated to succeed him.

The Alabama and Louisiana cases were the first heard. The credentials committee did not start until late afternoon and newsmen had to get what information they could from witnesses as they left the hearing.

Marion Rushton, Alabama committeeman and States Righter, had resigned. But he appeared at the hearing on instructions from some members of State committee who had voted against accepting his resignation. This group also instructed him to fight the civil rights program against which many Southerners revolted last November.

1896 Rule Is Recalled

Rushton told reporters he made a fractual presentation. He said he was officially seated as a committee member last year after being elected by a direct vote of the people of his State and that he had heard nothing yesterday to indicate he didn't still have the seat. No one appeared to try to replace him.

The credentials committee cited a party rule dating back to 1896 which, officials said, required the National Committee to expunge from its membership those who did not support the nominees of the national convention.

Mrs. Lennard Thomas, Alabama committeewoman, was not contested as she is regarded in the Truman camp and was invited to today's meeting.

William H. Talbot, Louisiana committeeman and a States Righter who was not invited, challenged the jurisdiction of the credentials committee. He contended his membership is a matter that lies with the people of Louisiana and the State Democratic Committee.

Post Wed 8-24-49

"The credentials committee asked me if I would work with them in the future," he told newsmen, "but I told them I would only if they saw things my way."

With Leander Perez, his attorney, the 300-pound Talbot, who is called "Little Eva," challenged the statement by McGrath that Talbot had left the Democratic Party by supporting Thurmond.

"The Democratic Party has left us," he asserted, because of its civil rights program and its tendency toward "left-wing socialism."

"If the National Committee kicks me out," he said, "I will take my fight back to Louisiana and slap them down as we did in 1948.

Perez said no action was taken against Southern committee members after the 1928 election when several Southern States went Republican in a bolt from Alfred E. Smith.

Miss Mary Evelyn Dickerson, Louisiana committeewoman, also uninvited to today's session, said she told the credentials committee that while she was not active in the last campaign she did not support Thurmond but voted for President Truman.

So long were the arguments that the credentials committee heard only part of the Texas case before recessing for dinner at 8 p. m.

Here the fight was between Wright Morrow of Houston, incumbent committeeman, and Byron Skelton of Temple, who claimed the backing of a State convention last September for the committee post.

Representatives Patman, Poage and Combs of Texas supported Skelton, while Representative Lucas backed Morrow.

...ll Come ... Birmingham Within Few Days

Birmingham Post Tue. 7-19-49

Several Things Can Be Done About Juror Situation, He Asserts

Atty. Gen. Albert A. Carmichael this afternoon said he would come to Jefferson County within the next few days to inquire into the 'disturbing" Grand Jury and Petit Jury situation here.

The attorney general was asked by General Gorgas Post No. 1, the American Legion, to investigate the selection of the Summer Grand Jury, which was organized by Judge George Lewis Baies.

* * *

DECLARING THAT "there are several things that can be done about it," Carmichael said he would come to Birmingham "very soon" to investigate conditions surrounding the Summer Grand Jury and other matters.

The Summer Grand Jury was charged to investigate "night riding," and was asked by the previous Grand Jury to investigate the Ku Klux Klan. Tue. 7-19-49

A Klan member, a convicted felon and an illustrate were among the 18 members of this same Grand Jury.

Mr. Carmichael said:

"The resolution of Gen. Gorgas Post No. 1, the American Legion, reciting what appeared to be irregularities connected with the Grand Jury empanelled on the first day of July, received my office a few minutes ago.

"These general situations as regards Grand Juries and petit juries in Jefferson County was called to my attention very forceably several days ago by a committee of Jefferson County citizens who appeared very much concerned and disturbed about the large number of disqualified persons who serve on both grand juries and petit juries in Jefferson County.

"The circuit solicitor of Jefferson County has long been alarmed over this situation.

* * *

"THE EASE with which circuit judges excuse Grand Jurors and Petit Jurors is most discouraging.

"The unwillingness of many good citizens to serve on Grand Juries and Petit Juries is constantly being brought to the attention of circuit judges.

"My guess is that about nine out of the 10 excues rendered are flimsy and should be rejected.

"In answer to these charges, requests, conferences and committee visits I shall look into these matters immediately. I shall take the matters up with local authorities at once. I expect to go to Jefferson County at a very early date and spend several days looking into these matters in connection with the local authorities in Jefferson County.

"Yes, in my judgment there are several things that can be done about it."

Late developments yesterday included the arrest of a high school coach on a charge of flogging while masked, and a statement by Circuit Judge George Lewis Bailes that he, himself, held membership in the Ku Klux Klan in 1925 and 1926. Tue. 7-19-49

* * *

JUDGE BAILES said he became a member of that organization for "campaign reasons." He said he has never held Klan membership since taking elective office. He said he is not and never has been a member of the present Ku Klux Klan organization.

Meanwhile Sheriff Holt McDowell said today he is not and has never been a member of the present or any other Ku Klux Klan.

Mayor Claud Gilley of Fairfield placed before the City Council last night a request from the Citizens Committee of 500 for the passage on a city unmasking ordinance.

Mayor Gilley told the council members the request came from Donald Comer, charman of the committee.

...andidates Ponder Question Of States' Rights Next Year

By LYNNE BRANNEN
Associated Press Writer

Will States' Rights be one of the big issues in Alabama elections next year?

A good many aspiring candidates would give their right hand to be the able to answer that one now.

They've been trying hard to find it since President Truman's re-election last November with some of the confusion may be cleared up when the State Democratic Executive Committee meets out the votes of four Southern States' Rights' Righters, who have held Alabama's 11 presidential electors, who traditionally have supported the nominee of the national Democratic Party, cast to make a firm set policies for their ballots instead for the 1950 elections Thurmond-Wright States' Rights cause.

Led To Walkout

Since then many politicos have been in a quandary over whether to cast their lot with the famous "walk out" of members States' Righters or go along without the Alabama delegation to those who want to stay in the Democratic National Convention.

It also paved the way for the state's presidential electors to pledge themselves against voting for Mr. Truman over the civil rights question.

The outcome of the fight over policies at the January Democratic committee session may, to a large extent, determine how much of an issue states' rights will be next year.

Chairman Gessner T. McCorvey's announcement that he will not seek another term as head of the Democratic Party's fund-raising Democratic committee has considerable speculation over his successor.

Gov. James E. Folsom indicated he would support a "good Democrat" to take over McCorvey's post.

The Mobile chieftain said he wants to see someone who has supported the "principles for which we have fought" succeed him.

Actually the main battle is likely to be fought in the primaries next spring when the committee after the state chairmanship are Tom Abernathy, Talladega newspaper editor, and Marion Rushton of Montgomery, Alabama's ousted national Democratic committeeman.

Rushton submitted his resignation to the state committee after

the national convention included civil rights declarations in the party's platform.

The national committee refused to seat him recently.

Dixiecrats Are Not Surprised By Democrat Committee Ban

MOBILE, ALA., Aug. 13 —(AP)— States' Rights leaders from four states held a closed-door strategy conference here today, and adjourned without issuing a statement.

It was learned reliably that one of the matters discussed was Democratic National Committee action barring them from the next meeting this month to elect a successor to Chairman J. Howard McGrath.

Attending the meeting were States' Righters from Alabama, South Carolina, Mississippi and Louisiana—the four states which cast their electoral votes last year for Thurmond.

A member of the group said a statement would be issued at a later date on McGrath's action barring Louisiana and Mississippi delegates to the Aug. 24 national committee session.

Among the Alabama States' Rights leaders here were former Gov. Frank Dixon, Horace Wilkinson and Eugene Connor, all of Birmingham, and Gessner T. McCorvey of Mobile, chairman of the State Democratic Executive Committee.

Names of the Louisiana and Mississippi States Righters attending were not learned.

Thurmond and other members of the group declined to comment on McGrath's latest action, but they indicated it came as no surprise.

Wilkinson had this to say:

"As far as I'm concerned, we're better off by following a 'hands off' policy with McGrath's crowd. This is the Alabama Democratic party down here, and we have nothing in common with McGrath and his gang. We are the real Democratic party.

"We wouldn't invite McGrath to Alabama for a political meeting. why should McGrath invite us up there? I don't believe we'd go if invited."

States' Righters Face Loyalty Pledge; Rushton To Follow Committee's Orders

Poll Is Being Taken To Decide If He'll Attend Parley

By G. C. LONG, JR.

Alabama Democratic Committeeman Marion Rushton, local attorney, said yesterday it is up to the state executive committee whether he will attend a National Democratic Committee meeting in Washington without an invitation.

"I'm a good soldier," Rushton said, "and I'll go where they tell me."

Rushton was not invited to the Aug. 24 meeting because of his States Rights activities during the last presidential election. The state committee is now being polled on whether to send him to the meeting.

Committee members are also being asked to vote on whether they think Rushton's resignation as the elected member to the national group should be accepted. He submitted his resignation to State Party Chairman Gessner T. McCorvey last year but it never has been acted on.

Gets Invitation

Meanwhile, Alabama's elected committee woman, Mrs. Lennard Thomas, also of Montgomery, stated that she had received an invitation to the meeting and would attend.

"I will go to the meeting and represent Alabama and the South to the best of my ability," Mrs. Thomas stated. "I was elected for that purpose."

She said the only person who had suggested that she not go to Washington was McCorvey.

Gov. James E. Folsom, in the meantime, said he hoped "good, loyal Democrats" would be elected to the State Democratic Committee in primaries next year. Folsom even hinted that he might campaign in the election.

The governor tried unsuccessfully to make Alabama's 11 electors vote for President Truman instead of States Rights Candidate J. Storm Thurmond of South Carolina.

When asked if he thought States Righters were loyal Democrats, Folsom replied:

Or Republicans

"I don't consider any group that bars the people from voting for their president good Democrats, or even good Republicans."

Saying that he would attend the national meeting if ordered, Rushton declared that since everything is "cut and dried" before the session he would not be able to do anything there and would rather not go.

"If I go I'll probably be kicked out," he added.

Rushton said that the South had been kicked around so by the National Democratic Party that so far as he was concerned he was not a member of it any longer.

He stated that the national party's change toward the South was so it could get the Negro vote, which could be a balance of power.

He declared that the Negro "is the last Tammanyizable group in this country," or the last group that can be organized to where its votes can be carried around in a pocket.

Richard T. Rives of Montgomery had made statements to the effect that States' Righters had kept them from voting for Truman.

McCorvey is chairman of the State Democratic Executive Committee and a States' Rights leader.

"One of the most ludicrous propositions still presented by the die-hard Truman supporters is their charge that some group prevented a slate of Truman electors being placed on the ballot last November.

"While such a charge could only be made by one totally ignorant of our election laws, yet it would be most interesting to obtain a frank confession from these Trumanites as to why it was that they failed to qualify a slate of Truman electors.

"Was it because they realized that the presidential electors nominated by the Democratic Party of Alabama would snow under the slate of Truman electors or was it because the Trumanites just slipped up and forgot to qualify a slate of Truman electors?"

Long-Awaited Party Showdown Set Next Week On Dixiecrats

By D. HAROLD OLIVER

WASHINGTON, Aug. 20 —(AP)— The long-deferred showdown on barring of State's Rights Democrats from the regular party organization will come next week.

The issue will be decided in a meeting Wednesday of the Democratic National Committee. It will be the first session of this group since the memorable 1948 convention battle over civil rights and the walkout of several Southern delegations.

The meeting is to elect a successor to Chairman J. Howard McGrath, the Rhode Island senator who has been confirmed as attorney general.

William M. Boyle, Jr., $30,000 a year executive vice-chairman of the committee, is expected to be elected without a contest. He has the approval of President Truman and McGrath.

Therefore the big fight will come over expulsion or retention of Southern committee members who deserted the Truman ticket last fall in favor of Gov. J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina, States' Rights candidate who fought the President's 10-point program for legislation covering civil rights of minority groups.

The Thurmond ticket carried South Carolina, Alabama, Louisiana and Mississippi. Mr. Truman has said he is proud of the fact that he won without their support.

Seating of a number of the committee members from those states will be contested. Some compromises may be reached and there is a possibility a seat or two may be left vacant.

In sending out the call for the meeting, Senator McGrath omitted invitations to members from Louisiana and Mississippi, saying "by their several actions at the (1948 national) convention and subsequently in the campaign they have left the Democratic Party."

However, these members will be given an opportunity to present their case before a credentials committee in closed session Tuesday. This group will make its recommendations to the full committee in open session Wednesday.

Party officials say the prime test for States' Rights members seeking to retain their seats will be whether they will pledge to stand by regular Democratic candidates in the future.

For the pro-Trumanites trying to replace the States' Righters it will be a test of whether they were nominated at bona fide conventions in accordance with state law.

Dixiecrats Seek To Offer Amendment To Constitution

WASHINGTON, Aug. 24—(AP)—State Righters announced today the establishment of a national bureau in Washington and a campaign for adoption of a proposed states' rights amendment to the United States Constitution.

Wallace W. Wright, of Mississippi, announced appointment of Leander H. Perez, of New Orleans, as director of the bureau.

Wright said 14 states would seek to have a states' right amendment proposed to the Constitution.

Perez said the objectives of this organization would provide "an effective barrier to efforts of power-seeking politicians" to nowal support shall invalidate these leading our nation toward the state laws on such subjects. welfare state, taking away the "2. There shall be no nationali- prerogatives of local self-govern- ment and invading the individual freedom of the American people.

Wright said establishment of a Washington bureau was authorized in Jackson, Miss., last May at the meeting of the National States' Rights Committee.

Wright issued a statement in which he said in part:

"The national States' Rights executive committee will endeavor to bring about submission and adoption of an amendment to the Constitution which will provide, that:

"1. Congress shall make no law that conflicts with a state law pertaining to education, elections, qualifications for suffrage, civil rights, zoning, transfers and ownership of property—and no federal support shall invalidate these laws.

"3. Grants and aid from the government shall decrease bureaucracy in Washington, and keep the United States from going as broke as Britain.

"This committee will . . . urge the election of members of Congress who favor the measure and adoption of the proposed amendment.

"The national States' Rights committee is not a third party, nor is it intended to form a third party."

Not An Either-Or Proposition

Gessner T. McCorvey, chairman of the State Democratic Executive Committee, may be reaching for more than he can grasp in his mail poll of the 72 members of the committee. He is asking for an expression of opinion on whether Marion Rushton, Alabama member of the national committee, should attend next week's meeting of the committee in Washington, even though he pointedly has not been invited, and also on whether Alabama delegates should make this threat to the national party: abandon the civil rights program or lose Alabama's support in 1952.

We submit that neither Mr. McCorvey nor state representatives at the Washington meeting would have the final word on any such threat. They may say that if the national party does not withdraw or modify its civil rights program, then the States' Rights faction within and without the state Democratic committee will strive its hardest to keep the state from giving its electoral support to the national party's nominee in 1952. Mr. McCorvey and other States' Rights leaders may think they know how the state would go, but they cannot give guarantees respecting free voters.

Only the voters of the state, assuming a fair and honest expression of their choices, can say what presidential candidate they prefer.

The voters did not have the opportunity for a fair choice in 1948. Of course, it is true, as States' Righters point out, that a majority of the state's Democrats chose electors pledged not to vote for Truman if he were the nominee. But at that time Truman had not been nominated, the issues were not altogether clear, and the political scene was highly charged with emotion. Many voters did not anticipate that when election time came around they would be barred from voting for the Democratic nominee. States' Righters also point out that Truman Democrats of the state could have named a slate of their own electors, but they also should know that state election laws and the shortness of time made it difficult to do that after it became known that otherwise no chance existed for voting for Truman.

Such questions may be raking over old coals, however. What is more to the point is the fact that Alabama Democrats, voting in the primaries of the Spring of 1948, could not foresee that the States' Rights movement would become only a minority effort. Nor could they foresee that the national party did not need the "Solid South," that we held no balance of power.

Many Alabama Democrats believe that the best place to put up an effective battle for states' rights principles is within the party. They are on the alert now. They are forewarned as to the lengths some States' Rights leaders would go. Another election might tell a different tale.

It is, perhaps, unfortunate, that Mr. McCorvey's questionnaire did not also ask state party executive committee members to indicate their attitude on a complete break with the national party even if it meant a split in the state party. For that is what his course seems tending toward.

Why Not Join the Republicans?

Five Dixiecrats were dropped from the National Democratic Committee. The fact they showed up at the meeting was surprising. They had left the party and formed another. What the Committee did was merely to ratify, or accept, their resignations.

The suspicion remains they showed up merely to publicize their manufactured martyrdom in order to win a vindication back home. When they win it they still will be off the Democratic Committee.

They now return to their splinter party which is impotent nationally and not very effective regionally in any long-haul aspect.

The inevitable question arises—Why don't these men and women, and the thousands like them in the South, go ahead and join the Republican Party? They think Republican and are Republican in all save name.

It is fantastic, and an evidence of their infantilism, that they really think they can form another party. If they do that they will do what they least want to do—strengthen the cause of the labor and left-wing influences of the country. None can deny that as either of the major parties is weakened by losing some of its elements, those elements which remain in those parties are strengthened. It is not good political sense nor is it sound common sense for the Dixiecrats to be caterwauling about a States' Rights Party. All their disaffection can do is to weaken the cause they pretend to support. As long as their protest is absent from one of the major parties, then just so much is the cause of the other elements advanced. There is no getting around that simple fact.

The Republican Party would welcome them. In every sense they are Republicans. Surely no intelligent man would really refuse to join the party merely because of its name. Yet, there are men who use that argument.

Republican leadership in the South is discouraged by the Dewey debacle. It seeks solace. It faces a great test in the next convention. The Dixiecrats ought to have the courage and the intellectual honesty to join up with the Republicans or rejoin the Democrats and agree to abide by the majority rule. As long as they carry on their present methods they are doing nothing save contribute to the advance of left-wing influences.

Asked, Got It

THE four Dixiecrat states asked for it. They got it. Punctuation mark.

The Democratic National Committee yesterday purged Col. Marion Rushton and the committeemen of the three other Dixiecrat states.

Their offense was a part in depriving the standard bearers of the Democratic Party of the electoral votes of the four Dixiecrat states.

They were thus bolters. They refused to pledge future loyalty to the Democratic Party. Why, then, should they sit as members of the general staff of the party?

Plainly they shouldn't. Alabama Committeeman Rushton—and we are certain he would agree—has no more business as a member of the Democratic National Committee than would that most devout Taft partisan and Republican committeeman, Louis Noojin.

The business of former Democratic Committeeman Rushton and Republican Committeeman Noojin is the defeat of the Democratic Party.

★

ALABAMA'S unfrocked committeeman was profoundly uncomfortable when the state committee dispatched him to Washington with an ultimatum. He went, as he publicly stated, only because he is a soldier.

Less passionate and much more comprehending than some other Dixiecrats, Rushton faced up to the fact that he who draws his sword upon a prince must throw away the scabbard.

Unlike the Alabama committee, the South Carolina committee perceived that the jig was up. It therefore supplanted Committeeman J. Strom Thurmond, for whose dummy candidacy the electoral votes of the four Dixiecrat states were cast, with Senator Maybank.

AFTER being given the bum's rush yesterday, Mississippi Committeeman J. B. Snider agreed that both justice and propriety had been served.

He said that he had bolted the party, and that he accepted the consequences in good part.

How could he ask quarter when he had given none?

★

SO MUCH to remark that the Democratic National Committee has acted with sense and propriety. It owes it to no one to harbor saboteurs.

But it must also be conceded that the Dixiecrats have likewise acted with propriety in bolting. Than bolting there is no more firmly established tradition in U. S. politics.

Franklin Roosevelt voted for his Republican relative. Teddy. So late as his second term, Roosevelt told the Young Democrats in Pittsburgh that if confronted with a choice between a Democratic tweedledee and Republican tweedledum, he would consider a third party alliance.

Alabama has three times furnished support to third parties. The Advertiser has itself bolted thrice.

The Democratic Party itself grew out of the Jefferson Bolt of the Federalist thumbnail the dozens of third parties that have come and gone in this coun-

try's history (only the Republican Party has survived).

Thus Rushton, McCorvey and Alabama were within their rights when they bolted the Democratic Party.

★

AT THE time the bolt arrangements were made and fully, incessantly explained to the voters, the state was inflamed against Truman. Sooner would Alabamians have voted for a high tariff Beelzebub or a resurrected Sherman.

Lest any fail to remember this, it is sufficient to offer in evidence that Senator Hill and Senator Sparkman were daunted in their party loyalty until the lush spring of 1948 found them flopping about like mullet in a skiff bottom.

That one over whom Jonah's whale would have choked was a candidate for President because, he truly observed (possibly after reading it in The Advertiser), not a man, woman or child then had any confidence in Truman.

Later, as a Truman loyalist, he and his impotent little group of sneeze-wheezers were so intimidated by the magnitude of the animus against Truman that they lacked the innards to offer as a slate of Truman electors.

All of which is to recall that the whole state of Alabama, pine to palm, supported the bolt.

★

RUSHTON is a symbol of that bolt. The National Committee is sending his head back across the Potomac on a pike.

There is, after all, no way to read an entire state out of the party. Further, the committee has excellent reasons to believe that—as after all other bolts—Alabama will return to the Democratic Party.

But however all that falls to, the Washington action changes nothing. It simply draws the issue in heavier ink.

Next spring, with the election of a new state committee, the state will be holding a referendum on whether it wishes to be Democrat or Dixiecrat.

Next Spring

The State Dixiecratic Executive Committee has voted to—

1.—Reject the resignation of Col. Marion Rushton as Democratic national committeeman for Alabama.

2.—Instruct Rushton to tell the National Democratic Committee at its Washington meeting that, unless the Democratic Party repudiates its civil rights program, the 11 electoral votes of Alabama will again be withheld in the 1952 presidential election.

This is not our day to wear the robes of a prophet and we abstain from detailed prediction of the nature of things to come. Suffice it to say that the National Committee will probably excommunicate Col. Rushton.

But so far as we can see, the present business is inconsequential. Next spring the 72 members of the committee will be up for reelection. The contests will be upon a basis of loyalty to the Democratic Party. At that time, therefore, it will be seen whether Alabama desires to return to the Democratic Party.

Meanwhile, Col. Rushton's position is as anomalous as that of Robert E. Lee had he failed to resign his commission in the yankee army.

Dixie States Will Combat Truman Snub

WASHINGTON—(INS)—States Rights Southern Democrats yesterday planned a march on Washington to fight President Truman's snub in ordering them omitted from the Democratic National Committee meeting Aug. 24.

The Dixie States—South Carolina, Mississippi, Alabama and Louisiana—are set to send delegates to the meeting called by retiring National Chairman McGrath, to name Executive Vice Chairman William M. Boyle as his successor.

Sen. Ellender, Democrat, Mississippi, said his State's two committee members—J. B. Snider and Mrs. Hermes Gautier—would be on hand to try to force their seating by the credentials committee despite the Administration's "stay away" sign.

From top sources it was learned that South Carolina, Louisiana and Alabama plan to do likewise, detonating a potential hammer-and-tongs row at the "harmony" meeting.

McGrath in calling the Aug. 24 meeting administered the direct snub to the four States, which last November cast their electoral votes for States Rights Presidential Candidate J. Strom Thurmond.

Political experts asserted that the retiring chairman must have consulted the President before announcing that "no invitations" had been sent the States. McGrath, who has been named Attorney General, said openly that Mississippi and Louisiana "have left the Democratic Party."

Dixiecrats' Party Rights Due for Test

WASHINGTON—(UP) — President Truman will find out this week whether he can oust Southern Democrats who bolted the party in the presidential election last November.

The showdown is due in connection with a meeting of the Democratic National Committee called for Wednesday to elect a new party chairman.

William M. Boyle, Jr., Vice Chairman and the President's chief patronage adviser, is in line to succeed Sen. J. Howard McGrath, Democrat, Rhode Island, who is resigning to become Attorney General.

But, before a chairman is elected, there must be a decision on who has a right to participate in committee deliberations. The Party's Credentials Committee will meet tomorrow on that question. It may provoke a hot fight on seating delegates from Mississippi and Louisiana.

In his invitations to Wednesday's meeting, McGrath pointedly excluded those two States. He also observed that the elected committeeman for Alabama, Marion Rushton, has resigned. And the committeeman for South Carolina, Gov. J. Strom Thurmond, "was a candidate for election on the ticket of another party."

Those four States bolted the Truman ticket on the Negro rights issue last Fall and cast their presidential votes for a State's Rights ticket headed by Thurmond.

Dixon Confident Of States' Rights

NEW ORLEANS, Sept. 14—(AP)—Frank M. Dixon, former governor of Alabama, said here today that the future of the States' Rights movement depends entirely upon the wishes of the people.

Dixon, a Birmingham attorney and a leader in the States' Rights cause, is here to address a dinner in connection with the commemoration of the overthrow of the carpetbag regime in Louisiana 75 years ago.

Dixon said the States' Rights movement can't fail to get stronger unless "we are actually embarked on a course which leads to socialized government."

"We certainly have been going in that direction," he said.

Of course, he said, "the future of the movement depends upon whether the people want a constitutional government or a welfare state. We can't foresee what will happen, but we do know that a good many people in the country feel as we do."

Dixon, who served as governor of Alabama from 1939 to 1943, said the opening of a States' Rights office in Washington will provide an opportunity for the organization "of those who believe as we do."

States' Righters Give Warning Of New Fight

Credentials Group Told Ouster Of Dixiecrats Will Mean Trouble

Rushton Testifies

Louisianian Challenges Jurisdiction Of Demos Checking Membership

WASHINGTON, Aug. 23—(AP)—States' Righters threatened today to fight the national Democratic Party again in 1952 if they are ousted from the national committee for bolting President Truman on the civil rights issue last year.

They were told that under party rules the committee is required to remove from its membership those who failed to support the regular Democratic ticket.

The Southerners who bolted the Truman ticket in 1948 to support the States' Rights candidacy of Gov. J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina stated their case at a long closed session of the credentials committee. Pro-Truman forces sought to replace some of them.

The credentials group, headed by Frank McHale of Indiana, will make its report to the national committee Wednesday in open session.

Besides seating controversies from Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina and Texas, the credentials committee was asked to recommend filling of a vacancy in Wisconsin.

The Alabama and Louisiana cases were the first heard. The credentials committee did not start until late afternoon and newsmen had to get what information they could from witnesses.

Marion Rushton, Alabama committeeman and States' Righter, had resigned. But he appeared at the hearing on instructions from some members of state committee who had voted against accepting his resignation. This group also instructed him to fight the civil rights program.

Rushton told reporters he made a factual presentation. He said he was officially seated as a committee member last year after being elected by a direct vote of the people of his state and that he had heard nothing today to indicate he didn't still have the seat. No one appeared to try to replace him.

The credentials committee cited a party rule dating back to 1896 which, officials said, required the national committee to expunge from its membership those who did not support the nominee of the national convention.

Mrs. Lennard Thomas, Alabama committeewoman, was not contested as she is regarded in the Truman camp and was invited to tomorrow's meeting.

Talbot challenged the statement by McGrath that he had left the Democratic Party by supporting Thurmond.

States' Righters Assert Dothan Dinner On April 8 Not Intended 'To Conflict With Demos' Fete

Birmingham News
May 3-21-49
Birmingham, Ala.

BY FRED TAYLOR
News Staff Writer

Alabama States' Rights Democrats emphasized today their $2 Dothan dinner April 8 is not intended to interfere with the Jefferson-Jackson banquet rally in Birmingham April 12.

But planners of the Wiregrass knife-and-fork affair have fixed a competitive eye on the statewide Birmingham dinner, which will be addressed by Vice President Alben Barkley. This fund-raising affair will cost $15 a plate.

In stealing the march on the Birmingham Democratic rally, the States' Righters pointed out they were calling their dinner four days ahead of the one here to "avoid conflicting dates."

* * *

THERE HAD BEEN REPORTS earlier that States' Righters planned to hold a strictly competitive dinner in Birmingham on the same night of the Jefferson-Jackson rally.

Rep. Wallace Malone, Dothan banker and member of the Alabama States' Rights Executive Committee, is spearheading the Dothan dinner, which will be addressed by Charles J. Bloch, Macon, Ga., attorney. It will be recalled that Bloch placed the name of Georgia Sen. Richard Russell in nomination for president against Harry S. Truman at the Democratic National Convention last year. Delegates from Alabama and other Southern states who remained in the convention voted for Russell over Truman.

Malone, Alabama's largest contributor to the Thurmond-Wright presidential campaign fund, said the Wiregrass dinner is meant to be "in sharp contrast with" the Birmingham banquet, but not "in opposition to it."

"The Dothan date was deliberately selected so as not to conflict with the Birmingham affair," the Houston lawmaker said. "There is no physical reason why an Alabamian cannot attend both dinners."

MORE

Malone explained the Dothan dinner is not officially sponsored by the Alabama States' Rights organization. But he said "its tenor naturally falls into line with principles of that group."

He also explained the Dothan affair is not intended to be a statewide meeting, pointing out the Houston County city's facilities for handling a statewide function are limited. He said plans had been made to seat 250 persons at the Houston Hotel.

* * *

GADSDEN MAYOR HERBERT MEIGHAN, state Democratic finance director, and John S. Foster, general dinner chairman, have made plans to accommodate at least 1,000 diners at Tutwiler Hotel. They have engaged three of the hotel's largest dining rooms, which will be wired with loudspeakers to carry Barkley's speech. The vice president also will make personal appearances in each dining room.

Mayor Meighan reemphasized that "all Democrats" are invited to the Birmingham dinner.

"Tickets already sold assure a great outpouring of Democrats from throughout the state for the Birmingham dinner," Meighan said.

Mar 3-21-49

Rep. Malone said "everybody" is welcome to the Dothan dinner as long as the tickets hold out."

The Houston lawmaker said the States' Righters in general and Southeast Democrats in particular can show their appreciation "to those who stood up for states' rights" at the Democratic National Convention and in Congress.

Malone, who was listed as contributing $3,500 to the Thurmond-Wright campaign fund, said price of Dothan dinner tickets was fixed at $2 each "out of respect to the pocketbook of the average man."

* * *

HE SAID "tokens of appreciation" would be presented in absentia at the Dothan banquet to members of Congress who helped the South fight Truman's "civil rights" proposals.

Sens. Lister Hill and John Sparkman, Gov. James E. Folsom, Rep. Laurie Battle and other Alabama congressmen, members of the Legislature, other state, county and city officials will attend the Birmingham dinner.

Malone said members of the state's congressional delegation and States' Rights leaders from over Alabama and the entire South were invited to the Dothan banquet. The state's 11 presidential electors are among other special guests invited.

McGrath Tactfully Pulls Strings To Reunite Democratic Party

WASHINGTON, Jan. — (AP) — That man you see treading lightly over political eggs is Chairman J. Howard McGrath of (D), Mississippi, lost his place on the committee investigating un-American activities. Under a new ruling he couldn't have that and become chairman of the House Veterans Committee.

Despite this, the general impression in Washington is that McGrath is engineering a Democratic get-together campaign that may pay off in support for President Truman's legislative proposals — unless the civil rights flares up unexpectedly early.

States' Righters Ready To Thank Their Leaders

Birmingham News
Birmingham Ala.

BY FRED TAYLOR
News Staff Writer

States' Rights leaders from over Alabama and from as far away as Indiana will gather at Dothan for the Wiregrass "Appreciation Dinner" Friday night.

Rep. Wallace Malone, Dothan banker and dinner chairman, announced several days ago the $2-a-plate Dothan affair had grown into three banquets in one. Some 400 tickets have been sold, with States' Righters from Mississippi, Georgia and Florida making reservations.

Thur-4-7-49

Charles J. Bloch, Macon, Ga., attorney, who placed the name of Georgia Sen. Richard Russell in nomination for president at the Democratic National Convention last July, will be the main speaker.

* * *

FORMER GOV. FRANK DIXON, one of the States' Rights movement's chief planners, and John Temple Graves, Birmingham Post columnist, will address the three dinners combined. Malone said the Houston Hotel main dining room, coffee shop and nearby recreation center had been engaged for the rally.

Wallace W. Wright, Jackson, Miss., vice chairman of the National States' Rights committee, will attend. Malone said Charles Wallace Collins, Washington attorney and author of "Whither Solid South," would be on hand.

Collins has been working with States' Righters here in planning establishment of a Washington bureau, which would serve as a political and educational bastion to spread gospel of the movement.

* * *

STATE DEMOCRATIC Executive Committee Chairman Gessner T. McCorvey, another States' Rights leader, will attend.

"Main purpose of our dinner in Dothan," said Malone, "is to express appreciation of the people of Southeast Alabama to our senators and congressmen, and to those of other states, who helped beat down the attempt to change the rules and open the way to force 'civil rights' legislation down our throats.

"We want to show our appreciation to Sen. Lister Hill, to Sen. John Sparkman, to Rep. George Andrews and to all our other Alabama congressmen, as well as to the Democratic National Committee."

Montgomery Ala

McGrath, 45-year-old supervising architect of President Truman's November election victory, has an even tougher job now.

It's his task to keep his many-faceted party operating as something of a unit so that when the 1950 congressional elections roll around the Democrats will have a legislative record they can talk about.

J. H. McGrath

With this in mind, McGrath has set out to heal the gaping political wounds brought about by the Southern revolt against Mr. Truman's civil rights program.

June 1-30-49

It will have to be a quick healing process. The President's determination to push his anti-poll tax, anti-lynching and Fair Employment Practices Commission proposals is certain to pitch another battle with the Southerners before this session of congress ends.

Canny Republicans have been trying to get the fighting started early. They maneuvered to push a filibuster-killing rule change before the Senate. But the Democratic-controlled Rules Committee blocked this. There is evidence that McGrath had a hand in that action.

McGrath also apparently has been busy trying to woo some followers of Henry A. Wallace back in to the fold. He has made it plain that Wallace himself won't find any further welcome in the party unless we repents —which he isn't expected to do.

But Wallace's running mate, Senate and House members from other states, who voted for the South."

Malone said Frank E. Best, Indianapolis industrialist, and his son, Walter Best, States' Rights leaders in Indiana, were flying to the Dothan dinner.

* * *

OTHER BIRMINGHAM States' Righters who plan to attend the Dothan meeting are Sidney W. Smyer, Leon Nolen, Horace Wilkinson, and DuPont Thompson.

Malone said States' Rights Democrats from Decatur, Tuscaloosa, Talladega, Mobile, Andalusia, Tuskegee, Phenix City, Pensacola, Panama City, Donaldsonville and Blakely, Ga., had made dinner reservations.

The Democratic Cleft

The Real Challenge In

Courier Journal

IT LOOKS as if Senator McGrath and, for that matter, the President himself, are doing their best to obscure a movement of political history. They keep talking about the use of patronage to hold rebellious Southern Democrats in line. As a result, there is misunderstanding of why Southerners in Congress tauntingly rush to join hands with Republicans, whose only aim is to discredit the Administration, to render it futile, for their own obvious purposes.

The cleft is not to be mended in the old fashioned way of political bribes. It is too deep for that. Better it would be to start the mending process by looking at the identity of the rebels. Senator Kefauver of Tennessee has done this quite clearly. His findings lead him to describe the Republicans' Southern allies as men who would turn the clock back. His formula for the mending process is "to strengthen the Democratic Party to give proper representation to the Southern States."

Jan 5-10-49

By and large the rebels are veterans who got [illegible] by grace of a system of restricted voting. The

poll tax, the long disfranchisement of Negroes as far as Democratic primaries are concerned, the appeal to white supremacy to keep these institutions intact, the more or less scornful neglect of youth as a leaven for ideals and enlightenment—all these are the elements of restriction.

But now these are passing, and nobody knows it better than the old time-serving products of the system. They are after perpetuating something that is slipping away—a system, a political way of life, a sort of vested interest. In this manner it is reasonable to explain much of their almost solid opposition to fulfilment of the President's and the platform's pledge on labor legislation. There is more than a suspicion that few of them took this stand on the solid ground of national security and balanced power in bargaining. Rather, it may be surmised that they saw labor groups, which are yet feeble forces in the constituencies of most of them, as quite unlikely to support the old system. Otherwise there is no explanation for strict sectional division on the issue. It is an issue that calls for reason, not for patterned thought or behavior by a single group.

Senator KEFAUVER, in his broadcast, spoke definitely of the Dixiecrats, or States Rights Democrats. Bue he might as well have been talking about many Southern members of Congress who remained regular Democrats in name only, because their State organizations—unlike the frankly insurgent organizations of South Carolina, Alabama, Mississippi and Louisiana—clung to the old designation.

The Administration appears wavering uncertainly between appeasement and punishment of the Southern wing. But in the long run neither of these devices will work. Anything that may be gained by either in the way of support for the TRUMAN program will be temporary, solving nothing, changing nothing, but on the other hand only confirming attitudes and a special political tradition.

Senator KEFAUVER supplies evidence that the Southern resisters do not represent the solid view of the South. The young Tennessean won a notable election to the Senate over hitherto unbeatable machine and Old-Guard opposition, although his record as a member of the lower House was well known as to his stands against the poll tax (which still applies to his State) and against the labor legislation of the 80th Congress. This fact gives a point to his idea that reconstruction of the Democratic Party in the South must come along modern lines and in keeping with new developments and broadened electorates.

Tues 5-10-49

To be sure, there are practical means for building political organizations, and the use of patronage is one of them. But the point and the principles of rebuilding are more important than the means, and it is a bit disillusioning to hear so little of the one and so much of the other. FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT certainly had his troubles with Southern congressmen toward the last. But it is noteworthy that he held the loyalty of the Southern people because his talk was of aims and needs. He never lost a State organization, though there were just as many efforts to break away in the Dixiecrat manner from 1936 through 1944 as in the successful rebellions of 1948 and thereafter.

Northerners, Dissatisfied With GOP, Approve Idea Of 48-State Program Of Education On States' Rights Lines

McComb Enterprise-Journal

McComb Mississippi

BY HOWARD SUTTLE

Washington Correspondent

Mon. 1-17-49

Washington, D. C.—The States Rights organization of the election campaign last fall may become the nucleus of a major national political party that could conceivably replace the present Republican party, in the opinion of certain prominent northerners sympathetic with the idea of a 48-state educational program along state sovereignty lines.

Some with whom the idea has been discussed have contended it is far-fetched. Others more favorable recall that the present Republican party moved in and replaced the Whigs, back in the 1850's.

The idea has taken root within recent weeks to the extent that several prominent leaders from north of the Mason-Dixon line plan within the next few weeks to discuss its possibilities informally with former Gov. Ben Laney of Arkansas, and other members of the States Rights Policy Committee, of which Laney is chairman.

G. O. P. Loses Voter-Appeal

The States Rights Institute, recently set up at a Birmingham conference, is designed to conduct a national educational program to emphasize to Americans the asserted danger of the present trend toward regimentation, centralization and federalization of government in Washington with the hope that the principle of state sovereignty will be adopted by one of the two major political parties. This program does not contemplate formation of another political party.

There is a feeling among some, however—Democrats who don't like the leftist tendencies of their present leaders, as well as progressive Republicans—that the G. O. P. has lost its independent voter-appeal. This feeling is substantiated by the party's failure last November.

A close study of the history of recent Congress reveals that except for the high tariff and hide-bound Old Guardsters, Dixie senators and congressmen are generally nearer in their thinking to Republicans—particularly those from the Mid-West and New England—than to most Eastern Democrats.

Need Race Issue Understanding

The hesitancy of sympathetic northerners to join the States Rights movement openly and actively is due largely to their misunderstanding of the race problem in the South and a general belief that the move was born of a desire by southern leaders to "keep the negro down." Dixie leaders must therefore do a job of convincing America that their position is primarily one of fighting for preservation of state sovereignty and constitutional government.

Demand Positive Approach

It naturally follows, therefore, that any program in which sympathetic northern leaders would join actively must embrace adoption—"within the framework of constitutional States Rights"—a positive approach to solution of the nation's economic and social problems.

Only recently have the southern states begun to do a job of convincing their so-called "Yankee" neighbors that Dixie does have an affirmative program for solution of her problems—and what's more, that program is getting results.

An example of the type of selling the South that is making an impression upon the entire nation lies in the survey launched last August by Mississippi's Senators James O. Eastland and John C. Stennis, who have compiled information for a report to Congress on Dixie's accomplishments. Stennis will next week complete a draft of an article requested by Collier's and Reader's Digest magazines, to be published probably in March.

Study Federal Aid Principle

While numerous States Rights have been outspoken in opposition to any kind of federal financial aid to the states and their subdivisions, there are others who feel that the American people, sufficiently aroused, could easily prevail upon Congress to reiterate, by resolution and with emphasis, the principle of "federal aid without federal interference in local administration."

Mon. 1-17-49

Such principle was established by Congress years ago, in the land grant college laws, Agricultural Extension Service and federal highway program. Some believe the principle, once firmly established, might be applied to new modern day programs, such as federal aid to education and the social security setup.

Certain northerners sympathetic with the general idea of a national fight for preservation of constitutional government feel that the States Righters could well afford to go further in their campaign against regimentation than a mere contention concerning invasion of state sovereignty—that there is also involved usurpation of the functions of Congress by the executive branch.

An outstanding example of such usurpation lies in White House attempts on several occasions to dictate tax policies to Congress, when the constitution specifies that all revenue legislation must originate in the House of Representatives.

List Some SR Violations

And a study of recent government history will reveal numerous issues, none of them directly concerned with the race problem, upon which a national States Rights campaign may be pitched.

Mon. 1-17-49

The tidelands issue is an example. The federal attempt to grab title to tidelands, held by the states since colonial days, is the result of discovery of oil off the California and Gulf Coasts.

Then there is the continuing effort of the Federal Power Commission to determine navigability of intra-state streams, thus to assume legal jurisdiction over licensing of hydroelectric projects on such streams for production and distribution power.

Still another example is the current attempt, approved by high officials of the National Military Establishment, to federalize the National Guard—originally created as the emergency police force of the states and for active army duty only in time of war or dire national emergency.

McCorvey Reactionary Says Rubber Workers

Birmingham News

GADSDEN, Ala., May 4—A resolution labeling Chairman Gessner McCorvey of the State Democratic Executive Committee as "reactionary" and calling for his resignation has been adopted by Local 12 of the United Rubber Workers of America, C.I.O.

The resolution also endorsed recent action of the Etowah County Democratic Executive Committee in demanding that McCorvey resign.

Wed. 5-4-49

Charging that McCorvey, "along with other reactionary groups of this and other states . . . entered into a conspiracy in an effort to destroy the principles and objectives of the National Democratic Party," the Rubber Workers' resolution contended that he used Democratic funds "to deprive the good Democrats in this state of their constitutional rights to vote for or against the president of these United States."

Lieutenant Governor, Speaker Of The House Disavow Dixiecrats

Montgomery Advertiser

Montgomery Ala

By Geoffrey Birt
Staff Writer, The Alabama Journal

TWO PROBABLE candidates for governor in 1950 elected governor of South Carolina as a Democrat, and claims he is a Democrat. Jun 1-30-49

I voted for these 11 electors. They had been officially qualified and elected Democratic electors.

BECK — That's a debatable question. It depends on which party you talk about. They (the electors) ran as Alabama Democrats, not National Democrats. It must be recognized there are two strong factions within the party in this State. Which faction will win will be determined in 1950 when the State Democratic Executive Committee comes up for election again. Yes, 1950 will decide the issue.

QUESTION — If Truman electors had been on the November ballot, so that you could have voted either for Thurmond Democrats or Truman Democrats, which one would you have voted for?

INZER — My point is that I voted for the electors nominated by the Democratic party here. But the question could not arise. You could not have two separate sets of Democratic electors. The thing's impossible. There can only ever be one set of Democratic electors, properly qualified and elected. I voted for the Democratic electors, and the U. S. Supreme Court upheld their right to vote how they pleased.

BECK — Let's skip this question, shall we?

QUESTION—By sponsoring and promoting the State Rights candidates, Thurmond and Wright, in opposition to Truman and Barkley, did the State Democratic Executive Committee "bolt" the party?

INZER — I am not going to get into the position of answering for the state committee.

BECK — The National Democratic party cannot consider they "bolted". They still have Alabama on their mastheads. They still have Rushton, Nana Thomas and Gessner on their mastheads (Col. Marion Rushton and Mrs. Lennard Thomas, both of Montgomery, national Democratic committeeman and woman; and Gessner T. McCorvey, Mobile, chairman of the State Democratic Executive committee.) At any rate, I voted for the electors under the rooster in November.

QUESTION — Which are you today? A Dixiecrat or a Democrat?

INZER — I was never a Dixiecrat. I have been a straight-out Democrat all my life and will always be one. Now, is that clear enough for you?

BECK—I am a Democrat. Don't let's argue about State Rights Democrats and Truman Democrats. Just let me say I am a Democrat. Let's wait a while on this question. We want to heal this breach and try and work together. We need to bring the state and the National Democratic parties together again.

That Dothan Dinner

Birmingham News

States' Rights Party Leader Now In Lather Over GOP Flavor Tasted By Observers

Birmingham News

BY FRED TAYLOR

The Dothan States' Rights "appreciation dinner" continues to stir controversy. That is, the Republican flavor given that meeting. And the GOP connotation was contained in every news report of the dinner rally that has come to my attention.

As this column said a couple of days ago, the word Republican was not in a resolution adopted by Rep. Wallace Malone, Dothan banker and heavy States' Rights movement backer, and his committee of 75 dinner planners. But it was tossed around freely at the dinner.

Now my friend, the forthright Houston County lawmaker, is in a lather over the dinner's Republican label. Birm. 4-14-49

* * *

PRAISE AND CRITICISM—A news story I wrote about the dinner, after hearing the speakers and the resolution read, began this way:

"DOTHAN, Ala., April 9—Merger of States' Rights Democrats and Republicans in Alabama seemed a step nearer Saturday. But such a wedding was considered still a long way off."

I went on to report from speeches delivered by Charles J. Bloch, Frank Dixon and John Temple Graves. Yesterday the mails brought a letter from Malone, which said:

"Dear Fred:

"For and on behalf of our appreciation dinner committee, I wish to thank you for the excellent and accurate coverage which you gave to our affair.

"Sincerely yours,

"WALLACE D. MALONE."

Then came a lengthy telegram from Malone taking issue with reports that the Wiregrass banquet had even the slightest Republican flavor.

* * *

"MALONE GESTURE?" — My news report, which Malone commended, went on to say:

"Thrown behind such a coalition (States' Righters and Republicans) was the declaration by an outpouring of States' Righters here last night that:

"'We will join hands with any national group or party which sincerely embraces states' rights and constitutional government.'

"The nucleus for a new party already exists in the teaming of Southern Democrats and Republican conservatives against President Truman's civil rights and labor proposals, John Temple Graves pointed out."

Then I said in a follow-up column that "many States' Righters are cool toward the 'Malone gesture.'

"The 'Malone gesture' was the move made in the direction of the Republican Party at the Dothan States' Rights dinner last Friday night."

* * *

"NOT GOP BID"—Malone's wire says the Dothan dinner, to which he and his committee rallied more than 500 persons, was not a bid to Republicans or any other party. But here's his telegram:

"Relative intimation in your column today that the appreciation dinner here Friday or any part of it was a 'Malone gesture' toward the Republican Party, I call your attention to the fact that the resolution adopted by our dinner committee set the theme for the affair.

"That resolution specifically honored Alabama Democratic electors and many convention delegates, as well as members of both parties who stood up for states' rights, thus honoring many times more Democrats.

"It plainly and strongly expressed the position that we would not support anyone who does not embrace states' rights. Neither the Republican nor the Democratic platforms embraced states' rights.

"It was no bid to any party, but was a bid to average Americans who will fight for states' rights and constitutional government. Nor was one of our toastmasters, Mr. Flowers (Richmond Flowers) president of the Young Republican Club at university (University of Alabama) as stated by you.

(Note: Mr. Flowers, Dothan attorney, was listed as president of Young Republican Club at university and he was an active campaigner for Dewey-Warren ticket last year.)

None of us even gave a thought to how he voted. We only knew he was an upright, average Alabamian of conviction. The other toastmaster, Houston County Probate Judge Logue) whom you failed to mention, is a lifelong, real Democrat.

"Present were our city Demo committee, all members of State Demo Committee in this area, members of County Demo Committee and a dozen Democratic members of Legislature, very many of whom endorsed our resolution, along with 200 others.

"Please convey this information fully and correctly in your column."

* * *

FROWNED ON MOVEMENT—The very forthright Malone is frank to say he votes Republican when he feels like it.

States' Righters I have discussed the matter with since the Dothan banquet say that regardless to the resolution adopted there, or any other expressions at that meeting, they doubt very many of their number will ever join the GOP.

It will be recalled that State Republican Chairman Claude Vardaman was one of the States Rights movement's chief critics during last year's presidential campaign. Birm. 4-14-49

TAYLOR

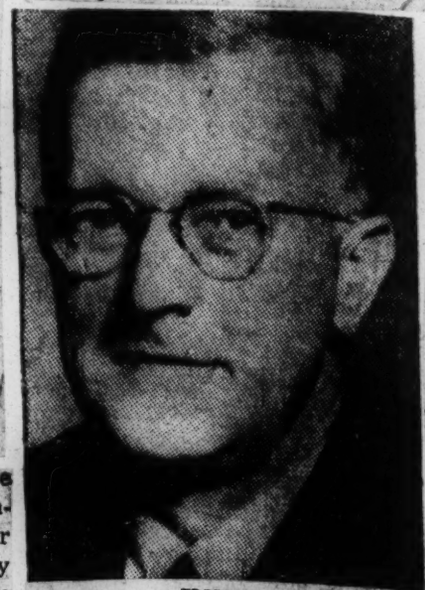
Vardaman, plumping for the Dewey-Warren team, termed the States' Rights movement a "splinter party." He said States' Rights Democratic leaders merely were seeking a "corner to pout in."

Alabama's Republican chairman repeatedly said in that campaign what Vice President Alben Barkley reemphasized at the Jefferson-Jackson statewide dinner rally in Birmingham:

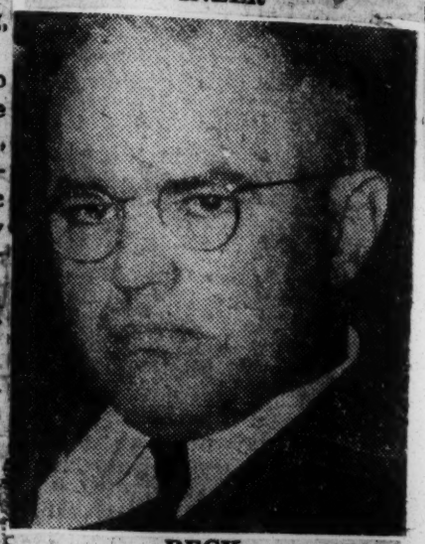
That time has proved the soundness of the two-party system.

And Barkley, striking directly at States' Rights leaders, warned:

"Those who seek to organize separate polititcal parties are unwittingly playing into the hands of those from abroad who would destroy us."



INZER



BECK

Principles Above Party

Birmingham News

The States' Rights Democrats who met at Dothan were eminently correct in taking a stand for putting principles above party

Party headed by President Truman, some of the States' Righters are hinting at alliance with the Republican Party. A resolution adopted at Dothan indicates an intention "to join hands with any national group or party which sincerely embraces states' rights and constitutional government."

Perhaps some of the group represented at Dothan may be able to find a more congenial atmosphere among the Republicans. That any large number will move over, as

WESTBROOK PEGLER

The States' Righters Will Creep Back

Atlanta Constitution

If integrity lived among the men who practice politics, the Southern rebels who ran the campaign against miscegenation on the issue called State's rights would reject with scorn the invitation of Sam Rayburn, the Speaker-to-be of the eighty-first House, to repent their principles and take amnesty. Mr. Rayburn, a Texan, is a renegade who chose easily between the first article of the political and social creed of the South and the paltry satisfactions of success with a degenerate party. By all the principles of the Democratic Party, he and, of course, Tom Clark, should have quit the hall in Philadelphia with the few angry men from the Southern Tier who did walk out.

Rayburn and Clark knew, however, that pork and the sordid power of office would tempt most of the insurrectos back and it soon will be seen that their low opinion was correct. The Dixiecrats shared the belief held by Eleanor and Jimmy, Hague, Curley, Kelly and most of the voters that Truman was licked before he started and that therefore no harm could come of bidding him defiance. The year was hopeless, so they could make virtue at no expense by a dramatic stand against fate. Tom Dewey already had signed a diluted anti-discrimination law in New York and, owing nothing at all to the South, would be at liberty to persecute the Southern whites with goads and mocking. In his continuing campaign for re-election in 1952 he would have poured it on them with the jaunty nod to the professional hate-workers in the city. Mon 1-3-49

The Civil Rights program which Truman adopted in desperation to recall the Communist vote, the Negro balance-of-power vote in big cities of the North and the bigot vote of all the lesser breeds in the industrial slums, was actually a terrifying challenge to the decencies of the superior people. They are a minority, however, and have not enough power to protect at the polls the rights of uncouth masses who lack the intelligence to know that State's rights are their rights.

It was clever and tricky politics to discredit State's rights as the false front of lynchers, exploiters and Fascists. However, violence by Southern mobs against individuals, most of them bestial criminals caught in their tracks, has been insignificant compared to the organized brutalities, including murder as well as injury and vandalism, which had become the habit of the Roosevelt-Truman goons in Northern centers. There were deadly parallels to be made in other phases of the State's rights issue, all of them showing up serious threats against freedom and dignity in Truman's program. The mournful truth is, however, that most of the Dixiecrats are ignorant fellows unconcerned with State's rights as such and only angered at the prospect of being ordered by a New York Commissar to sit beside a colored cotton-chopper at the lunch counter. That actually was the size of State's rights to most of those who took up the issue. Only Gov. Thurmond and a few other respectables went deeper.

If the rebels accept amnesty, as most of them will, they will have to rely on constitutional Republicans of the North to save the South from their folly. This probably can't be done entirely but the power of tenacious men to maintain principle against ignorance and greed sometimes surprises. The true Republicans are a forlorn rear guard.

States' rights are not exclusively a Southern problem. The proposals in Truman's civil rights program are equally dangerous to all Northern men and equally repulsive. The greatest hope of deliverance from this fate lies in Truman's own notorious cynicism. He snarled to get votes. But after he got them he grinned and exhorted those whom he had threatened to join him in prayer and give him a hand with a job he didn't feel quite up to. Mon-1-3-49

It would be edifying to see some men of principle in the South join with the only men of honor and courage in Northern politics, the Taft or conservative Republicans. Mr. Taft cried out against the disguised enormity of lynching and sanctified pogroms in Germany, only to be called a Nazi, as he knew he would be. When he takes a position on a constitutional matter, popularity has nothing to do with his decision. He is more correct than any other man in public life on these subjects, and far superior to the humiliating array of ignorance, hypocrisy and stealth on the Supreme Court. He stood to his principles knowing that he was infinitely better than the bellowing herds of common men.

Of late, the Herald Tribune, the spiritual home of Joe Barnes, who departed with the affection of the mother cell to take over Marshall Field's thing, has been lecturing the Republican Party in the proprietary manner of Marshal Stalin to The Daily Worker. While he was on the Herald Tribune, Barnes' policies pervaded its news and editorials. Its book section promotes the policies of Lewis Gannett, a dreary, stealthy propagandist, who has joined as many Communist fronts as Earl Browder, and of Irita Van Doren, a nondescript who helped Barnes and the H-T to take over Wendell Willkie and operate that flabby mountebank in the guise of a Republican. Jim Farley has since revealed that he knew Willkie to be a registered Democrat and Frank Knox stated, six months before the imposter's nomination in 1940 that he, too, knew him to be a Democrat. Barnes took Willkie to Russia after he had been licked and acted as his interpreter and political guide. The quality of this guidance and of the Herald Tribune's Republicanism may be judged from the fact that Barnes' little paper, the erstwhile Marshall Field's thing, is somewhat to the left of Stalin.

Willkie's son, Philip, has now been trotted out in the role of a political heir, but the fact is seen that he is the heir to the most amazing political imposter of all time, a Democratic plant who seduced the Republicans into a Communist apparatus before the eyes of the biggest experiment in self-government in history.

Dixiecrat Future Now Appears Dim

By DORIS FLEESON

BIRMINGHAM, Ala., Feb. 22.—The Dixiecrats have a past of a sort, virtualy no present, and dim prospects for a future.

They are not a party. They are Democrats still—very still.

On the national level, all really influential Southern Democrats are ignoring the past and trying hard to maintain unimpaired their party standing, their relationships with the White House and their patronage ties with the Democratic National Committee. Most of them spent the campaign in the storm cellars, anyway.

Locally the principal Dixiecrats have already accomplished their real objective, which was to dispossess within their states the remnants of the Roosevelt New Dealers and regain the keys to all the courthouses. They had to a large degree lost out during the Roosevelt regime, and the Truman civil rights program gave them the weapon they needed to recapture the local arsenals of power and patronage. Wed. 2-23-48

They figured they had nothing to lose since, like everyone else, they expected President Truman to be beaten ignominiously. They were, of course, jolted by his election, but, like the Truman officeholders who didn't catch his name during the campaign, they have solved that difficulty by ignoring it and assuming that everybody else will have the good manners to do the same.

The end result is that, despite all the sound and fury about immutable principle and deathless conviction, the Dixiecrats made no real dent in the South's one-party system. The fact seems to be that they never really intended to. They want only to be the one party—above all, the one party at the courthouse level.

The Dixiecrats themselves, when they met here recently, reduced their movement to mere factionalism. Ex-Gov. Ben Laney of Arkansas, one of their most vocal leaders, said, "We are not a party; we are Democrats."

Barkley Snubs Gov. Thurmond

Chicago Defender

WASHINGTON — The last man in America hasn't gotten around to snubbing Dixiecrat J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina, but the first two have. Vice President Barkley followed the pattern of his chief last week.

Barkley was all set to accept an invitation to attend and speak at a meeting of South Carolina mayors at Columbia. At the last moment Governor Thurmond decided that he would attend too. He even invited the Vice President to be his guest.

In the Senate, Barkley called the two South Carolina solons, Olin Johnston and Burnet Maybank, to the rostrum and explained confidentially that he could not stay with Thurmond.

Since he didn't want to create an incident, the Vice President decided it was best to steer clear of Columbia altogether.

South Carolina's governor is apt at snubbing himself. Before President Truman turned his back on the Dixiecrat candidate for president, Thurmond had invited Gov. William Hastie to visit him and dine at the executive mansion. The bid stood just about long enough for Thurmond to discover that Hastie is a Negro.

Dixiecrats Get Cool Reception To Dothan Bid

Montgomery Advertiser

Brewster Puts Skids Under Plan To Kill Civil Rights Proposal

Montgomery Ala.

WASHINGTON, April 9.—(AP)—Republicans today gave only a half-way welcome to a new bid from the South to form a working States' Rights coalition with Democrats aroused by proposals of President Truman.

Senator Brewster of Maine, head of the Republican senatorial campaign committee, said the GOP is glad to work with Southern Democrats who "want to return to constitutional government." Sun-4-10-49

But Brewster said that if the Dixie Democrats want help in blocking civil rights legislation they will have to look for it outside the Republican Party.

"Our record on civil rights is clear," the Maine senator said. "We are in favor of pushing anti-poll tax, anti-lynching and other bills to a vote in Congress.

"But the Republican Party welcomes the support of all of those who believe in constitutional government — those who oppose the centralization of power in Washington and its consequent regimentation of the people."

Answers Dothan Dinner

Brewster's comments came in response to a bid from a States' Rights dinner held in Dothan, Ala., to show "appreciation" for members of Congress — irrespective of party — who oppose President Truman's civil rights program.

Many of the 550 persons who attended approved a resolution offering to "join hands with any national group or party which sincerely embraces States' Rights and constitutional government."

Senator Lucas of Illinois, the Democratic leader, declined comment on the resolution, telling reporters he thought the action was a local matter.

The Dothan banquet preceded a scheduled appearance next Tuesday of Vice President Barkley at a regular Democratic Jeffer-son-Jackson Day dinner in Birmingham.

Counting On Barkley

Democratic Chairman J. Howard McGrath is known to be counting on Barkley to help smooth out some of the rough spots in the national committee's relations with the Southerners who deserted the ticket in last November's election.

Barkley had to cancel two scheduled appearances in Georgia Friday because the Senate was voting on the European Recovery program calling for additional speeches below the Mason and Dixon Line.

State Dixiecrats Plan $2 Dinner At Dothan In Opposition To $15 Feast Of Trumanites

Montgomery Advertiser

Sun 3-20-49

ALABAMA States' Righters have decided to hold their own dinner in opposition to the Jefferson-Jackson Day dinner organized by Truman Democrats for Birmingham April 12.

The States' Rights dinner will take place at Dothan April 8 and will be called "The average Alabamian's Appreciation Dinner."

Montgomery Ala

Speaker for the dinner will be Charles Bloch, Macon, Ga., attorney who nominated Sen. Richard B. Russell, (D), Georgia, at the Philadelphia Democratic Convention.

Announcement of the States' Rights dinner was made by State Rep. Wallace D. Malone, Dothan banker, who originated the idea and is its chief promoter.

The Dothan dinner will cost $2; the Birmingham, $15.

In a letter to The Advertiser-Journal Malone states:

"We have now definitely decided to have a States' Righters dinner for the Democrats in this section of Alabama who are interested in States Rights, at 7:30 p.m. on April 8, 1949.

"This dinner will be a $2.00 dinner out of respect to the pocketbook of the average man. The entire two dollars will be spent on the dinner. It will not be for the purpose of raising funds to turn over to any organized group."

Former Lieut. Gov. Handy Ellis, Columbiana, leader of the walk-out half of Alabama delegation to the National Convention, welcomed the dinner when informed of it.

Ellis said: "It is a very good idea and I want to attend it." Ellis has already stated that he will not attend the Jackson Day dinner in Birmingham which Vice-President Alben Barkley will address.

Ellis said: "I believe I would find the Dothan air much better than that in Birmingham. I do not wish to be disrespectful to the Vice-President. If he was coming to Alabama merely to make a speech I should be most happy to attend and meet him.

"I would attend such a meeting, of course, if the Vice-President of the United States was a Republican visiting our State. But this is different.

Sun 3-20-49

"Mr. Barkley is coming here on a fund-raising mission and I am one of those on the other side of the fence."

Alabama National Democratic Committeewoman, Mrs. Lennard Thomas, who says she is not a States' Righter, but won't attend the Birmingham dinner because Mrs. Mabel Jones West and Mrs. Charles J. Sharpe are on the committee said:

"I have absolutely no comment to make."

Chairman of the Alabama States' Rights Party, Marion Rushton, Montgomery, who is the National Democratic Committeeman, was not reached for comment.

Nor could former Gov. Frank N. Dixon and Horace C. Wilkinson, of Birmingham, be reached for comment Saturday.

Chairman of the State Democratic Executive Committee, Gessner T. McCorvey, was reported in New Orleans.

In his statement announcing the dinner, Malone said:

"The dinner will be for the purpose of expressing the appreciation of the people of Southeast Alabama, to those senators and members of Congress who voted with the States' Righters, particularly in the recent matters of the change of rules both in the House and in the Senate."

Malone says that "tokens of appreciation will be presented to each and every member of the U. S. Senate and House from those other states, who stood up for States' Rights with the South recently, as well as to the Southerners who led the fight."

The Dothan legislator adds: "These tokens will be presented in absentia and will be forwarded immediately by special courier to Washington for personal delivery."

P. L. Thornton, Dothan, has been named chairman of the committee on arrangements for the Average Alabamian's Appreciation Dinner.

Malone says that "no candidate or prospective candidate will be listed on the program."

This week-end States' Righters from the five counties in southeast Alabama, as well as counties in southwest Georgia and west Florida were beginning to receive invitations to the dinner.

Sun 3-20-49

Malone says that, "other members of the Democratic Party of Alabama in other parts of the State also will be invited."

'The Corpse Doing Amazingly Well, Thank You'

Editor Tom Abernathy in The Talladega Home

Montgomery Advertiser

THE Montgomery Advertiser takes certain questions asked by its able correspondent, Geoffrey Birt, and certain answers by Southern public men and jumps to the totally erroneous conclusion that the States' Rights Party is dead.

Montgomery Ala

We would advise Grandma not to order the flowers just yet. The "corpse" is going to be in there swinging in Alabama's next gubernatorial campaign — and in every other election involving defense of constitutional government.

The states' rights movement is bigger than politics. It represents a good many million of Americans who are militantly determined to preserve the principles of state and individual freedom from the crushing tentacles of Federal control.

In its editorial, entitled "Thurmond Leaves Dixiecrat Party to Caretaker," The Advertiser says things which this newspaper does not believe it can support.

Gov. J. Strom Thurmond wired the Montgomery paper the following statement in answer to a direct inquiry: "I shall be glad to attend any dinner held by the Democratic Party of South Carolina, of which I am a member."

The editor of The Advertiser takes his words and jumps to the following rather amazing conclusion:

"It is evident from The Advertiser's interview on the opposite page that Gov. J. Strom Thurmond, presidential candidate of the Dixiecrats, will buy a ticket to the Jackson Day Dinner the same as Truman, Barkley or McGrath.

"IS THERE any more direct and purposeful means of supporting the Democratic Party of Truman than participating in its rallies and donating money to elect congressmen to support the Truman program?"

Let us now ask The Advertiser certain questions:

The Advertiser's direct query was: "Will you attend any Jackson Day Dinner?"

Was not Governor Thurmond's answer a statement which made no reference to Jackson Day dinners, but an expression of willingness to attend any dinner "held by the Democratic Party of South Carolina?"

Does The Advertiser undertake to say that the Democratic Party of South Carolina is the Democratic Party of Harry Truman?

We are quite sure that any states' righter would be glad to attend any dinner held by the Democratic Party of Alabama. Would The Advertiser take that as an indication of support for the Truman program?

Did not the Democratic Party of South Carolina turn the back of its hand to the Truman program by official action—precisely as did the Democratic Party of Alabama?

Truly the editorial strains mightily to reach a conclusion which it obviously desired when it began consideration of the Thurmond statement.

LET The Advertiser say what South Carolina congressmen and senators are advocates and supporters of the Truman program.

Thur 2-17-49

The Advertiser goes further. Still quoting interviews by Mr. Birt, it declares that former Governor Sparks, Lieut. Gov. Inzer, Speaker Beck, Atty. Gen. Carmichael, Reuben Newton and Judge Wilbur Nolen — all potential candidates for governor—are "freely counselling a return to the national Democratic Party . ".

So far as Mr. Inzer is concerned, we have in our possession a copy of a letter in which he declares that he was misquoted by The Advertiser, and that he made no such statements as were attributed to him. As to whether he really was misquoted we do not undertake to say. Both Mr. Birt and Mr. Inzer are honest, conscientious gentlemen. **We would not undertake to judge between them.**

We do know however—that when the lieutenant governor heard from certain states' righters—he declared he does not hold the sentiments attributed to him.

Let the call be sounded for a meeting involving state backers of the movement generally. There will be no adjournment for lack of a quorum.

Reflecting the demonstrated will of a majority — and a vast majority — of Alabama's citizenship, the states' rights movement as of today holds control of the State Democratic Executive Committee.

THE issue of whether the states rights movement is dead in the hearts of the people will be thoroughly tested in elections of committee members. Let The Advertiser not doubt that Dixiecrats will be found campaigning proudly on the record of 1948.

Far from being a corpse that The Advertiser can bury with an editorial, states' rights will go into combat in many another field

The people of Alabama aren't going to put a fawning advocate of appeasement in the governor's mansion.

Neither is Alabama going to fill its seats in the Congress with men afraid for one reason or the other to speak out for White Supremacy and against those who would destroy it.

With courage and with the devotion, possible only in men who fight for what they conceive to be a sacred cause, it will go into political battle wherever the issue is raised.

States' righters will fight in the precincts, the cities, the counties of the states and in the entire nation. And they won't fight in vain.

Thur 2-17-49

Let The Advertiser sing its dirge over another corpse. This one is doing amazingly well, thank you.

•

★ *The following exchange of telegrams throws a somewhat different light on the misquoted about his Dixiecrat affiliation. statement above that Inzer may have been*

•

Lieut. Gov. J. Clarence Inzer
Gadsden, Alabama

The Talladega Daily Home says it has a letter from you asserting The Advertiser misquoted you in statement beginning, "I never was a Dixiecrat."

Birt takes his quotes in shorthand. None of the other dozen interviewed by him has complained of misquotation. In any event, we want to clear the matter. Please wire collect whether, and if so, how, you were misquoted.

EDITOR, THE ADVERTISER

Editor, The Advertiser:

Replying your telegram this date I assume that Mr. Tom Abernethy is referring to a letter written by me to Walter F. Miller in answer to his inquiry. Mr. Miller stated that The Advertiser quoted me as saying: "The 11 Alabama presidential electors came out against President Truman after they were nominated."

I told Mr. Miller that I did not make that statement. I have not seen the article in question. I think it is generally known that the electors came out against Mr. Truman before the primary.

J. C. INZER

McCorvey May Retire; He Remains A Dixiecrat

Montgomery Advertiser
Montgomery Alabama

By Geoffrey Birt
Staff Writer, The Alabama Journal

GESSNER T. McCORVEY, Alabama's Democratic Party chieftain, says he will continue to fight President Truman so long as he is chairman of the State Democratic Executive Committee.

McCorvey says that no presidential nominee "of the Truman-McGrath clique" will ever use Alabama's rooster "till the national party returns to the States' Rights principles of the Democratic Party of Alabama.

In a long-distance 'phone interview from Mobile, where he lives, McCorvey made it clear that his views are as immovable as the rock of Gibraltar. The Mobilian answered charges that he and his state committee have "bolted" the party. He lambasted Speaker of the House Sam Rayburn and "the Texas gang", called Senators Lister Hill and John Sparkman "wishy-washy" in their States' Rights support, and hit out at the Walker County and other Democratic committees which had criticized him or called for his resignation.

BIRT

"Dictation from CIO bosses, radicals and socialist fellows" was the way McCorvey interpreted many of these criticisms.

At the same time McCorvey let it be known he may not seek reelection to the state committee in 1950.

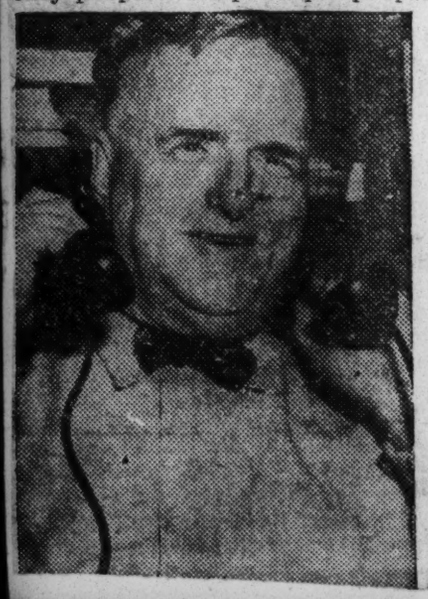
Here are the prepared questions put to McCorvey, with his answers.

QUESTION—When the States' Righters Party is reorganized will it have its own officers and party funds?

ANSWER—There is no States' Rights Party, but only the Democratic Party of Alabama which believes in states' rights and of which I am a member. No new or special organization is contemplated so far as I know.

QUESTION—States Righters, or Dixiecrats, oppose the policy of the Democratic Party. Will you continue to hold office as chairman of the Democratic Party in Alabama while promoting states' rights or Dixiecrat interests?

ANSWER—Certainly I will, because all real Democrats believes in states' rights, and are States' Righters. We have no belief in a strong bureaucratic federal central government. Just because we were beaten once does not mean we will stop fighting. The only people—the principal people—who want to stop the fight are a crowd of so-called Democrats. This crowd wants to stop fighting so they can start eating out of the public trough, or want some public job. That's the crowd to which people like Sam Rayburn and that Texas "gang" belong. They want jobs and to be put on the payrolls; they want a share of federal patronage, and to be able to give out lots of jobs to friends.



QUESTION — Some local Democratic executive committees want you to resign. Are you going to do so?

ANSWER—I will only resign if the state committee asks me to do so. I am not going to do just what a lot of CIO bosses, socialist fellows and radicals dictate for me to do. As against these few resignation requests you should see the large number of commendations I have received. I know about the Walker County committee's action. Also, some members of the Gadsden committee have written telling me that the majority of people in their district are with me.

McCORVEY

QUESTION—There has been criticism in the way the state committee spent party funds in support of the Boswell Amendment in 1946 and for the campaigns of some candidates for delegate to the national convention.

ANSWER—I know who is making those remarks—and so do you. The whole committee—except three or four—voted to spend money on the Boswell Amendment. As chairman, therefore, I did only what I was ordered to do. As for the delegate race—the committee voted funds to aid all the 21 candidates who came out opposed to Harry Truman and were for states' rights. The committee voted "to give the widest publicity possible" to this issue. Those were my orders; that is what I did. I bought radio time, newspaper space and had literature printed.

QUESTION—But what about the future? In the next presidential race will people be able to vote for the nominee of the national Democratic Party?

ANSWER—They could have done so last time if some of the fellows now squawking had got themselves a slate of electors. You would not think Harry Truman and his crowd would want to use our emblem—the emblem of the Democratic Party of Alabama—with its crowing rooster and motto "White Supremacy" would you? Our party is for states' rights, even if some, like Hill and Sparkman, are "wishy-washy" in their support.

QUESTION—Would a Republican victory Nov. 2 have been better for the South than a Truman victory?

ANSWER—That depends—some Republicans are better states' righters than some Democrats. But take Dewey's FEPC! That's now proving a perfect headache for them all in New York. They've had it some time. But it was only just before the election they started trying to enforce it. They are finding it a headache. (McCorvey instanced the case where a New York bank was asked to employ Negroes in strict accordance with the percentage of Negroes resident in New York.)

QUESTION—Wil you seek reelection to the State Democratic Committee in 1950?

ANSWER—I think I've done my share. I've served 20 years, this last year has taken up far too much of my time and taken away far too much of my strength. I am now working 18 hours a day, working up briefs, dictating and preparing suits. (McCorvey is an attorney and president of the Alabama Bar Association). I don't think I'll ever catch up with my work. I admit I don't like the idea of quitting while under fire, however.

THOSE close to McCorvey, and know him as a charming and very sincere man, know also how great the strain of recent events has been on him.

To get this interview the writer first phoned McCorvey's residence, because it was then 8:30 at night. But the party chief was still at his office. Twice during this talk, McCorvey had to break away to rest his voice.

He is big in stature, friendly by nature, and generally accounted honest in his intentions. He is a gentleman of the Old South. He has taken his stand—resolute and inflexible.

still part of the U. S. A.

QUESTION—Should Truman electors have been allowed to run "under the rooster" in Alabama?

INZER—Truman electors would have been on the ballot if application had been made. Trouble was that these other men were properly nominated as Democrats, by the Democratic Party of Alabama, and came out against Truman after they had been nominated. But the people who elected them don't forget and the U. S. Supreme Court upheld their rights (of the electors) to vote as they pleased. (All 11 voted for the State Right candidate, Gov. J. Strom Thurmond, South Carolina).

BECK — The emblem of the National Democratic party is a donkey, not a rooster. The national party has never accepted White Supremacy. Democratic electors pledged to Truman should have been on the ballot under the donkey. The Democratic Party is made up of a series of state organizations which in the Democratic Party of Alabama has a rooster for an emblem.

Some Democrats voted the President out in the primary, and that closed the whole issue. But folks should have been able somehow to vote for Mr. Truman.

QUESTION — Alabama's 11 presidential electors all voted for the States Rights nominee, Thurmond, instead of the Democratic nominee, Harry S. Truman. By this action did the electors bolt the Democratic Party?

INZER — That's a question you will have to ask them. They made their position quite clear; they were duly elected, and they cast their votes as they said they would.

I don't know this man Thurmond personally. But he was a Lieut. Gov. J. Clarence Inzer and Speaker of the House William Beck, have discussed their stands on the Dixiecrat issue.

Inzer said: "I have never been a Dixiecrat. I have always been a straight Democrat." The lieutenant-governor wants to present issue "worked out inside the Democratic Party."

Beck was less definite.

"Some issues . . . brought up are fundamental," Beck said, "but after all we are still part of the U. S. A. Just let me say I am a Democrat. We want to try and heal this breach . . . we need to bring state and national democratic parties together again."

Inzer, by virtue of his office, is presiding officer of the Alabama Senate. Beck is Speaker of the House of Representatives. Both are North Alabamians: Inzer lives in Gadsden, and Beck at Fort Payne, De Kalb County.

INZER and Beck answered the same set of questions independently—neither knew the other was likewise being interviewed. Here are the questions asked and the replies given:

States' Rights Group Votes To Limit Federal Powers

Montgomery Alabama

JACKSON, MISS., May 10—(AP)—A small group of states' rights supporters voted today to seek a constitutional amendment limiting federal power over every-day American life.

The proposed amendment suggests, among other things, turning back certain taxes to the states. Levies involved would be income, profit, gift, estate and inheritance taxes except amounts needed to finance the national security of veterans and dependents benefit programs.

Endorsement of the proposal came after the group dropped the word "Democrat" from their title. Wed. 5-11-49

Unanimously Endorsed

The approximately 325 delegates from 12 states unanimously endorsed the proposed constitutional amendment, argued about it for an hour, and then re-affirmed the endorsement.

Under the newly-adopted constitution the organization will be known as the National States Rights Committee. During the year of its existence the group's leaders have insisted that they were Democrats supporting the principles on which that party was founded. The term Democrat was not heard mentioned during today's two and a half hour general session.

Those meeting today were the successors to the 3,000 persons who met in Jackson auditorium last May 10. That group formed the organization which spearheaded a Southern revolt against President Truman's civil rights program and the Southern bolt from the Democratic convention in Philadelphia last June over the civil rights plank.

Laney Re-elected

Ben Laney, former governor of Arkansas and States Rights chairman for the past year, was re-elected by acclamation.

Names as vice-chairmen were Wallace W. Wright, Jackson businessman, and Leander Perez, Ponte a la Hache, La., Louisiana political leader and district attorney for St. Bernard and Plaquemines parishes. Ed Lewis of Jackson was named secretary and George Wallace of Jackson was named treasurer.

Wilkinson Presents Amendment

Judge Horace Wilkinson of Birmingham, Ala., presented the proposed amendment. He warned that it was only an expression of intent. Its form and terminology is subject to revision at any time, he said.

The amendment would shut off all federal power and control over education, elections, civil rights, race relations, wages, hours, working conditions, transfer of property, police power, suffrage and zoning.

It would forbid nationalization of labor, business, industry or professions. It would prohibit granting of implied constitutional powers to Congress, and deficit financing. Federal grants in aid would be administered exclusively by the states under its provisions, and any provision reserving power and authority to the states now in the constitution would be liberally construed.

U. S. Sales Tax 'Pending'

Wilkinson said he and the subcommittee had learned in Washington that a "national sales tax is in the works." For that reason, he said, they suggested in the amendment that any national sales tax be permanently earmarked for national debt payment. They also urged that all unpaid appropriations which exceed the amount of money in the treasury at the end of a fiscal year be declared void.

The organization, under its new constitution, is bound to "bring about the submission and adoption of an amendment to the constitution further protecting the right of the states to regulate all domestic matters and to take such other steps as may aid or assist in the preservation of states rights."

Jones Opposes Amendment

Discussion over the proposed amendment was sparked by State Sen. Fred Jones of Inverness, Miss. He protested it would hamstring child labor laws, operation of the Tennessee Valley Authority, national road standards, and laws governing the railroad and coal industries. Wed. 5-12-49

Wilkinson spent more than an hour answering Jones' objections. He stressed that what the abendment proposed was to prevent passage of Federal laws which would supersede those of any state in any field. At the conclusion of the Alabaman's discussion, the conference again voted its adoption unanimously.

Thurmond-Wright Not Present

Neither Gov. J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina, nor Gov. Fielding L. Wright, of Mississippi, the party's standard bearers last Fall, was present.

Wright sent a message in which he said "It is now more essential than ever that this organization be extended to the 48 states of this union. The adoption of the new constitution will be one of the most far-reaching steps in the right direction taken since the Declaration of Independence."

States represnted at the meting were Arkansas, Alabama, Florida, South Carolina, Louisiana, Mississippi, Tennessee, Kentucky, Texas, Virginia, Maryland and Nebraska.

STATE RIGHTERS SEEK TO OUTLAW NATIONALIZING LABOR, BUSINESS

The Birmingham News, Birmingham, Alabama, Wed. 5-11-49

JACKSON, Miss., May 11--AP--States Righters will seek a constitutional amendment against nationalization of labor, business, industry, or the professions.

Approximately 325 delegates from 12 states, in session here yesterday, endorsed an amendment which would give the states a claim to certain federal taxes. Mentioned were income, profit, gift, estate and inheritance levies. Excepted from the states' claims would be funds needed to finance national security and veterans and dependents benefit programs.

Wed. 5-11-49

The amendment would shut off all federal power and control over education, elections, civil rights, race relations, wages, hours, working conditions, transfer of property, police power suffrage and zoning.

It would prohibit granting of implied constitutional powers to Congress, and deficit financing. Under the States' Righters proposal, federal grants in aid would be administered exclusively by the states. Any provision reserving power and authority to the states now in the constitution would be liberally construed.

STATES REPRESENTED at the meetings were Arkansas, Alabama, Florida, South Carolina, Louisiana, Mississippi, Tennessee, Kentucky, Texas, Virginia, Maryland, and Nebraska.

Wed. 5-11-49

The organization, which dropped the name "Democrat" from its title, is called the National States Rights Committee. The group was formed here a year ago. It spearheaded a Southern revolt against President Truman's civil rights program and the Southern bolt from the Democratic convention in Philadelphia last June. Wed. 5-11-49

Neither Gov. J. Strom Thurmond, of South Carolina, nor Gov. Fielding L. Wright, of Mississippi, the States Righters standard bearers in the last presidential campaign, were at yesterday's session.

Wright sent a message in which he said "it is now more essential than ever that this organization be extended to the 48 states of this union." Wed. 5-11-49

BEN LANEY, FORMER GOVERNOR of Arkansas and States Rights chairman for the past year, was reelected. Named vice chairman were Walace W. Wright, Jackson business man, and Leander Perez, Pointe a la Hache, La., political leader. Wed. 5-11-49

The proposed amendment was presented by Judge Horace Wilkinson, of Birmingham, Ala. He stressed that it was subject to revision.

Wilkinson said he and the subcommittee had learned in Washington that a "national sales tax is in the works.' For that reason, he said, the proposed amendment would earmark any national sales tax for payment of the national debt.

Dying Dixiecrats

Washington Post

A reader comments May 17 that if the Dixiecrats have no future in the Democratic Party, then the Democratic Party has no future, and asks what elections could be won by it without the Dixiecrats.

Washington D.C.

The answer is plain. The re-

GIRD FOR 1950 VOTE

Birmingham

Party of Southern Democrats Would Leave Little to Federal Government but Defense

Wed. 5-11-49

JACKSON, Miss., May 10 (AP)—States' Rights Democrats, girding for delegation to the states of powers in 1950, approved a impeachment and no court in the rebellion against President Truman's civil rights program, attacked the platform today that would amendment would invalidate state decisions. Meeting on the anniversary of their founding during the Southern amendment that a President who violated them would be subject to control virtually everything except the Constitution to let the states control their own elections in presenting itself to the voters in the world.

ANOTHER SOUTHERNER.

STATES RIGHTERS

Jackson, Miss.

rights laws, education, election rules and wages and hours. Wed.

So broad were the "states' rights" sought in the proposed amendment that a President who violated them would be subject to impeachment and no court in the land could invalidate state decisions. New York N.Y.

Meeting on the anniversary of their founding during the Southern rebellion against President Truman's civil rights program, attacked the platform today that would amend the Constitution to let the states control their own elections in presenting itself to the voters in the world.

ANOTHER SOUTHERNER.

---

rights from nine states adopted the platform unanimously.

They met without their 1948 standard-bearers who captured thirty-nine electoral votes from President Truman last fall. Governor J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina sent regrets and an official representative because he was busy with his Legislature. Governor Fielding Wright of Mississippi still is in a hospital here suffering from a heart ailment.

an operation of his lip.

The proposed amendment would "clarify the authority of Congress, safeguard and protect the rights of of the states to regulate their domestic affairs, preserve local self government, check the trend toward centralization of power in Washington, eliminate extravagance and provide for and insure the solvency of the national government."

It would be a duty of Congress, under the proposal, "to fund and amorttize the national debt, prohibit deficit spending and require the government to operate on a pay-as-you-go basis except in time of war." Wed. 5-11-49

No branch of the national Government would be concerned with questions of "education, primary and general elections, the qualifications for suffrage, civil rights of individuals, racial relations, wages, hours and working conditions, zoning, the transfer and ownership of property or the exercise of police power." The Times

The amendment would leave the administering of Federal funds for aid to education strictly in the hands of the states. It also called for the proceeds of all income, profit, estate, gift and inheritance taxes, "in excess of the annual expenditures for the armed forces and our veterans and their dependents," to be returned to the states.

Any person convicted of violation of any provision of the proposed amendment would be subject to a fine of up to $10,000, or ten years' imprisonment, or both.

The delegates also adopted a party constitution which set out the aims of the organization along the lines of the proposed amendment.

Is Big Business Financing the Klan?

Dixiecrats Blamed For State Floggings

Examiner

Robert S. Allen, Washington columnist and one time partner of Drew Pearson, blamed the recent wave of terrorism and floggings in Alabama directly upon Dixiecrat interests in an article in the Atlanta Journal this week, quoting Attorney General Albert Carmichael's statement that "Orders for the flogging came from behind the mahogany desks of the big office buildings in Birmingham." Rev. 7-7-49

Allen quoted federal agents as saying that the new activity of the Alabama Klan is a deliberate move to incite racial prejudice in Alabama prior to the 1950 primary.

The Justice Department, wrote Allen, believes that the secret wire pullers of the rank and file Klansmen are the Dixiecrat politicos and the great business interests that control them.

TCI Gives Flogging Order

Allen pointed to the 1936 flogging of a University of Alabama mathematics professor for his outspoken support of the New Deal. Orders for this flogging were traced by Senator Robert M. La-Follette, Jr. (Wisconsin Republican) to a long distance telephone call placed by an official of the Tennessee Coal and Iron Co. of Birmingham, Allen said.

Discussing the well-heeled Dixiecrat politicos, the Washington columnist nodded toward Gessner T. McCorvey of Mobile who represents some of the state's leading corporations including Aluminum Corporation of America and subsidiaries of Standard Oil of Louisiana, and Horace Wilkinson, of Birmingham, whose name has been associated with the Klan. 7-7-49

Out Of State Voice

An out of state voice that has been heard in the Dixiecrat movement is that of Leander H. Perez, according to Allen, who has close business and political ties with the Alabama Dixiecrats.

Perez recently spent several weeks in Washington seeking to arrange a compromise with Attorney General Tom Clark for the Tidelands Oil Interests.

The Divided Democrats

Relations between the national Democratic Party and States' Righters in Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana and South Carolina now seem somewhat clearer—and more definitely disrupted. Birmingham, Ala.

Yesterday the Democratic National Committee voted to expel certain of its members from these four states, including Marion Rushton, of Alabama. It accepted the recommendation of its credentials group, which was based on Rule 11 of the national committee's manual. That rule sets forth that the committee shall expel those members who failed to support nominees of the party's national convention. News. 8-25-49

The reason for the rule is obvious. A national party cannot function effectively without a high degree of cooperation and loyalty on the part of state units in its organization.

* * *

Of course defections from parties are not infrequent. No American is absolutely bound to any party. Not infrequent, too, are reconciliations after defection. A national party is likely to show great patience in seeking such healing of breaches. Members in dissenting groups, naturally, are usually loath to make disruption final. There are many things that tend to bind long-time party officials and members together. That has been the general situation as between national Democratic officials and States' Rights leaders.

But in four Southern states the States' Rights Democrats formed a separate national ticket. Even after Mr. Truman's remarkable victory, it seemed likely that a basis might be found for reconciliation. But States' Rights leaders say they will support the party only on their own terms—that is, if the civil rights program is disavowed. Not only did they rebel in 1948; certain Alabama spokesmen threaten to fight the national party hard in 1952 unless their demands are met.

* * *

Well, it was scarcely conceivable that the national committee would yield to those terms. Rule 11 of the committee's manual provided a ready basis for its action recommending expulsion of States' Rights members. Just how States' Righters expected—if they did expect—to remain in good standing in the national organization while proclaiming their intention to act independently and strictly according to their own convictions is not clear. It never has been clear. No national party could be effective on such a basis. Majority rule must function in many party matters as in many other political fields.

Of course there were pressures that the States' Righters could and did apply. But they went too far. The national leadership could not yield to such terms and maintain real authority for itself and essential cohesion in its ranks.

* * *

So now what? Well, many confusions and uncertainties still remain. With reconciliation seemingly out of the question now, two definite organizations of Democrats may develop in the four states. Surely those Democrats who wish to support the national party will want their own state organization and regular ties with the national committee. Some definite decisions along these lines now seem necessary.

Olive Branch Brings Hoot From McCorvey

President Truman's invitation for States' Righters to realign themselves with the national Democratic Party drew caustic comment today from Gessner T. McCorvey, state Democratic Executive Committee chairman.

"Rejoin what?" the chairman asked, "that socialist party?"

Mr. McCorvey said in Mobile that ouster of Committeeman Marion Rushton by the national committee will, in his opinion, solidify the South against the national Democratic Party's "anti-South program."

HE ADDED that "so far as we are concerned, there is no vacancy. Mr. Rushton is our committeeman.

"We intend to cast electoral votes in 1952," he added.

Rushton, from Montgomery, was one of five Southerners who were removed from the national committee yesterday because of their States' Rights activity last Fall.

The president, in a speech last night, asked them to come back into the fold—on his own terms. Those terms were on the basis of the 1948 platform on which President Truman was elected.

Gov. Folsom sent the national committee a telegram praising it for denying seats to States' Righters. News. 8-25-49

McCorvey said, "I have no com-

ment on Gov. Folsom's telegram. Everybody to his own taste. . . . Of course I was in no manner surprised. . . . His telegram is in keeping with the efforts he made last year to have Alabama's 11 presidential electors violate their solemn pledge to not to vote for Harry Truman or anyone else ad-

vocating his anti-South program." 8-25-49

PRESIDENT TRUMAN made it plain he wanted the Southerners back.

McCorvey's answer:

"I have no desire to join the national socialist Democratic Party now headed by President Truman. I have never belonged to that party and have no desire to join it.

"I prefer to remain a member of the Democratic Party of Alabama to which I have always belonged. You can certainly not talk about my return to a party of which I have never been a member."

He said, "We are going to go ahead and fight again just as hard as we did in 1948, until the national party mends its ways."

Rushton was denied a seat on the national committee when he opposed election of Truman.

Mrs. Lennard Thomas, Alabama's national committeewoman, was without question. She refused to support the States' Rights movement last year.

* * *

HERE IS THE TEXT of the national credential committee's finding concerning Mr. Rushton:

"With reference to Alabama, in the statement made before the credentials committee by Marion Rushton . . . and his admission he actively opposed election of Democratic nominees for president and vice president chosen by the national convention of the Democratic Party at Philadelphia in its 1948 convention, we find a vacancy in the office of the Democratic national committeeman from Alabama exists and we recommend his name be expunged from rolls of the Democratic National Committee.

"This action is taken pursuant to Rule 11 of the Democratic National Committee. This report is unanimously submitted by members of the credentials committee."

The national committee accepted this report in full.

34d 1949

Bar Group In Row On States Rights

Birmingham Ala. News

MOBILE, Ala., Aug. 13—(AP)—A long-standing political feud flared at the Alabama State Bar Association Convention today on the States' Rights issue.

States Rights forces, led by former Gov. Frank Dixon, of Birmingham, emerged victorious when the association adopted two resolutions which proponents said were based on principles of local self-governme

Post. 8-13-49

RICHARD RIVES, Montgomery attorney, led the fight against the resolutions. He said proponents were attempting to "railroad" them in the same manner as last year when President Truman's name was kept off the Alabama ballot.

The resolutions opposed Senate ratification of the international covenant on human rights and a proposed treaty dealing with punishment of crimes through international tribunals.

The association elected Francis Hare of Birmingham as its new President.

Gen. Holland M. (Howlin' Mad) Smith addressed the Alabama State Bar Assn., yesterday/

"We are preparing to resist any further expansion of Russia at the cost of war, if we find it necessary", he said.

President Gessner T. McCorvey called upon the Alabama State Bar today to help cut Alabama's growing divorce rate by eliminating cruelty as grounds, unless cruelty actually existed.

"We all know, and there is no use in our shutting our eyes to the facts, that in the vast majority of these cases no such cruelty has taken place, and no such cruelty is feared," he said.

In his annual address to the State Bar Assn. convention, McCorvey called upon his fellow lawyers to go slow on insanity pleas in murder cases.

News
Sat. 8-13-49
Birmingham, Ala.

Dixiecrats

Washington Notebook . . .

By LEM GRAVES JR.

(Courier's Washington Correspondent)

EDITOR'S NOTE: Leslie Perry, legislative representative of the NAACP, is substituting for Lem Graves Jr., while Mr. Graves is on vacation.

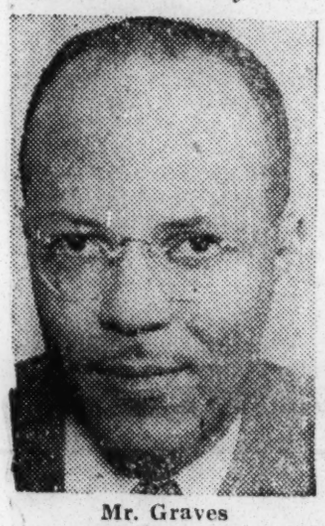
Courier

By LESLIE PERRY

34d 8-3-49

Dixiecrats Taken Down a Peg or Two

WASHINGTON—Dixiecrats from Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi and South Carolina received a resounding slap from the Democratic National Committee when it excluded them last week from party councils. And President Truman did not do badly himself when he coyly extended the olive branch to the ousted Dixiecrats on condition that they not only accept the Fair Deal but the civil rights program as well.



Mr. Graves

For almost a year now reactionary Southern die-hards have been receiving a good buffeting. Dixiecrat members of Congress have been denied political patronage ever since Truman took office. The withdrawing of patronage is fatal to a politician in the economically depressed South. When the bottom is hit in the political pork barrel, which for more than sixteen years has kept that section fat with post offices, public works and jobs, it is evident that no group can long remain in power without these lush Federal handouts.

For this reason, the blustering threats of the Dixiecrats about what they are going to do in 1952 has a hollow ring. The next Presidential election is a long way off for a crowd whose insufferable egotism has been deflated, self-confidence undermined and grist for its political mills cut off. It is a safe guess that the Dixiecrats and their fellow travelers, whose wings have already been clipped as far as the national scene is concerned, will soon be out even in their own bailiwick.

* * *

Only Half of the Job

Punitive action against Dixiecrats, though important, represents only half of the job. The Administration needs badly to inject some lead into the spines of the so-called liberal Northern Democrats if it expects to get through a meaningful Fair Deal program.

The present crop of liberal Northern Democrats in the Eighty-first Congress might have looked good to us three or four years ago. They have not the least hesitancy about denouncing racial discrimination and injustice, and I firmly believe they are sincere. But such a limited attack on the problem is behind the time.

For all that we might say about the Republican-controlled Eightieth Congress, such Senators as Irving Ives of New York and Homer Ferguson of Michigan under the skilled leadership of liberal Wayne Morse of Oregon, took a flat stand in opposition to racial segregation, as such. This resulted in the defeat in the Senate in May, 1948, of the plan of the Southern Governors to establish, with congressional approval, segregated regional colleges and marked the first time that leading members of Congress were willing to stand up and be counted on the theretofore untouchable issue of racial segregation. The Eightieth Congress also killed the Rankin bill to establish a segregated veterans' hospital at the home of Booker T. Washington in Franklin County, Va.

* * *

'Separate But Equal' Fallacy

If there is anyone who needs to be convinced that there can be no equality under the system "separate but equal," he needs only to examine the statistics of Federal expenditures to land-grant colleges and universities issued by the United States Office of Education. This publication shows that during the year 1946 in Southern States where segregation is the law and separate state land-grant colleges are maintained for the races, the seventeen white colleges received $20,745,864 out of the Federal treasury while the seventeen Negro land-grant colleges in the same states received a total of only $562,271.

The shameful story of rank discrimination in educational opportunity is repeated in segregated job opportunities, the segregated Army, in housing, health and other welfare services. Yet, when these bills have been before the Eighty-first Congress not a single liberal Democrat has been willing to offer and fight for non-segregation amendments. In the main, the amendments offered by Republicans or the member of the American Labor party, on the doubtful rationale that the adoption of non-segregation clauses will result in the

ultimate defeat of the legislation itself. At the same time these same liberals are not lifting a finger to push the civil rights program, i.e., FEPC, anti-lynching and anti-poll tax bills, they say they want to see passed.

* * *

Negro Shouldn't Be Confused

This fence straddling "I'm against discrimination but won't vote against segregation," must be very confusing to those "liberal" members of Congress who have convictions. It should not, however, confuse the Negro and others who strive to achieve full democracy.

Ten years ago the test for most Negro voters of whether a Congressman or Senator was worthy of support was the way such member of Congress voted on the anti-lynching bill. Today, we are more mature. We not only gauge a candidate on the basis of his stand on the civil rights program, but on the way he votes on housing, education, labor, health and other social and economic issues.

Yes, the stand of the Administration on the Dixiecrats is welcome. But, that same Administration must make its forces in Congress stand up on the all-important issue of racial segregation which cuts across all of American life. Otherwise, the Negro voter will certainly make the question of segregation a prime issue in the 1952 congressional elections.

Young Democrats Denounce Dixiecrats And Demand Unity

The Young Democrats of Alabama went on record "against splinter parties" and "for Jeffersonian Democracy" here yesterday.

The pro-National Democratic Party resolutions were adopted at a rally attended by between 75 and 100 young political luminaries from all over the state.

Four delegates from the state-at-large and two from each Congressional district were elected to the national convention of Young Democrats of America in Chattanooga Nov. 17-19.

The spirited group denounced the States' Rights party by declaring that ". . . the hierarchy of the Democratic Executive Committee in Alabama has, through undemocratic action, separated the Democrats of Alabama from the National Democratic Party."

Inactive in Alabama in recent years, the Young Democrats named as their aim: "restoration of the Democratic Party in Alabama and the establishment of affiliations with the National Democratic Party . . ."

Delegates chosen from the state-at-large for the Chattanooga convention were: Jim Smith, Alabama president of the Young Democrats, Tuscumbia, Mrs Dorothy Vrendenburg, secretary of the Democratic National Committee, Vredenburg, Ala. State Senator Joe Langan, Mobile, and W. J. (Bill) Primm, Montgomery.

These from the second (Montgomery) district were:

Jim Kitchen and Tom Harlin, both of Montgomery; Oliver Brantley, Troy and Jimmy Faulkner, Baldwin County. The latter two are alternates.

W. E. (Red) James was chosen as chairman of the second district, and Burns Bennett as fund raiser. Both are from Montgomery.

Mrs. Lennard Thomas, Democratic National Committeewoman from Montgomery, was among those attending the one-day rally.

During the spirited discussion that livened up the meeting James J. Mayfield, a member of the State Democratic Executive Committee, said: "The Young Democrats are for States' Rights as set down by Thomas Jefferson and not by Horace Wilkinson."

James stood and added: "We are a cohesive element. We are not set apart as is the States Rights' party. More crimes have been committed in the South under that term (States' Rights) than any other one thing."

Senator Langan said he "didn't want to get tied in with a States' Rights party that deprives people of human rights or any other kind of rights."

Lecil Gray, probate judge of Walker county, declared: "The issue is this: Will we fight for party squabbles next Spring inside or outside of the party?" Gray declared he was for a battle within the party.

Senator Langan introduced the two resolutions adopted by the group. Both were adopted unanimously.

The first reads: "Whereas, the hierarchy of the Democratic Executive Committee in Alabama has, through undemocratic action, separated the Democrats of Alabama from the National Democratic Party, and

"Whereas, the growth of democracy and that assurance of conduct of government for the benefit of the people has been best served by a two-party system, whereby a majority of the people of the nation will be in support of the successful party, and

"Whereas, certain so called Democrats have endeavored to establish a minority Dixiecrat Party in Alabama which never achieved national success and will therefore be to the detriment of the people of Alabama.

"Now therefore be it resolved that the Young Democrats of Alabama in meeting assembled at Montgomery, Ala., on this 23rd day of October, 1949, do hereby adopt as our puropes the restoration of the Democratic party in Alabama and the establishment of affiliation with the Demoratic party by sending a delegation to the National Convention of Young Democrats, meeting in Chattanooga, Tenn., Nov. 17, 18, and 19."

The second said: "Be it resolved by the Young Democrats of Alabama that we hereby pledge our allegiance and support to the National Democratic Committee, the Democratic Party of Alabama, and to the concepts of Jefferson Democracy.

"Be it further resolved that we believe all differences between Democrats should be fought out within the party and not by the establishment of ineffective splinter parties."

States' Rights, Voter Qualifications Bring Sharp Battles At State Bar Convention

MOBILE, ALA., Aug. 13—(AP)—The Alabama Bar Association convention erupted today with two sharply worded battles on the States' Rights and voter qualification issues.

The floor fights burst forth near the close of the two-day convention, which was punctuated throughout with references to the States' Rights movement.

Forces led by former Gov. Frank Dixon and Horace Wilkinson, of Birmingham, won adoption of resolutions on the States' Rights theme and on the voter qualification law. The opposition was led by Richard T. Rives, of Montgomery.

The leadership lineup in the States' Rights battle followed that of last year when pro-Truman forces sought unsuccessfully to place the President's electors on the Alabama ballot.

Boswell Substitute

One resolution adopted by the convention urged the Alabama Senate to pass a proposed substitute for the outlawed Boswell Amendment which would set character and loyalty tests for prospective voters.

Two others urged the U. S. Senate to oppose ratification of any international covenant on human rights and a proposed treaty dealing with prevention and punishment of crime through international tribunals.

Both of the treaty resolutions said the proposals "may well mean the surrender of basic principles of local self-government to the federal government and international tribunals."

Rives made a losing fight to table the treaty resolutions. In a speech supporting his position, he said, "I came here to attend a bar association convention and not a Dixiecrat convention."

Railroading Scored

He said proponents of the resolutions were attempting to "railroad" them through in the same manner as last Summer when Truman's name was left off the Alabama ballot.

"For the first time, I was deprived of the right to vote and I'm not going to sit by and let you put something else over on me without a fight," he said. "I was not one of those who voted for Gov. Thurmond (The States' Rights candidate) last Fall."

The association elected Francis H Hare, of Birmingham, president, succeeding Gessner T. McCorvey, of Mobile. The election came on Hare's 45th birthday.

Other new officers: John A. Lusk, Gadsden, first vice-president; Robert Ramsey, Dothan, second vice-president; Lawrence F. Gerald, Clanton, secretary; and H. M. Cook, Birmingham, attorney and proctor.

The convention floor fight developed just after Gov. J. Strom Thurmond, of South Carolina States' Rights presidential candidate last year, renewed his criticism of what he called a "militant socialistic trend in our national government."

RALPH McGILL

A Boulder And a Tree

Atlanta Constitution

I don't know when a "lead" to an article has struck me as being so overwhelming in its logic as that encountered in a recent New York Times magazine article by Raymond B. Fosdick, nationally known minister and writer. It began: Atlanta, Georgia

"When the last glacier retreated northward from what is now Connecticut, it left behind, as mementos of its visit, great boulders of rock which are now strewn lavishly across the State. Several of them, as large as a corncrib and many tons in weight, were deposited on my farm, and for 15 years I have watched one of them fight a losing battle with an ash tree. The tree evidently started in a seed lodged in a tiny pocket in the top of the rock. When I first saw it, it was a sturdy sapling that had made for itself a comfortable crevice for its roots. Today its irresistible growth has torn the massive rock into fragments. Tues - 4-12-49

"This is the law of life. The future belongs not to rigid absolutes, whether they are primal rocks or unyielding social arrangements, but to the thing that can grow, whether it is a tree or a democracy.

"It is strange that a principle as familiar as this should today need underscoring, but we are living in years of uncertainty and fear, and fear induces a kind of spiritual astigmatism. To be sure, in our generation we have reason for our fears, and every justification to resist the threat that creates them. But I am thinking of fear as an evil in itself and what it does to human emotions and reactions.

"For one thing, fear breeds an instinctive hostility to growth, because growth means change, and in anxious hours men tend to cling to the shelter of the present or to put their faith in nostalgia for the past. But history's current is sweeping us into the future and we cannot stand still, nor is there now any place left to go back to. The illusion that security can be found in immobility, or that safety is dependent upon the absence of change, is perhaps the most dangerous form of imbalance which plagues the minds of men."

I believe that. Exactly that.

Coincident By coincidence it appeared in the same week that there met in Dothan, Ala., the embattled Dixiecrats, and in Macon and Atlanta, Ga., the Brooklyn Dodgers played exhibition games in which their two Negro players participated without incident, save for applause which the Georgia-born Negro, Jackie Robinson, called "his greatest thrill."

They are widely separated and yet related.

The Dixiecrats remain, for all their prating, a fraud. They do not believe in States' rights, but in States' wrongs. The effort to create the impression that only the South is interested in States' rights is not merely untrue, but harmful. Indeed, if greatly desired States' rights are lost, as they well may be, they will disappear because of the Dixiecrat element which struck the South a vital blow by confusing States' rights with human rights in the narrow racial field and, worse, by identifying civil rights with specific legislation. Indeed, the great trouble with States' rights today is that the issue has been distorted and confused with legislative bills. These bills, many proposed and not even introduced, have little likelihood of passing. The Dixiecrats, standing for wrongs, have made it difficult to preserve rights.

Opposition The South cannot be opposed to civil rights. It may oppose, when and if legislation actually is introduced, certain forms and parts of civil rights legislation. But if an antilynch bill can be written which is constitutional, can any Southerner oppose it? Can any American say he opposes any constitutional measure which has for its purpose the further protecting of life and property? Some of the antilynch legislation proposed has been so punitive and ill-advised as to be obviously unconstitutional. We have opposed it. But if a constitutional measure is created, how can it harm a hair of our most delicate tradition? Certainly the poll tax ought to be eliminated as a prerequisite to voting. The States ought to do it themselves. If they don't, and it is constitutional for the Federal Government to act, what possible objection can there be? Tues - 4-12-49

FEPC We have violently opposed the FEPC (Fair Employment Practices Commission) as proposed. We always will. It included bureaucratic, coercive, police power. It is unworkable and wrong. We believe it already defeated, and it is not yet before Congress. Fifteen States have defeated coercive, FEPC legislation. But here in the South, with an industrial revolution rushing toward us, could there be any objection to a Labor Department committee which had the power to conciliate, recommend and arbitrate, as the conciliation service has been doing for years in labor disputes? We can have a boom only if all our people work.

If these be civil rights, are they wrong?

Brooklyn The Brooklyn club played its games in Georgia. The two Negroes were just two ballplayers, accepted by their associates in the field of professional sport. Any association off the field would come under the head of social association and that, if course, is a matter for the individual. The point is, there was no social equality in playing baseball for hire. The bitter truth is that too many Southerners look upon a Negro's chance to have a job as "social equality," which it is not. There ought to be a lesson in it for us.

Dr. Fosdick also said:

"Today the conception of freedom is once again taking on a larger meaning. Our generation is thinking of the threat to freedom which comes from poverty and insecurity, from sickness and the slum, from social and economic conditions in which human beings cannot be free. In many countries, including our own, this new conception of freedom is struggling to make itself articulate, and irresistible change in older points of view is taking place before our eyes.

"Democracy is another conception which must also be reinterpreted from generation to generation. It is government by the people and for the people, but its limits were not finally determined by the political concepts of the eighteenth century. Rather, it is a growing, dynamic faith, a perpetually evolving adjustment between freedom and justice, between individual rights and the demands of society. This adjustment, however, is never perfectly and finally attained; it remains a problem which mankind must solve again and again. 'It is provided in the very essence of things,' said Walt Whitman, 'that from any fruition of success, no matter what, shall come forth something to make a greater struggle necessary.'"

The choice of Dothan as a Dixiecrat meeting place was very fitting. It was at Dothan that Joseph's brothers, who hated Joseph, calling him an idealist and a dreamer, sought to hold back the future, by planning first to lynch him and later, changing their minds, by selling him into slavery. The Dixiecrats first tried to kill the Democratic Party and now seek to sell it and the South into the slavery of an impotent third party and the bondage of the past. Joseph's brothers failed of their purpose. So will the Dixiecrats. The South will grow and change because the people of the South are by nature fair, decent and of good will.

3 Dixiecrat Speakers Attack Truman's Civil Rights Program

Montgomery Advertiser
Montgomery, Alabama.

DOTHAN, ALA., April 8.—The three principal speakers at today's States' Right dinners here all denounced President Truman's civil rights program and demanded "constitutional government."

The speakers were: Charles J. Bloch, Macon, Ga., attorney; John Temple Graves, III, Birmingham columnist, and former Alabama Governor Frank M. Dixon.

Excerpts from their speeches follow:

Graves: "The South at bat: History to follow—

"To these belong the mandate of the South—Strom Thurmond to whom a million Southerners gave their vote; Dick Russell for whom all that remained of the South, protesting Mr. Truman's federal force, stood up at Philadelphia.

"Put these two and their mandates together and you have the South that wields now a balance of power in the Senate of the United States, the South near to sum total, the fighting South.

'Put These Together'

"Put these together, and add the national leaders who carry our philosophy, and Ike Eisenhower, and, yes, Senator Taft and who knows, Harold Stassen—and you have a total so near to half, this nation that if it isn't half already, one good push or impulse can put it over.

"Put all of these together, and add at last the great names out of the American past for whose truths these moderns do battle—add Thomas Jefferson, and Woodrow Wilson, and, (begging Vice President Barkley's pardon) and Andrew Jackson—and by all the gods, gentlemen, you have a political party. You have a party more Democratic than Republican but touched with the best faith of both. You have a party so deeply kin to all that has made this nation great and to what can keep it great that a name for it comes about as naturally as its human totals have. If the name of the splinter Mr. Truman holds, the one of federalism-gone-mad, of socialism-come-creeping, of laborism-turned-facist, is the name so popular in FascistCommunist lands, if the name is national Democratic, then the name for this one I have described, so faithful to American, so genuine in Jefferson's Democracy—is American Democratic. Or just—American."

Charles T. Bloch: "From the South to the North, and the East, and the West—a message—

Express Thanks

"We are gathered here not only to express our appreciation in the sense of our thanks, our gratitude to the senators who have in the last few weeks done so much in the Senate of the United States to espouse the cause of the Constitution of the United States. We are gathered here also to consider a message to the people of the North, and the East, and the West—a message in the nature of an earnest petition that they appreciate—be sensible of—the momentous issues now again before the nation for consideration—whether the people, the whole people of the United States, will take the side of the conservatives, or will be drawn into support of the radicals.

"We say that if existing federal power is not sufficient to meet the growing complexities of social and commercial conditions, that extension of power should not be sought by usurpation of power, by unwarranted judicial construction of such powers so usurped, but by amendments to the Constitution if it should be the will of the people that the Constitution be amended.

"And, in so saying to you, we realize that our position must be right. Not only that—we must demonstrate that it is right . . . ."

Former Gov. Frank Dixon—"Admitted the States' Rights movement was touched off by the President's racial policies, but denied vigorously that the aim is to keep the Negro in "bondage for the selfish purposes of the white race in the South."

'Issues Go Deeper'

"The issues go far deeper," he declared. "They go to the fundamentals of local self-government as opposed to a police state—to personal freedom as opposed to federal police regulation of private lives and destinies.

"It was Mr. Truman's civil rights program that made the South realize the danger in which we lived . . . It came just in time. It secured the mass support of people wherever the issues were understood: wherever there were men courageous enough

to withstand the Washington pressure . . . ."

Referring to the President's recent denunciation of States' Rights leaders as "poor Democrats," Dixon said the reason was because "We . . . . believe in the ancient liberties of this land. It is because we believe in those liberties that we are good Democrats."

Dixiecrats Offer To Deal With Any Political Party Embracing States' Rights

Montgomery Advertiser
Montgomery Alabama
Sat-4-9-49

Spokesman Asserts Nucleus Exists In Anti-Truman Congress Forces; 500 Persons Attend Dothan Dinner

By A. F. MAHAN, JR.
Assistant Managing Editor
The Advertiser

DOTHAN, ALA., April 8—Alabama States' Rights Democrats—more than 500 strong—offered tonight to join "any national group or party which sincerely embraces states' rights and constitutional government."

John Temple Graves, a Birmingham spokesman for the States' Righters, said the nucleus for the new party already exists in the coalition of Southern Democrats and Republican conservatives against President Truman's labor and civil rights programs. Graves said: "And, gentlemen, let us not wince any more when we hear the word Republican."

'Appreciation Dinners'

The States' Righters gathered here for "average Alabamian's appreciation dinners," sponsored by Wallace D. Malone, Dothan banker, state legislator and Dixiecrat leader against President Truman in the 1948 election. Malone, as did the vast majority of the others meeting here, approved the walk-out of Alabama delegates in opposition to President Truman and his civil rights plank at the Philadelphia Democratic Convention.

Most of them supported the Thurmond-Wright States' Rights ticket and the pledge taken by Alabama's 11 Democratic electors to vote against Mr. Truman under any and all circumstances in the electoral college—which they did.

Dining Halls Used

Malone's dinner, originally planned as a single Southeastern Alabama affair, grew so rapidly that four dining halls had to be reserved for those requesting admittance. This included an estimated 15 state legislators.

Purpose of the gathering, Malone says, is to "show the appreciation of the people of Southeast Alabama to those who stood up for states' rights in Congress and in party conventions—irrespective of party." It is being held just four days in advance of the regular Democratic Party's fund-raising Jefferson-Jackson Day dinner in Birmingham.

In contrast, Malone's dinners cost $2-a-plate against $15 rate in Birmingham, where Vice President Alben Barkley will be principal speaker.

Resolution Drafted

The offer to join any group or party, "which sincerely embraces states' rights and constitutional government," was contained in a resolution drafted by Malone's executive committee headed by Preston Thornton.

It was signed by 75 members and was passed around in printed form for those attending the dinners to sign individually.

Charles J. Bloch, the Macon attorney who nominated Georgia's Senator Russell for president in opposition to President Truman at Philadelphia, and Graves were principal speakers. Former Governor Frank Dixon also spoke.

Speeches Made Twice

To get over their messages the three had to speak twice each, once at the Dothan Recreation Hall and again at the Houston Hotel. Diners from the hotel coffee shop and a nearby cafeteria crowded into the hotel to listen.

Bloch emphasized the states' rights amendment to the Constitution and insisted that if the President's civil rights program is to be adopted it should be done through submission of a constitutional amendment to a vote of the people.

"We speak for the constitutionalists of the Democratic Party. The President of the United States, the vice-president, Senators Lucas of Illinois, Myers of Pennsylvania, McGrath of Rhode Island, and Humphrey of Minnesota, are in the forefront of those speaking for the extremists."

Expanding on his Republicans-don't-stink-any-more theme, newspaperman Graves said:

'Hell Trembled For Us'

"Hell trembled for us once at the hideous name. That was because of our race problem. But in the great course of events it has come about that from the standpoint of the problem there is now no more, or less, reason for voting Democratic than Republican.

"It is a time to hold on, to keep ourselves independent, to be ready for any course, and to take any and every party association that will serve our great points. 1952 will be another time."

Turning to the civil rights question, Graves said that states' rights don't mean a "hey-day for our Negro baiters, haters and exploiters."

The offer to join another party was interpreted thus by an observer, who asked that he not be quoted by name:

"The Dixiecrats figure that the Democratic Party has deserted them, that they now stand outside it. They are open to an invitation to rejoin—under their own terms—or to go somewhere else.

Signers of the resolution from Dothan (unless otherwise noted) were: Wallace D. Malone, J. G. Owens, L. A. Farmer, Jr., Don Pierce, Charlie Adams, Press Thornton, Fred M. Garner, M. B. Malone, Boykin W. Davis, J. Ray Rainer, Dr. Hanners, Route 1, Newton, Ala.; Robert M. Guillot, E. E. Dorroh, H. K. Martin, Alto Lee, 3rd.

W. Perry Calhoun, W. C. Ligenby, Walter C. Morris, John T. Mullins, Oscar L. Thompkins, Lawrence Oakley, Bert Davis, W. C. Farmer, A. R. Register, J. C. Barber, Poney C. Oranton, Slocomb, Ala.; Smith Hall, W. M. Nolan, R. F. Wilkes, J. H. Bryaon, Earl C. Moody, Luther Ingalls, Montgomery, Ala.; T. A. West, Jr.

Malone Cootey, W. F. Martin, Quay M. Fortner, G. M. Harrison, Claude T. Cotten, J. A. Streyer, Richmond M. Flowers, J. Mullins, Jr., C. K. Merrill, Roy Howell, S. M. Bentley, Chester Parham, Jr., Sam Bellrman, W. C. Faulkner, George Y. Malone, J. B. Dowling, Newton, Ala.; L. F. Covington, Jr.

R. E. Spann, J. H. Brennon, R. L. Cox, John H. Dove, E. Hilson, T. J. Whatley, Jr., Cowarts, Ala.; C. R. Welch, W. H. Pettus, Richmond C. McClinock, W. G. Hardwick, O. D. Ussery, R. N. Massee, T. L. Nichols, J. Robert Ramsey, John R. Adkins, Judge J. A. Logue, J. P. Culver, R. B. Hackney, John W. Stowers, J. L. Harris, L. D. Durden, Doris Williams, Frank B. Bennett, C. H. Chapman, H. C. Adam, Lucille Willis and John W. Rish.

Text of "statement and resolution by the committee for the average Alabamians appreciation dinner held at Dothan, Ala., April 8, 1949."

"We average Alabamians, and others, proclaim the following statement:

"The intent to preserve the utmost individual freedom is a golden thread woven into the fabric of our Constitution. Therefore, in addition to positive guarantees to the individual, and a remarkable arrangement of checks and balances, its authors deliberately reserved to the sovereign states all powers not specifically granted to the federal establishment.

Dominant Factor

"This system, so perfectly suited to an enlightened people of moral fibre, has been a dominant factor in building the strongest, yet the most unselfish nation on this earth. As Winston Churchill last week warned, we need this strength now as never before.

"Yet, lately, we find our states being steadily deprived of those sustaining powers—the checks and balances often evaded. Thus, individual liberty is in danger. This subordination of the states had been accomplished largely by the cynical demagogues who love power for its own sake, and by those who hope to profit thereby—aided and abetted by aggressive leaders of organized minorities, who were thought to hold the balance of political power. This, of course, has been at the expense of the average American, for such power feeds only upon liberty—constantly its demands thereon. Thomas Jefferson, whose name is being recently used so carelessly, foresaw this, and in 1825 deplored the rapid strides with which the federal branch of our government is advancing toward the usurpation of all the rights reserved to the states.

"Alabama learned in former years, how oppressive government by remote control can often be. We are constrained to believe that many other states often have their own peculiar problems, which they, themselves, can best solve, without interference from Washington.

We, in Alabama, with tempered justice, mutual confidence and understanding, can and will thus solve ours. This solution will ultimately be applauded.

"We do not believe that these minority groups will hold the decisive power. We have lately had encouragement which has made us confident that the large majority of average Americans are awakening to the danger inherent in the 'total state'. We believe that states' rights is the best weapon presently available, with which we may oppose this danger. The States' Rights movement by its own nature, must not be a sectional affair. We declare that we will join hands with any national group or party who sincerely embraces States' Rights and constitutional government. We declare that principle is above any party. We invite all Americans to work with us.

States' Righter Invites Truman To Repent Sins

Montgomery Advertiser
Montgomery Alabama
Sun 4-3-49

WASHINGTON, April 4.—(AP)—Rep. Williams (D), Mississippi, invited President Truman and the Democratic administration today to "repent of of their sins against the Constitution and return to the house of Jefferson."

Williams, a Southern States' Rights supporter, extended his invitation during a House talk in which he said he was happy to see that "the administration has apparently undergone a change of heart" with regard to the rent control bill.

"I am delighted that the administration has apparently undergone a change of heart," Williams said, "and am pleased to say to Mr. Truman, who is a good Baptist like I am, that, like Baptists, we who embrace the tenets of states' rights democracy believe it is never too late to be saved.

"The doors of our political faith are always wide open and this is an invitation to Mr. Truman and the Democratic administration to repent of their sins against the Constitution, profess their faith in states' rights and return to the house of Jefferson."

Dixiecrats Call 'Revival' Meeting

Montgomery Advertiser
Montgomery Ala
Sun 2-6-49

BIRMINGHAM, ALA., Feb. 5—The executive committee of the States Rights Democratic movement will meet in Birmingham Sunday and Monday "probably to formulate plans to revive the organization."

The meeting will open at 10 a.m. at the Tutwiler Hotel.

It will be the first official meeting of the committee since the November election. The organization supported Gov. J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina for president, and Gov. Fielding L. Wright of Mississippi for vice-president.

An informal meeting of states rights supporters was held in Washington recently, at which tentative plans were laid to keep the organization alive. These plans will be laid before the Birmingham meeting for approval and action.

Former Gov. Ben Laney of Arkansas is committee chairman. W. W. Wright, of Jackson, Miss. is vice-chairman.

Set More Plates?

Montgomery Advertiser

Sat 2-19-49

The Alabama Journal, not the least tenacious and articulate of the Dixiecrat tribunes of the commonwealth, yesterday joined with Chauncey Sparks in scolding the National Democratic Party for appointing Mayor Herbert Meighan of Gadsden finance chairman for Alabama.

Montgomery, Ala.

The quarrel of The Journal and Sparks is that the national party should have gone through the channels of the State Democratic Party to have gotten a finance chairman.

Now The Journal and Sparks are good company to keep, and The Advertiser is always reassured by their companionship. But we do not entirely understand their quarrel, which The Journal sets forth as follows

Chauncey Sparks was never more right than in his insistence that the National Democratic Party organization establish its Alabama contacts through the regularly designated and selected Democratic channels.

The Democratic Party in Alabama has its legally chosen officials and spokesmen. Until they fail or refuse to act in party affairs the National Democratic Party has no justification for seeking to create a party of lame ducks in Alabama.

Mayor Herbert Meighan of Gadsden is a good man, but so far as Alabama Democratic Party politics is concerned he is certainly a lame duck and completely unrepresentative of Democratic sentiment in the state

Mayor Meighan was a candidate for presidential elector in last May's primary election and ran 25th in a field of 28 candidates. The National Democratic chairman has assumed to go over the heads of Alabama's chosen Democratic Party officials and has named Meighan as the party's treasurer in Alabama, authorized to collect party funds in Alabama.

The Democratic Party of Alabama is fully capable of handling its own affairs and when the national party wants to establish contacts with the party in this state the medium for doing so is through the state party's chosen, elected, representative party officials.

If another election is held and Democratic Party officials now holding office in Alabama are defeated and repudiated that will be something else. Parenthetically, however, we do not believe that is going to occur. But when a Democratic primary as recent as that of last May has spoken its wishes the national party has no business trying to use its national strength and patronage to ram something down the throats of Alabama Democrats which they have said so forcibly that they do not want.

This is, of course no reflection upon Mayor Meighan who is a big man in his own home town, and who has been elected mayor time after time of one of the state's big cities. But so far as the Democrats of the state are concerned Mayor Meighan is a repudiated and unrepresentative man, and it is an act of arrogance and impudence for the national committee to name such a party lame duck to supersede and outrank men whom Alabama Democrats have elected at the polls to represent them.

It is the kind of force rule, force bill and force government that in these columns we have been resenting ever since the national party got into the hands of its present leaders who think more of a few minority pressure bloc votes than they do of principles involved when Democrats go to the polls and express themselves in legal, orderly and Democratic manner.

What we do not understand is why the national party should be asking the State Democratic Executive Committee, of all enemy elements, to name a finance chairman.

Sat 2-19-49

The committee is the sworn enemy of the national party. It fostered the movement that deprived Truman of 11 electoral votes.

Chairman McCorvey formally stated in The Advertiser recently that the war was still on.

National Committeeman Rushton lodged his resignation with the state committee last year.

He and McCorvey are still at war with the National Democratic Party.

Why, then, should they be expected to appoint a finance chairman to raise funds at a Jackson Day Dinner to be sent to national party headquarters?

Asking McCorvey to raise funds for the party of Truman would be as impertinent as asking Republican National Committeeman Lonnie Noojin.

Or does The Journal mean that it is now willing to sue for peace and sit down with Thurmond for Jackson Day Dinner?

MERRY-GO-ROUND

Dixiecrats Die Hard At Caucus

Birmingham News

BY DREW PEARSON

WASHINGTON—Gov. Tom Dewey called in former Secretary of War Bob Patterson the other day, offered him an appointment to New York State's powerful Circuit Court of Appeals. During the discussion, Dewey congratulated Patterson on having won the Surrogate Frankenthaler court case for the New York County Republican machine.

"It wasn't a very hard case," replied Patterson. "I had all the facts on my side. It was actually a 'lead-pipe cinch.'"

"Bob," replied Dewey, with a twinkle in his eye, "I'm the last guy in the world you should talk to about 'lead-pipe cinches.'"

Birmingham Ala

Three Dixiecrats Die Hard

JOHN RANKIN of Mississippi, Gene Cox of Georgia and Howard Smith of Virginia were a chastened trio when they crept out of the House Democratic caucus last w[illegible] their protests against modernizing th[illegible] rules committee were squelched by a [illegible] vote.

Never before in their long careers [illegible] been sat upon quite so hard. Even [illegible] congressmen at the closed-door [illegible] joined in heckling Rankin, who surpa[illegible] his previous demagogery by charging [illegible] move to revise rules committee pro[illegible] was hatched in Moscow.

"The effort to change our rules [illegible] ated by the FEPC (Fair Employment Prac[illegible] tices Commission) gang," stormed [illegible] pint Mississippian. "The FEPC pro[illegible] as everybody knows, was first propou[illegible] Joe Stalin in 1920."

This gem brought howls of unc[illegible] glee. Veteran Congr. John Dingell [illegible] gan broke in to say:

"Isn't it true that the rules con[illegible] blocked important housing legisla[illegible] addition to the FEPC bill? Isn't [illegible] that the banking and currency com[illegible] at the last session reported a housing [illegible] which the rules committee refused [illegible] accept? Instead, the rules commit[illegible] gave us a substitute bill dictated by [illegible] real estate lobby. As everybody kno[illegible] that was put over by the very men [illegible] trying to perpetuate the blockade o[illegible] eral legislation."

"You are trying to blast the rules committee out of existence," loudly objected [illegible] of Georgia. "You are trying to chang[illegible] the American form of government."

Wed 1-5-49

Dixiecrats Helped GOP

"OH, NO, WE'RE NOT. We are trying to preserve it," retorted Rep. Herman [illegible]barter of Pennsylvania. "Harry Truman was elected president and we have a Democratic Congress without any help from the gentleman from Mississippi and these other gentlemen whose obstructionist tactics in the 80th Congress were partly responsible for a Republican victory in the 80th. I'm glad this test has come. It will show how many Democrats intend by their votes to carry out their campaign pledges to the people."

Majority Leader John McCormack explained that if the resolution to speed up rules-committee procedure carried by a two-thirds vote in the caucus, all Democrats would be bound to vote for the resolution as a unit on the House floor.

"Well, what's going to happen to us if we violate the decision of the caucus?" yelled Cox.

"Suppose we walk out of this caucus right now before the vote is taken—will we still be bound to vote for the resolution on the floor?" inquired the Georgian.

"Yes," ruled Presiding Officer Francis Walter of Pennsylvania, "unless you can prove that abiding by the decision of the caucus is a violation of the constitution, or unless this issue had a bearing on your election in the last campaign."

"Just remember you are Democrats," McCormack taunted Cox, "and let your conscience be your guide."

Who Is Ashamed Of 'Dixie'?

Birmingham News

(From The Anniston Star)

Because President Truman has publicly referred to members of the late lamented Southern revolt as Dixiecrats and not good Democrats, Gessner T. McCorvey, chairman of the State Democratic Executive Committee, has risen in high umbrage to rebuke the president and to remind him that the country's fourth party in the last presidential election should properly be called the States' Rights Party and its members States' Rights Democrats.

We are quite sure that Mr. McCorvey is very serious when he takes this position, as he is so inbred with the old Southern tradition that he virtually lives in the past. But it is surprising that so fine and loyal a son of Dixie as he unquestionably is should be ashamed of the term "Dixiecrat." For the song of "Dixie" that came from the pen of Daniel Emmett has made this part of the United States famous throughout the world and never fails to thrill its hearers.

But since the revolt was confined exclusively to the South and achieved success in a very small part of this region—in Alabama, Mississippi, South Carolina and Louisiana—it might be expected that opposition to the term Dixiecrat would come from some Southerner who could not stomach the movement, instead of from one who was so prominent in its promotion. But Dixiecrat it was and it never will be known generally as anything else in history.

There is a very interesting article, "The Fate of Our Fourth Party," by William G. Carleton, in the Spring issue of The Yale Review. Mr. Carleton is a specialist on Southern history and has had practical experience in politics. He writes very seriously as a Southerner and evidently feels that he is in good taste in referring to the "Dixiecrat movement," which he says is the only revolt of its kind to have a conservative complexion.

All other minor party movements that have taken place have been in varying degree to the left of the major parties, he says, including the Liberal-Republican, the Greenback, the Populist, the Bull Moose, the La Follette Progressive, the American Labor, the Liberal, the Socialist, the Socialist-Labor, the Communist, etc. All of them in their day have attracted a lunatic fringe, but soon have passed into history.

Regarding the composition of the Dixiecrats, Mr. Carleton says: "There were conservative lawyers and business men of the 'hate Roosevelt' variety, the Liberty Leaguers of 1936, the Byrd men of 1940 and 1944. There were Northern capitalists with investments in the South, the absentee landlords and corporations, pulling the wires behind puppet politicians, who denounced Yankee interference with the Southern way of life."

Furthermore, he says, there were oil "interests" determined to get their hands on tidelands oil, an easier task if such oil lands were subject to state control rather than federal control; professional haters, pathological nationalists, the potential Fascists, a group of rabble-rousers who always make a noise out of all proportion to their numbers. Many of these, he says, were Northerners who had tested South to hitch onto the movement in spite of rebukes from Gov. Thurmond.

Mr. Carleton wrote his article before the recent Southern revolt in the Congress with respect to the Truman civil-rights program and he seems to believe that the Dixiecrat leaders were seeking to improve their influence in the legislative halls of the country

and in the counsels of the two national parties. If he were writing today, he probably would have to admit that in that respect they have done very well. But their success has been achieved only by combining with Republicans, and in national party affairs the South has suffered in influence, as he seems to believe it would.

'A Reasonable And Honorable Course'

The Arkansas Gazette

Montgomery Advertiser

A GROUP of unhappy Democrats over in Alabama, one of the four states that went for the Dixiecrat ticket last November, have issued a pronouncement that may be of more than passing interest. They are ready, they proclaimed, to join with any party which "sincerely embraces states rights and constitutional government."

Wed. 4-13-49

This sounds like something more than a reiteration of the impassioned protests the Dixiecrats made against Harry Truman's candidacy last Fall. That experience, if it did nothing else, should have demonstrated to all concerned the futility of trying to establish a new political party while still retaining membership in an old one.

THE only meaningful political choice before Southerners is the same as that before all other Americans. It lies between two parties, both dedicated to the same basic principles, one of which is more conservative in its policies than the other. It is absurd to assume that all Southerners are in agreement with all or even most of the policies of the Democratic Party. A glance of the voting record of Southern congressmen will show that party loyalty in most cases does not extend beyond the polls, and there is no indication that their constituents are particularly displeased.

The one-party system once served as a means of disfranchising the Negro, but is is clear that that day is now past. In terms of national politics, the system has made no sense in years, if it ever did. There is nothing in the Southern air or the Southern soil to cause a great unanimity of opinion among Southerners on political matters, and it is reasonable to assume that the region would have divided much as the nation has if the voters had been free of the pressures of their peculiar history.

Wed. 4-13-49

THE rebellious Alabama Democrats, it seems to us, are following a reasonable and honorable course. They are stating their principles and announcing that they will go with the party that comes closest to espousing them—which in this season apparently means the GOP. This is a welcome change from the angry Dixiecrat refusal to either support the Democratic Party or get out of it. If the Alabamians mean what they say, and if enough of those of like persuasion in other Southern states are willing to join them, the South may yet get back on the road to a two-party system.

States' Righters Will Continue Fight In '52

Montgomery Advertiser

Wed. 4-13-49

Dixiecrats Charge Police State Threat

Montgomery Ala

BIRMINGHAM, ALA., April 12 —(AP)—The 11 men who cast Alabama's vote for president last year gave a statement today pledging to continue their "battle for states' rights."

Their statement came as Vice President Alben Barkley came here to address a Jefferson-Jackson Day party rally. The 11 electors, all nominated in the Democratic primary last May 4 and elected in November, voted for the Thurmond-Wright ticket.

They did not attend the Jefferson-Jackson Day dinner.

The electors, in the statement, said:

"The battle for states' rights, so vigorously begun in 1948, must be continued.

Solemn Pledge

"We solemnly pledge the continuation of that struggle to the limit of our ability in whatever state and national campaigns of the future the issue may arise.

"If it lies in our power to prevent it, Alabama and the other states of the union will not fall to a fifth column ruthlessly determined to bring to fulfillment the threat of police state government so clearly evident in the thinking of current national Democratic leadership.

"We solemnly pledge to the people of Alabama that we will stand in 1952 where we stood in 1948, if the same threat is brought upon us.

"By that we mean specifically to state that we will either run in 1952 as presidential electors from the state of Alabama, pledged to support candidates for president and vice president who sincerely believe in states' rights, or in the alternative, we will see to it that other candidates qualify so that the people of our state can, through them, express their determination to see to it that Alabama's electoral vote will never be delivered to candidates for president and vice president who stand upon a platform deliberately written to shame and degrade the states of the South."

The electors also urged that Alabama's present method of nominating and electing presidential electors be left unchanged.

The statement was signed by Gessner T. McCorvey, Mobile; Robert B. Albritton, Andalusia; Tom Abernethy, Talladega; Edmund Blair, Pell City; Ben Bloodworth, Decatur; Walter C. Givhan, Safford; Tully A. Goodwin, Florala; Norman W. Harris, Decatur; John A. Lusk, Jr., Gadsden; Walter F. Miller, Tuscumbia; and Horace C. Wilkinson, Birmingham.

Wed. 4-13-49

States' Righters Plan 2 Dinners

DOTHAN, ALA., March 31.—(AP)—The states' rights "appreciation dinner" scheduled here April 8, will be two dinners instead of one.

Montgomery Advertiser

Sponsors today acquired use of the Dothan Recreation Center, a block from the Houston Hotel, where the original dinner was planned, to take care of the overflow crowd.

Mar. 31-1949

This will enable at least 400 persons to attend the dinner and hear addresses by Charles J. Bloch, of Macon, Ga., and John Temple Graves, of Birmingham, Ala.

Mar-4-1-49

P. L. Thornton, chairman of the arrangements committee, said 300 tickets to the $2-a-plate affair have been sold, and that the added facilities will take care of another 100.

The speakers will make their speeches twice. Graves will speak first at the hotel, while Bloch is speaking at the recreation center. Then the process will be reversed.

States' Rights Confer On Washington Offices

Birmingham News

BY FRED TAYLOR

Birmingham Ala

States' Rights leaders from Southern and border states met here today for a two-fold purpose:

To complete plans for establishing a States' Rights Institute at Washington, with its activities confined solely to education.

To organize a National Bureau for Preservation of States' Rights, with headquarters also in Washington. Its functions will be purely political.

BEN LANEY, former Arkansas governor and chairman of the Serving States' Rights Executive Committee, said that with these two organizations established, a nationwide campaign would be launched.

This national educational and political campaign will seek to impress upon the American people the "dangers of the current trend toward bureaucracy and centralization of government."

Laney arrived in Birmingham yesterday and was joined last night by Mississippi Gov. Fielding Wright, vice presidential running mate of South Carolina Gov. Strom Thurmond, who headed the States' Rights presidential ticket against President Truman. This ticket carried four Southern states—Alabama, Mississippi, South Carolina and Louisiana.

Gov. Thurmond was unable to attend because his Legislature is in session. He was represented by South Carolina State Sen. Kenedy.

FIRST ITEM of business on the executive committee's agenda when it went into session at Tutwiler Hotel was the report of a subcommittee headed by Horace Wilkinson, Birmingham attorney and one of the movement's chief planners.

Mar 3-7-49

Birmingham Ala

Wednesday Mar 3-7-49

Others named to the Serving New Orleans; Wallace W. Wright, Jackson, Miss., committee vice chairman, and James Murphy, Columbia, S. C.

Wilkinson, Perez and Wallace Wright recently conferred with attorneys in Washington regarding plans for setting up the parallel organizations—the educational institute and the political bureau.

It was emphasized that neither organization would engage in lobbying activities.

However, one of the main functions of the proposed bureau will be to obtain and analyze information concerning attempts further to centralize government.

The director of this bureau, soon to be chosen, and members of his staff also will seek to determine the attitude of senators and congressmen with regard to further centralizations of government.

"WE'RE DEFINITELY going ahead with the States' Rights movement and organize on a nationwide basis," said Laney.

The former Arkansas governor pointed out this would be the first formal meeting of States' Rights leaders since the presidential election. He said there would be reports from other subcommittees.

Laney said he very probably would issue a statement later in the day.

Laney, Gov. Wright, Wallace Wright, Wilkinson, Frank Dixon, former Alabama governor, and John Newsome, former Ninth District congressman, were among States' Rights leaders who held an informal huddle in Birmingham last December. It was then that plans were announced for establishing a States' Rights Institute at Washington.

The institute will spread the principles of states' rights and publicize the "dangers of the current trend toward bureaucracy, regimentation, centralization and federalization of government," leaders said.

Dixiecrats Wink At U. S. Ruling, War on Negroes

Pittsburg Courier Pennsylvania

Blast Houses in So-Called 'White' Area Owned by AME Bishop and World War Vet

Sat-4-9-49

(Special to The Courier)

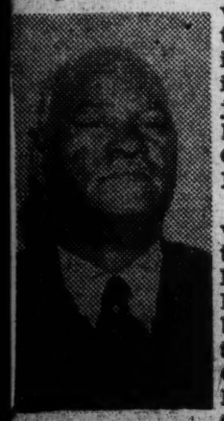
BIRMINGHAM, Ala.—Bitter opposition to Negroes' moving into a so-called "white" residential area was climaxed early Friday morning by three terrific dynamite blasts which wrecked three Negro-owned homes in the Smithfield area, two of them the property of AME Bishop Sherman L. Green.

Klan-minded whites are believed to have perpetrated the vicious act, which followed by less than forty-eight hours the appearance of a white man, S. L. Chestnutt, a resident in the area involved, before City Commission with a thinly veiled warning.

VEILED THREAT

Chestnutt asked for the arrest of Negroes moving into the area—a "B-1 residential area"—telling the Commission: "I don't believe we're going to stand for it much longer. Somebody is going to get hurt."

The prophetic truth of his warning was clear when the blasts shook the city shortly before Birmingham's Mayor Cooper Green was due to return from Washington where, ironically, he had just been elected head of the U. S. Conference of Mayors.



Bishop Green

A police guard was flung around the dynamited homes within an hour after the blasts, and although Police Commissioner Eugene (Bull) Connor assigned five detectives to the case, everyone familiar with the usual routine Dixie "investigations" had little hope that the terrorists would be apprehended. Nothing is expected to come of Connor's probe.

KLAN HOTBED

The Ku Klux Klan is believed to be responsible and it is known that this area lies in the center of a hotbed of Klanism and white supremists.

The dynamited homes were located at 17 and 25 Eleventh Avenue, West—both owned by Bishop Green, who planned to live in one of them—and Number 31 on the same street, owned by John Madison, Negro war veteran.

All three had been bought by their purchasers in purely legitimate negotiations with white realtors.

City Building Inspector H. E. Hagood said he had notified the Negro owners that it was a violation of local zoning laws for them to occupy the houses.

However, it was pointed out that Birmingham's zoning laws have been ruled unconstitutional by a Federal Court and Commissioner James W. Morgan has admitted that the zoning laws are both "weak and illegal."

There was no doubt but that the dynamiting was the work of white terrorists continuing their dastardly attacks of violence to prevent Negro citizens from living in the area.

PREVIOUS BOMBING

A previous attack made on the night of Aug. 18, 1947, destroyed a five-room dwelling built by Samuel Matthews, just one block north of the homes blasted Friday morning. Culprits responsible for that attack were never identified or apprehended by local police.

At that time citizens pledged to raise $5,000 to rebuild Matthews' home, but only $50 was raised and the disappointed Matthews finished dismantling the wrecked structure and sold the lumber.

ATLANTANS BOMBED

The local dynamitings followed by only weeks, bombings in Atlanta, Ga., where white terrorists dynamited Negro-owned homes fringing on borders of areas in which whites lived.

Here to attend a State teachers' meeting, Governor James E. Folsom called the local dynamitings "anarchy."

"This is anarchy at its worst," the Governor said. "The local law enforcement officers should bend every effort to enforce the laws against such crimes. This is plain anarchy."

Bishop Green expressed himself as being "grieved and astounded" by the dynamitings, but said "I still want to make Birmingham my home." He disclosed that he had paid $13,700 for two homes and two vacant lots in the area and had just let a contract for $9,000 for repairing the two homes. One of the houses was insured, but the Bishop was uncertain whether the insurance covered explosions.

BISHOP UNDECIDED

Bishop Green said he was undecided at this time as to what he would do about the ruins of the homes. Madison, owner of the third home, was likewise undecided about future plans to occupy his premises. He had already put some new furniture into his home. Repair work on all the houses had progressed to the point where they were almost ready for occupancy.

Bitter condemnation of the dynamitings was expresed in a resolution by the Alabama State Teachers Association in session at Parker High School when the bombings took place. The Association said it would ask for Federal intervention to bring the perpetators to justice. Leaders of several Negro groups held strategy meetings to plan future action.

WHITE PAPERS COMMENT

Cognizance of the situation was taken editorially by the Birmingham Age-Herald which pointed out that the city has been enjoined by Federal edict from enforcing any zoning restrictions which put limitations on residents because of race, color or creed.

The Birmingham Post said editorially that the dynamitings "damaged greatly the work of the fine people of both races in this city who have worked for tolerance and understanding."

Bishop Green moved here recently from Little Rock, Ark., after being transferred to be presiding Bishop of the Alabama District of the AME Church. He is chancellor at Daniel Payne College here, where he lives on the campus.

Underlying the tension which exists all over the city and throughout the area there is still the feeling that Commissioner Connor's police "investigation" is a mere token probe which—like all others in the past—will lead nowhere. Connor is noted for his rabid anti-Negro attitude.

EXPANSION IS PLANNED BY STATES' RIGHTERS

Commercial Appeal

Group Meets In Birmingham To Lay Future Plans

Montgomery Ala

BIRMINGHAM, Feb. 7—(AP)—Establishment of a national States' Rights Bureau in Washington to work for expansion of the movement was approved Monday by States' Rights Democrats here.

No action was taken by the Executive Committee Monday on a proposal to set up, as a separate undertaking, a States' Rights institute at Washington. The institute would have confined its work to public relations. Tues. 2-8-49

Former Gov. Ben Laney of Arkansas, chairman of the Executive Committee, said the national bureau at Washington would be both political and educational in scope.

Laney, and other members, here, said establishment of the Washington office does not mean a new political party is being formed.

"This definitely is not a new party," Laney said. "We are Democrats. We've never regarded ourselves as anything but Democrats."

The States' Rights group nominated Gov. J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina and Gov. Fielding Wright of Mississippi for President and vice president here last July. This ticket carried the states of Alabama, South Carolina, Louisiana and Mississippi.

Laney had named a four-man committee to name a head for the Washington office and to decide on a national publication. Wallace W. Wright, Jackson, Miss., was made chairman. Other members are Horace C. Wilkinson, Birmingham; Leander Perez, New Orleans, and Palmer Bradley, Houston, Texas.

Dixiecrat Meal Ready For 540

All Available Facilities In Dothan Pressed Into Service

Montgomery Advertiser

Montgomery Ala

DOTHAN, ALA., April 7 —(AP) —The States', Rights "appreciation dinner" today had grown to a 540-plate affair.

Sponsors of the dinner Friday night said all available dining facilities in downtown Dothan will be pressed into service for the rally. Fri. 4-8-49

State Rep. Wallace D. Malone, the general chairman, announced that a cafeteria has been engaged to help handle the overflow.

The dinner was first planned to be held only at the Houston Hotel here. But when reservations passed the 200 mark, the city recreation center also was reserved. The center could handle 230 more diners.

The overflow also will be handled in the hotel coffee room and the newly engaged cafeteria.

Attorney To Speak

Charles J. Bloch, Macon, Ga., attorney, will make the main address. Appearing with him will be John Temple Graves, Birmingham newspaper columnist. Their talks will be broadcast over a radio network in Alabama and Florida, starting at 7:30 p.m.

Both will speak at the hotel and then repeat their speeches at the recreation center. Former Gov. Frank Dixon also will speak at the recreation center.

Diners at the coffee shop and cafeteria will move to the hotel dining room or recreation center for the speeches.

The $2-a-plate dinner is to show this section's appreciation to members of Congress who voted with Southerners in defeating proposals of civil rights advocates.

It also will pay tribute to Alabama's anti-Truman presidential electors and to delegates who walked out of the Democratic National Convention.

States Righters To Open Office In Washington

Montgomery Ala

Tue. 2-8-49

Move Is Not Designed To Create New Party Or Lobbying Operation

Tue. 2-8-49

BIRMINGHAM, ALA., Feb. 7 —(AP)— States Rights Democrats decided today to open a national bureau in Washington to fight what they termed "unconstitutional proposals to violate the rights of the several states."

This action was taken by the group's executive committee. The committee also changed its name to the national states rights committee.

Advertiser

At the same time, the committee declared it "is not a political party "It added, in a prepare statement, that establishment of an office in Washington "is not for the purpose of creating a new party."

Former Gov. Ben Laney, of Arkansas, chairman of the executive committee, added that "we are Democrats. We've always regarded ourselves as Democrats."

Four Deep South states—Alabama, South Carolina, Mississippi and Louisiana — gave their states rights candidates for president and vice president.

Gov. J. Strom Thurmond, of South Carolina, the States Rights nominee for president, was not here today. He said he was kept in South Carolina by a session of the legislature there.

L. Wright, of Miss., was appointed chairman of this group. Other members are Gov. Fielding Wright, of the States Rights President, Attorney Horace C. Wilkinson, Birmingham; Leander Perez, New Orleans, and Palmer Bradley, Houston.

Laney said the Washington office of the States Rights group would not engage in lobbying, but would do both political and public relations work.

Delegates from 12 Southern states attended the meeting today.

Dinners Grow

Montgomery Ala

Now Dixiecrats To Have Three

Montgomery Ala

Dothan Affair Expanded

Again When Requests For Tickets Hit 386

DOTHAN, ALA. April 4 — There will be three—not one or two—States' Rights dinners here Friday.

Wallace D. Malone, general chairman, announced today the affair has outgrown two dining halls and that the "overflow" will be fed in the Houston Hotel coffee shop.

Originally only a one-dinner affair was planned by Dixiecrats to honor senators and representatives supporting States' Rights in Congress.

The 200-capacity Houston Hotel dining room was quickly sold out at $2-per-plate. Next Malone obtained the 225-capacity Dothan Recreation Center. When ticket sales hit 386 at noon today, Malone obtained the coffee shop, "because we know a lot more are coming."

Tues 4-5-49

Speakers To Talk Twice

The speakers—Charles Bloch of Macon, Ga., and John Temple Graves, of Birmingham — will make two speeches each. One at the recreation center and another at the hotel.

The coffee shop overflow, Malone said, will stand around the walls of the dining room to hear the speakers.

"We have 16 states legislators who've bought tickets," Malone, himself a member of the state house, said. "And we are expecting more."

"I've got ticket orders from Frank E. Best and his son, Walter, of Indianapolis, Ind., who writes me that they're flying down here for the dinner," he continued.

Most of the sponsors of the dinner here, like Malone, supported Governor Strom Thurmond, the South Carolina States' Rights, for president in opposition to President Truman.

Plans for the dinner were announced shortly after Democrat supporters of President Truman announced the regular party's annual, fund-raising Jefferson-Jackson Day dinner would be held in Birmingham April 12.

Malone insists his dinner is not in opposition to the $15-a-plate Birmingham affair and that it is planned in honor of no individual —"but solely to show our appreciation to those in Congress standing up for States' Rights."

Half Alabama's delegation to the Philadelphia Democratic convention walked out in opposition to the civil rights plank supported by President Truman. All 11 of the state's president electors voted for Thurmond after having pledged themselves previously not to vote for Mr. Truman under any circumstances.

The States' Rights Program

Birmingham News

The meeting in Birmingham Monday of the executive committee of the States' Rights group has made it clear—though hardly any doubt could have remained on the prospect—that this movement will not go forward as a separate political party. It will be an organization devoting itself to a national political and educational program in the interest of principles which its supporters regard as imperative to the preservation of the present form of American government.

Birmingham Ala.

Wed 3-9-49

In the recent presidential campaign this movement decided that its purposes called for the nomination of presidential and vice presidential candidates in opposition to Mr. Truman. It was maintained that states' rights and individual liberty would best be served by such action. There were some indications that a continuing third party might be promoted.

It was a mistake, in this paper's opinion, to carry on this fight in that way. It would have been better to fight for such convictions within the Democratic Party, with which members of the group generally had been associated. The results make it still clearer that a far-reaching mistake was made.

The decision to concentrate now on a campaign in support of certain principles means, we take it, that these endeavors will henceforth continue within the party.

* * *

The "National States' Rights Committee" is the new name for the movement. A bureau will be established in Washington to work in the interest of state and individual rights under the constitution.

"It definitely is not a new party," commented former Gov. Laney of Arkansas, committee chairman. "We are Democrats. We've never regarded ourselves as anything but Democrats."

This paper recognizes the importance of states' rights. It is concerned for the protection of individual rights. It sees dangers in over-centralization of government. Its ideas on these subjects may differ widely in some respects with those of members of the States' Rights Committee. But we recognize, of course, the right—indeed the duty—of American citizens to stand for the ideas in which they believe.

Wed 3-9-49

When such convictions differ among citizens whose broad allegiance is to the Democratic Party, they can best be served, we repeat, within the party.

Moreover, action along such lines will reduce the dangers of dissension making for weakening of the party as a whole and the possibility of the disruption of the two-party system which, in general, has worked so well in this country.

Intelligent advocacy of sincerely differing convictions within the party, on the other hand, should contribute to a more effective dealing with the many difficult and complex problems facing the nation.

Second Offensive

Montgomery Advertiser

Ray Tucker is one of the topflight Washington political writers. He writes, presumably from reliable information obtained from the Washington headquarters of the Dixiecrats, that the Dixiecrats are booted and spurred to plunge into next year's congressional races on a wide scale. Says Tucker:

Montgomery Alabama

Wed. 3-30-49

"Politically they plan to throw a complete slate of congressional candidates into the 1950 elections as a warning to the Democratic Party against following the 'Truman line.'

"They will name States Rights men for House contests not only in the Deep South, but also in the border states and in some Northern and Midwestern commonwealths . . ."

This is most interesting in all directions of the compass if true. First of all, the Dixiecrats have consistently soft-pedaled the Washington headquarters, usually maintaining that it existed solely to broadcast information about the South. If Tucker is right, it is a full-blown campaign headquarters.

The implications in terms of this state's election next year are most engaging. It has been clear since the explosive, disorderly caucus of the Alabama delegation in the John Bartram Hotel in Philadelphia last summer that the bolting issue was going to be important in next year's gubernatorial election.

But if the Dixiecrats go after congressional seats, this will be twice true. Not only will Senator Hill and the candidates for governor have to deal or juggle with the issue of loyalty to the National Democratic Party, but the congressmen as well.

Considering that no one of Alabama's nine congressmen was conspicuous in the service of the States Rights ticket last year, it may be assumed that most if not all—if forced to make the choice—will run as members of the National Democratic Party.

At the same time the members of the State Democratic Executive Committee will be up for reelection—for vindication or repudiation.

There will be a dispute over custody of the Rooster.

This—assuming that Columnist Tucker is correct and that the bolters persevere in their enterprise—will make some enduring Alabama political history, to say the least.

By A. F. Mahan, Jr.
Asst. Managing Editor, The Advertiser

As the conference fizzled out, those present voted to establish a Washington "information" office, although one member expressed concern regarding ability to finance it.

Gov. Fielding Wright of Mississippi, States' Rights candidate for vice-president, and State Senator Frank Richardson, of Virginia, were the only office holders to show up, and Richardson admitted he had no authority whatever to speak for either Senator Harry Byrd or Gov. William Tuck.

Gov. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina, the States' Rights candidate for president, asked Henry D. Green, of Columbia, S. C., to represent him. Green was en route to Alabama anyway to investigate the possibilities of opening a branch of his farm implement company here.

Neither Georgia nor Florida was represented. Alabama was represented by Horace Wilkinson and former Gov. Frank Dixon, both of Birmingham, and two others.

Sun. 2-11-49

Wilkinson, it was learned, has drafted a set of proposed laws through which he hopes to prevent Negroes voting, but the delegates never got around to discussing them at a scheduled Sunday meeting.

THE WOODS are getting so full of gubernatorial candidates, that it caused Burgess Mahan, the Russellville banker (no relation) also to remark:

Montgomery Advertiser

"If all those fellows who are talking about running into the race and more than half of them accidentally vote for the same guy, why, he'll have enough votes to be elected—without a runoff."

A Blackbelter seriously considering the race for governor, opined last week that it will be "between the States' Righters and Trumanites."

Montgomery Ala.

I asked him to try to find any candidate among those mentioned who is not for States' Rights and who is not already on record as a States' Rights man.

He may, however, be able to raise an issue that will divide the McCorveyites (the all-out anti-Trumanites) and those who now think Alabama should have had at least an opportunity to express itself at the polls last November on its choice—as of then.

Sun 2-11-49

BIGGEST politicacl flop of the brand new year occurred in Birmingham last week-end. It was called as a 13-state meeting of States' Rights party leaders. A grand total of 27 showed up, four of them from Alabama and six from Mississippi.

THURMOND LEAVES DIXIECRAT PARTY TO CARETAKER

Montgomery Advertiser

WHAT is the state of the States' Right, or Dixiecrat Party three months after the election?

Kaput, finis.

Or at least that seems the only estimate that can be made if the statements of anxious-to-please politicians may be taken as a reflection of public opinion.

If Henry Wallace made a contribution to the Democratic Party's campaign fund by buying a ticket to the Jackson Day Dinner, would not that act be construed as the end of the Progressive Party?

It is evident from The Advertiser's interview on the opposite page that Gov. J. Strom Thurmond, presidential candidate of the Dixiecrats, will buy a ticket to the Jackson Day Dinner the same as Truman, Barkley and McGrath.

Is there any more direct and purposeful means of supporting the Democratic Party of Truman than participating in its rallies and donating money to elect congressmen to support the Truman program?

The wavering South Carolina governor did not at first say he was going to forsake his party by rejoining the Democratic Party on Jackson Day. He said Thursday "I don't know."

Late Saturday afternoon he wired The Advertiser that, "I shall be glad to attend any dinner held by the Democratic Party of South Carolina of which I am a member."

By contrast, Gov. Fielding Wright of Mississippi, told The Advertiser in the clearest of blunt language that he would boycott the dinner and that he expected 90 per cent of Mississippians to do likewise.

The Dixiecrat rebellion started with the inaugural address of Gov. Wright. It now seems that he is left as caretaker of whatever apparatus remains, for the No. 1 Dixiecrat is out dining with the Democrats.

WE, OF COURSE, cannot speak with any authority on the causes of Thurmond's evasiveness and irresolution. But it is impossible not to consider the influences of his reputed envy of the United States Senate seat occupied by Olin Johnston.

Senator Johnston, be it remembered, was the clown who made such a display over his boycott last year of the Jackson Day Dinner in Washington. Every newspaper in the country carried a picture of his empty table and of him and his wife cooking a meal at home.

Then Johnston had a second thought: Thurmond was planning to use the Dixiecrat Party to get himself elected to Johnston's Senate seat. Johnston forthwith reverted to allegiance to the Democratic Party.

It is possible that Thurmond now believes that he can go to the Senate only as a Democrat. That is the apparent explanation of his current dalliance, brightly illuminated in today's interview.

WHAT is the situation in Alabama?

Our series of interviews revealed that of 12 candidates for governor, only three were willing to be called States' Righters.

Now this, of course, does not prove that the voters have lost their faith in the party and are through with it. But it means that these men who seek the approval of the voters believe that the voters are disenchanted.

Former Gov. Sparks, Lieut. Gov. Inzer, Speaker of the House Beck, Atty. Gen. Carmichael, Reuben Newton and Judge Wilbur Nolen—these candidates for governor would not be freely counselling a return to the National Democratic Party if public sentiment were contrary. Publication of The Advertiser's interviews with them in every daily in Alabama has brought no censure on them.

And if we are wrong in our kaput estimate, what are the signs that there is vitality and strength in the party these three months after the election?

When a meeting was called in Birmingham last week it attracted a lonely and dispirited group. The head of the party, Thurmond, sent an insignificant representative who had to come to Alabama on some other business anyhow.

The only Alabamians there of any standing were former Gov. Frank Dixon and our old pal Horace Wilkinson.

THE fourth party, so far as we can see, has served the purposes of and gone the way of all the many third party movements through the years in this country except the G. O. P.

Sun 2-13-49

Like the other parties, the States' Righters dramatized their viewpoint by breaking away and won more deferential consideration of their case. This was true of the Populists and the Democrats; of the Bull Moose and the G. O. P.

The fourth party is abandoned, but the issue of States' Rights in the honest sense remains a great one as it has been since the states warily formed the Union. The fourth party seems entirely inadequate as an instrument for lancing Federal swelling. But the lancets must be found and used.

A Major Figure

Ralph McGill, editor of The Atlanta Constitution, is in Montgomery to make a speech. In McGill, Montgomerians will see one of the major journalists of the country. He is a chief of one of the country's most famous newspapers and he himself is a spokesman for the South whose words carry as far, perhaps, as those of any Southern prophet, whosoever.

Montgomery Advertiser Thur 2-10-49

The words of the prophet McGill are often, if not incessantly, a source of grief for an element of his Southern colleagues. And among those who have been grieved is The Advertiser.

For example, at no time and in no place has the editor of The Advertiser been cited for conspicuous, heavy-breathing ardor in the Dixiecrat cause. But we consider it evident and demonstrable that the rebellion, a poor thing but our very own, did indeed generate a debate and enlightenment in Northeastern regions that nothing else has generated.

Editor McGill, however, has caned and switched the Dixiecrat rebellion as though it were no more than an impertinence. He discredited the Dixiecrats if for no other reason than they were partly financed by tidelands oil dough, and as if the G. O. P. didn't get it from Sun Oil Co. and the Democrats from Wall Street sources such as Harriman, Baruch and Forrestal. But McGill proclaimed the Dixiecrats his personal meat and went to work on them to the neglect of matters in the main arena.

The Constitution hasn't dilated its nostrils or elevated its venerable hackles in the case of Talmadge. The choice between Talmadge and Thompson was not ideal, for Thompson is a mediocre if not second-rate man. But however gifted and able Hummon may have been, we were disappointed that The Constitution didn't oppose him on the ground of symbolism.

Thur 2-10-49

Hummon symbolizes his late and equivocally lamented father, and that means the lawlessness and the Kluxer spirit, which McGill despises from the depths of his viscera.

That the reincarnation and re-election of Gene Talmadge were bad for Georgia is seen in such acts as the state police's instinctive solicitude for the Klan in the Mallard case, the Talmadge re-registration fraud, the reprisals in the legislature against the newspapers, etc. That's spawn of Gene. Regardless of the individual merits of Talmadge and Thompson, it was, or so it seemed to The Advertiser, important that the Talmadge symbol should have been repudiated at the polls.

All of which is an eccentric approach to the business of welcoming McGill, who we account one of the half-dozen leading editors of the Southern states and who is one of the most influential men in Southern affairs. McGill is a magnetic and persuasive man, and it may be that when we talk to him today, we will be talked out of the foregoing views.

In any event, we only started out to say that McGill is an editor of major importance both at home and abroad. He rests his lard in the chair occupied in other famous days of The Constitution by Henry Grady and Joel Chandler Harris, sometime Uncle Remus.

Atlanta is one of the best newspaper towns in the country, and McGill is right in the middle of it. His ivory tower is but a holiday retreat, for we know of no other editor who gets out and sees as many people as McGill. He is both reporter and editor.

It is pleasant to be welcoming to Montgomery this dominant and engaging newspaper figure.

Dixiecrats Get $22,000 In States

Montgomery Ala

A report on file with the clerk of the House of Representatives showed that National Headquarters of the States' Rights Party received $10,000 from the Jefferson County Alabama States' Rights Committee, and $12,770 from the Alabama States' Rights Party in its unsuccessful campaign for the presidency last Fall.

Among individual contributors to the two Alabama organizations

were:

W. D. Malone, Dothan, $3,500; H. C. Stockham, Birmingham, $500; A. R. Long, Birmingham, $500; Gessner T. McCorvey, Mobile, $100; Douglas Stockham Birmingham, $500; George Y Malone, Dothan, $500; Frank Dixon, Birmingham, $500; M. S Hill, Birmingham, $500, and J. C Inzer, Gadsden, $100.

In A Recent Editorial You State

Montgomery Advertiser

EDITOR, THE ADVERTISER—It appears that the Alabama and Auburn bands are going to Washington to take their appropriate places in the inaugural ceremonies, together with other Alabama participants. This is definitely a step toward good sportsmanship and in line with past graceful and natural characteristics of our state. It is peculiarly fitting and apt, particularly in view of the irregularity of the presidential election held in Alabama on Nov. 2 last. After all, the inaugural is to honor the next President of all of the United States.

The State Democratic Executive Committee of Alabama must assume blame for the present conditions which have caused embarrassment to the people of this state. This committee was an accessory to a flagrant violation of the code of political ethics by an act of omission in not taking action to prevent candidates for presidential electors, who were pledged against the standard bearer of the party, from being associated with the Rooster on the ballot. As a former member of the committee, it is my considered opinion that the primary responsibility rested with it and no one else to have taken action to prevent the gross irregularity of the Nov. 2 ballot. In some way this condition should be rectified.

In a recent editorial you state, among other things: "Alabama was Truman's worst enemy."

On your editorial page of Jan. 9 are editorials of The Talladega Daily Home, The Decatur Daily and The Huntsville Times concerning their respective opinions as to the impropriety of Alabama's participation in the inaugural. The opinions are all based upon the same thoughts expressed in your editorial.

Since it was not possible for an Alabama citizen to vote for Mr. Truman, and many voted under the Rooster merely to exercise their franchise (and hoping that some way would be found to have the tresspassers on the ballot cast their votes for the nominee of the party) how can you say unreservedly that Alabama was Mr. Truman's worst enemy?

I do not believe that the pollster's and newspaper's predictions of the recent election and the result thereof have influenced the newspapers enough to make them realize that the sentiments of the common people are largely hidden and usually not subject to exploration even by the best and most solicitous newsmen.

For this reason I am not convinced that Gov. Thurmond would have carried Alabama by any substantial vote, if in fact he carried it at all, if the election had been in conformity with Alabama's past reputation of fair play. The Dixiecrats fought an overall losing fight, in spite of such advantages as they had in Alabama.

They should now realize and acknowledge that their leaders misled the people as to the consequences of a Truman victory. Could the Democrats of Alabama ever again place these leaders in other positions of trust within the party? Such would be unbelievable.

It is hoped that the Dixiecrats will not continue to nurse a lost cause, improbable of a comeback. My stand on the civil rights program cannot be questioned. I am an Alabamian. It is not needed in Alabama. It is not wanted in Alabama. The chances of it ever coming to Alabama are remote.

Absence of Alabama participation in the inaugural would be most unbecoming, very unsportsmanlike and unfair to the citizens of this state who believe that all should now be united in loyalty to the government, the President and the Constitution of the United States. And let the Democrats, in the future, retain within the party their squabbles and disagreements.

Jan-1-14-49

THOMAS H. WATTS

Washington, D. C.

Dixiecratic National Committeeman

Montgomery Advertiser

On the mailing list of the National Democratic Executive Committee: Mrs. Lennard Thomas, national committeewoman for Alabama.

Off the mailing list: Col. Marion Rushton, national committeeman for Alabama. Montgomery Ala.

This means that Mrs. Thomas, who had no opposition for reelection last spring, held aloof from the Dixiecrat rebellion. That left her in good standing with the national party. Jan-1-14-49

But Col. Rushton was foremost in the ranks of the Dixiecrat Party. Whereupon Rushton found himself in the ungainly posture of being officially the agent of the Democratic Party in Alabama but in fact a leader and money-raiser for a party bellicosely dedicated to the annihilation of the Democratic standard bearer, HST.

Like Lee, Rushton resigned his West Point commission and accepted another in the Confederate Army.

Rushton wrote a letter of resignation to the national committee and addressed it to the Alabama state committee. But it turned out to be an abortive resignation, for Chairman Gessner T. McCorvey took no action on it. The national committee never got to accept Rushton's resignation because McCorvey never forwarded it.

McCorvey's explanation is that no action has been taken because the state committee has not met since Rushton wrote the letter. He has not explained why members cannot be polled by mail.

The result is that Rushton is left in the position of being at once a Democrat and a Dixiecrat.

Although McCorvey has departed the national Democratic Party, he does not wish to allow it to reorganize. He is appropriating the office of national committeeman the same as the Democratic rooster label was appropriated to the Dixiecrat Party.

So far the national committee has acted with restraint in the matter. It has simply removed Rushton and McCorvey from its mailing list since they are not agents of the Democratic Party.

It seems to us that McCorvey takes a forlorn course in the matter. Certainly the most powerful party in the United States is going to have a national committeeman in this and every other state.

McCorvey cannot abolish the job of Democratic national committeeman for Alabama. Jan-1-14-49

The Dixiecrat Party Expires

Montgomery Ala.

Editor Reese Amis in The Huntsville Times

THE Dixiecrat party apparently has gone the way of other third parties that have arisen from time to time in this country, based upon some particular issue of the moment.

Gov. Strom Thurmond, of South Carolina, who headed the bolt and was the Dixiecrat nominee for president last November, gave evidence a few days ago that he was wobbling, when he did not attend a meeting of Dixiecrat leaders in Birmingham, called to perpetuate the states' rights principles on which the Southern party was founded.

Instead, he sent a representative who happened to be coming through Alabama at the time. His excuse for not attending was that the South Carolina legislature was in session, and that he could not leave the state for that reason.

Jan-2-18-49

LAST week, Editor Grover Hall, Jr., of The Montgomery Advertiser, wired to ask him if he was going to attend the forthcoming Jackson Day Dinner of Democrats in South Carolina. He replied that he did not know.

Saturday, however, he sent a message that, "I shall be glad to attend any dinner held by the Democratic Party of South Carolina of which I am a member."

Quite in contrast to this evasiveness, Gov. Fielding Wright, of Mississippi, Gov. Thurmond's running mate last November, has stated bluntly he will not attend any Jackson Day Dinner, either in Mississippi or elsewhere.

That puts him in the class with Frank Dixon and Horace Wilkinson, Alabama's bitter-enders.

THE great principle of states' right will survive, and we hope, will go on, as an antidote to the growing centralization of everything at Washington.

But the party which bore its baner last Fall is "fini," as the French would say. It has gone the way of the late Senator Bob LaFollette's third party in 1924; Teddy Roosevelt's Bull Moose Party in 1912; the Populist Party of the 90's, and other offshots of the two major parties in days before that. Jan-18-49

If something is to be done about states' rights, it will have to come from within the Democratic or Republican Parties.

'Well, I See From Sunday's Paper'

Montgomery Advertiser

EDITOR, THE ADVERTISER—Well, I see from Sunday's paper that the Dixiecrats have figgled out just like I said they would.

I wonder what has become of Handy Ellis, Hardy Riddle and J. Miller Bonner. I haven't heard anything from them since the landslide. I guess they are hibernating though, waiting for the storm to pass, or maybe they have seen the handwriting on the wall, as The Lee County Bulletin said about McCorvey. Ex-Gov. Sparks made the most sensible and logical statement the other day before the Syracauga Exchange Club that I have seen or heard made by any one on the subject, when he said: the South can work out a plan under which the Negro will be provided equal opportunity yet retain segregation, we may not like.

We have lived through a period of great change in our industry and agriculture and the South has kept pace with these changes. Now we are going to have to make changes in our political structure. If there is anything that the people believe in, it's the Roosevelt New Deal.

As soon as they saw who and what was behind all the mess they started falling away in droves. If it had been a hot iron they wouldn't have dropped it any quicker.

T. B. McDONALD, D. D. S.

Ozark, Ala.

Dinner Is No Opposition, Says Malone

Montgomery Advertiser Mar 31-49

THE States' Rights dinner at Dothan April 8 is intended to be "in sharp contrast with" rather than "in opposition to" the Barkley dinner at Birmingham April 12, Malone, originator of the dinner, said "it is not an official act of the Alabama States' Rights organization, although its tenor naturally falls into line with the principles of that group." Mar 31-49

The affair is not intended as a state-wide meeting, although any Alabamian is welcome as long as tickets last, he said.

"The Dothan date was deliberately selected so as not to conflict with the Birmingham affair," Malone said. "There is no physical reason why an Alabamian cannot attend both dinners."

This announcement was made in a written statement yesterday by State Rep. Wallace D. Malone, of Houston County.

The Dothan dinner will be for the purpose of expressing the appreciation of the people of southeast Alabama to those who stood up for states' rights

Sparks is right, the South can't hide behind that old States' Rights antebellum stuff any longer. So we had just as well go at it and do it in a common sense business-like way. If we don't the government is going to do it for us, and, in a way

The Dothan dinner is to cost $2 per plate. In Birmingham, plates will cost $15 each.

Dixiecrats (Kentucky--The Kentucky Committee of Ten Thousand)

34d 1949

State Dixiecrats Plan To Reorganize Party

Versailles, Ky., Feb. 9 (AP)—O. M. Baylor said today the States' Rights Party will be reorganized in Kentucky under a new name—possibly "the Kentucky Committee of Ten Thousand."

Baylor is Kentucky's representative on the States' Rights National Committee.

He said the name "Kentucky Committee of Ten Thousand" was suggested because the party polled about that many votes in the state in the presidential election last November.

States' Rights Resolution Is Adopted by Governors

BILOXI, Miss. — A "States' Rights" resolution, written by Governors Talmadge of Georgia and Earl Long of Louisiana, was adopted by the Southern Governors Conference at the final session yesterday.

BY M. L. ST. JOHN
Constitution Staff Writer

The mild resolution opposing "government regimentation of the individual citizen and the socialization of competitive industry "and" reaffirming the relief in the sovereignty of the States, was all that the conference produced on states' rights despite efforts of a Dixiecratic Party organizer to rebuild strength for that group at the conference here.

Gov. J. Strom Thurmond, of South Carolina, the presidential candidate of the States' Rights Party last year, was unanimously elected chairman of the Southern Governors Conference. Since he was a year late in getting this office, however, observers did not attach any states' rights significance to his election. Thurmond was slated to get the post last year, but his campaign for President caused the conference to delay it. His unopposed nomination came from a committee, of which Gov. Talmadge was a member.

"The Governors of the States represented here by the Southern Governors Conference are opposed to government regimentation of the individual citizen and the socialization of competitive industry and we unqualifiedly support the traditional way of life and our free enterprise system.

"We believe in the freedom of the individual, the sovereignty of the respective states, in keeping with the Federal Constitution, as essential to the survival of the Republic."

The Southern Governors declared that many states are violating the Federal Constitution by not returning fugitives who escape from other states. They asked that the Council of State Governments be requested to study this problem with a view to creating means and methods for ending such disregard of constitutional authority.

This resolution came a week after a so-called "Civil Rights Congress" urged all governors not to return fugitives to Southern prisons, contending they would be cruelly treated. It also followed Michigan Gov. Mennen Williams' recent refusal to return a fugitive to Georgia.

Seeking economic development, the Governors urged the Reconstruction Finance Corporation to broaden its policies and make its credit available at a reasonable interest rate to States and local governments to build public facilities, such as sanitation facilities, bridges, highways and other self-liquidationg projects.

Earlier, the Governors at a roundtable discussion agreed generally that:

1. Cities and counties should be given home rule to the extent that they are willing and able to provide the services, and,

2. States should likewise assume their financial responsibilities when they ask for "home rule" for themselves in their relationship with the Federal Government.

Governor Sidney McMath, of Arkansas, told the group, which had enjoyed James Byrnes' speech calling for a return of States' Rights, that the States could eliminate Federal Government encroachment if they would provide the services which the people have clearly indicated they want.

Governor Allen Shivers, of Texas, said the Texas Municipal League constantly passes resolutions telling the State "to leave us alone," and then appears at every session of the Legislature asking for more funds. The States are in the same position, he remarked, when they demand "States' Rights" and then continually beg for more Federal funds.

The Governors also agreed that their States have too many political sub-divisions and also too many overlapping State agencies for efficient administration of Government.

Thurmand said his State is reorganizing so as to merge State agencies. Governor Fuller Warren reported that efforts to merge cities and counties in Florida had failed in referendums.

Governors' Parley Sees States' Righters Confer

BILOXI, Miss., Nov. 21—(AP)—States' Rights leaders attempting to drum up support for their cause at the Southern governors' conference, called a midday strategy caucus today.

W. W. Wright of Jackson, Miss., and Leander Perez, district attorney of St. Bernard-Plaquemines Parishes (counties), Louisiana, said they hoped to get the conference to go on record endorsing principles of States' Rights.

This behind-the-scenes activity, combined with a speech tonight by James F. Byrnes focused national attention on the governors' conference which got under way this morning with 12 chief executives attending.

Gov. Folsom of Alabama, Truman supporter, said he had heard rumblings of States' Rights activity at pre-convention get-togethers.

Welcoming the visiting governors, Gov. Fielding L. Wright, of Mississippi, declared "here you will find champions of the fundamental principles of government."

He said hostile forces originating in many parts of the world were threatening "our traditional institutions and present way of life."

GOV. WILLIAM M. TUCK, of Virginia, conference chairman, said state and local governments should make a continuing effort to conduct their affairs on an economical and sound basis.

"In no other way," he said, "can we be in position to retain control and management of our own affairs and escape the centralization of authority that already has gone too far, with great danger to our fundamental rights and liberties, not only as states but as individuals."

Discussing highway traffic deaths, Tuck said it was imperative that the states redouble their efforts "to reduce this unnecessary and horrible waste of lives and property."

The highlight of the conference will be the talk by Byrnes.

The former secretary of state, who indicated recently he might be a gubernatorial candidate in his home state to South Carolina, will deliver the main address at a dinner tonight.

In his recent statement saying he might be available to run if he "could be of service to the people of South Carolina," Byrnes declared he "would like to help bring back to the states the rights that belong to the states."

States Righters seized upon that statement as an announcement that Byrnes subscribed to their cause.

Officially, politics isn't on the agenda at the Southern governors' conference which opened today. But States Righters who gathered in informal caucuses around the convention hotel said plenty on the subject.

The 1948 presidential and vice presidential candidates of the States Rights Party, Gov. J. Strom Thurmond, of South Carolina, and Gov. Fielding Wright of Mississippi, were among the 12 governors present.

GOVERNORS OF West Virginia and Kentucky said they would not be able to take part. Gov. William Tuck of Virginia is conference chairman.

During the afternoon, the governors were to go into a joint session with the board of control of the Southern region council for education to discuss recommendation for extending the program.

Four study commissions appointed by the program's board of control made four recommendations for the plan whereby Southern colleges and universities pool their educational facilities.

One called for extending the plan to include social welfare on the same basis as the present medical, dental and veterinary medicine programs.

A second recommendation asked the board to consider establishing an accredited forestry course in a Southern Negro institution.

A third recommendation called for Southern states to appoint their own commissions to study human and natural resources. The board of control would serve as a coordinating agency.

THE FOURTH RECOMMENDATION urged a study of other methods of collaboration.

Tomorrow morning the governors will hold a round table on organization and operation of state government. The afternoon will be devoted to committee meetings and informal discussions. The conference will adjourn after a seafood jamboree tomorrow night.

Gov. Wright said Mississippi's 21-year-old balance-agriculture-with-industry program had been a large factor in attracting new plants to the state.

Gov. Herman Talmadge said Georgia had tripled its industrial capacity since the war. He credited the expansion to more harmonious relations between the worker and his employer, the climate, power facilities, nearness to raw materials and increased capital.

Similar reasons were given by Gov. Sid McMath, of Arkansas, and Folsom, of Alabama, who saw prospects of large industries locating in their states.

Gov. Fuller Warren meanwhile looked for industrial growth on the West Coast and Northwest areas of Florida.

States' Right Democrats

To the Editor:

Your editorial staff and reporters either do not know or have forgotten that the correct name of the Democrats organized in Birmingham is "States' Rights Democrats." The Northern periodicals insist on referring to them as "Dixiecrats," which is a misnomer and is done purposely to reflect on the states' rights movement.

I know that you would not fall in line with Alabama and other Southern Democrats who opposed Mr. Truman and Mr. Humphrey's national Democratic platform, but it seems to me that you could at least be fair in your reference to them. The sole object of the use of the name "Dixiecrat" is to try to leave the impression on the country that it is strictly a Southern affair when, on the contrary, there are Democrats and Republicans all over the nation who favor the states' rights principle.

The South nurtured the Democratic Party through all of the lean years when the Republicans controlled national affairs. Under the New Deal and so-called Fair Deal administrations, the national Democratic Party has been taken over by a conglomeration of Northern Negroes, Communists, socialists, statists and others. These groups are no more akin to Southern Democrats than we are to Stalinists.

"The South's Greatest Newspapers" should certainly show a spirit of fairness even though they do not agree.

J. F. BRITTON,
E. D. COLLIER,
A. F. FRANKLIN.

Southern States To Compete With U. S. In Wooing Public

Indianapolis News 11.23.49

BILOXI, MISS., Nov. 22—(AP)—Politically wise James F. Byrnes opened the eyes of Southern governors to a new line of states' rights attack and the chief executives snapped it up today.

In a speech last night, former Secretary of State Byrnes suggested that the states perform services "demanded by the people." The governors interpreted this as a challenge for them to compete with the federal government in being nice to the voting public, and buzzed it around today like back-fence gossip.

Declared Gov. Fuller Warren of Florida: "The solution to federal encroachment is for the states to get busy and start doing these things that the federal government is taking over."

Gov. Sidney McMath of Arkansas agreed. So did Gov. James E. J. Folsom of Alabama.

Thurmond Elected Chairman

At today's final session the governors elected Gov. J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina, the 1948 States' Rights presidential nominee, as conference chairman, and adopted a States' Rights resolution, which opposed what it called "government regimentation of the individual citizen" and the "socialization of competitive industry."

A stronger resolution had been prepared, but Leander Perez of Pointe-a-la-Rache, La., and national director of the States' Rights Party, said it was abandoned before it got before the conference. Gov. Earl Long of Louisiana and Gov. Herman Talmadge of Georgia, authored the watered-down version.

No Boost For Party

To the States' Rights nursing politicial ambitions for 1952, Byrnes' folo speech was not as strong as hoped. They had openly expressed the hope that the former Secretary of State might give their bandwagon a strong shove.

Byrnes, personally, wouldn't discuss—even to explain or amplify—the contents of his talk.

Some of Byrnes's friends at the conference even cautioned against drawing any specific political implications from it.

At a caucus the States' Rights leaders decided not to ask that the conference endorse their movement. They explained that under conference rules, resolutions must receive unanimous approval to be adopted. And an adverse vote, they said, might cost the cause some prestige.

Political Link Not Seen

Mostly, the governors shied away from linking Byrnes's folo speeches to anything political. The former cabinet member is being boomed as a gubernatorial candidate in his home state.

Those governors who would comment saw nothing cherry in it as far as Byrnes jointing the States' Rights group.

In an earlier session the governors voted to expand their two-year-old regional education program to include social welfare training and nursing.

The group reelected former Gov. Millard Caldwell of Florida chairman of the board of control for regional education.

Frank Dixon, Dixiecrat Spokesman

The Louisville Courier-Journal

KENTUCKY manufacturers heard a message this week from Frank M. Dixon, Alabama's former governor, who is right up there in the hierarchy of the Dixiecrats. It was he who was keynoter of the Birmingham conference on July 17, 1948, which nominated Thurmond and Wright. Before that, he was one of the eloquent defenders of Alabama's Boswell amendment, designed to keep Negroes from voting but subsequently thrown out by the U. S. Supreme Court as an anti-libertarian fraud. And what he had to say in Louisville, laid against his remarks at the hysterical event in Birmingham last year, will highlight the essential masquerade and purpose of the States' Rights Democrat movement whose praises he sang in an interview here.

Birmingham was a fit place to launch the Dixiecrat campaign. It is dominated by the "big mule" patrons of Alabama politics and by the great weight of absentee industrial power. Hosts of the nominating conference (the nominating done by a committee in a hotel room some distance from the hall) were prominent citizens identified with steel, coal, and industries. But the greatest sound effects, a dizzying, ear-splitting convention-hall parade, followed Mr. Dixon's solemn warning—and can he be solemn and portentous!—against the "mongrelization" of this country.

ONLY a few weeks later a newspaper in his own state, The Hale County News, was accusing: "The reactionaries have seized upon the strategy of stirring up prejudice and fomenting racial strife as a blind to their real purpose." And around that time, over in Little Rock, The Arkansas Gazette was commenting: "It is no accident that those who are loudest now in denouncing Mr. Truman are the same Southern Democrats who have also taken issue with him and his predecessor on many other matters—labor legislation, price controls, public power, federal spending, etc."

We couldn't help being reminded of that camouflage in reading Mr. Dixon's remarks here on "The Welfare State," that Number One epithet in the current political hit parade. There was his reference, for example, to "those in public life who advocate housing controls and public housing for all, socialized medicine, social securit, from cradle to grave, the destruction of our capitalistic system . . ."

But housing controls, a wartime and readjustment device, are fading fast. Nobody proposes public housing for all. Socialized medicine is what you want to call it. Social security from cradle to grave is a cliche. And it isn't true that anybody responsibly proposes the destruction of our capitalistic system. We don't believe anybody in position to do so is working for it even unknowingly. We doubt, indeed, that even Mr. Dixon really believes it.

IT SEEMS simply necessary to recall that our visitor was last year giving sanction to the Alabama seizure of accustomed political processes by which the Democratic Party's official candidates were kept off the ballot. Nobody in the state could vote for Truman and Barkley if he wanted to. A "Ja" vote system could have done it no better, though you would never think it to read that Mr. Dixon was describing himself here, and presumably his Dixiecrat conferees, as seeking "to preserve the freedom of individuals against regimentation by government (what government? Surely he didn't mean that imposed by the Alabama Democratic Executive Committee?) . . . who demand retention of the spirit of the Bill of Rights, who seek to preserve initiative, self-reliance and the dignity of mankind."

Dixiecrats—'Strength & Salvation Of The State'

EDITOR, The Advertiser — I feel constrained to make a reply to the epistle of Kyzer Stewart published in The Advertiser Nov. 21. Mr. Stewart talks freely of the will of the majority being the criterion of the governing policy of the late meeting of the Young Democrats of Montgomery County. I readily admit that. It was the beliefs of that majority present which I discussed in my first letter, beliefs which a majority of young Democrats do not follow.

He says that a "select few" denied a place on the ballot to the nominee of the "Democratic Party." On that I'll even go part of the way with him. Those "select few" were indeed select inasmuch as they were duly qualified and elected by the people of the State of Alabama who had full knowledge of the facts, operated under no misconception of policy, and voted for those men in whose principles they believed.

What his group doesn't realize, so used to shouting "usurper, defrauder, outcast, etc." is that in Alabama these men are the party; they are the strength and salvation of the state. Were it not for such we would lack even that small measure of democracy we yet retain.

As for a place for his so-called nominee on the ballot, they were all but invited to place it thereon but refused because they didn't want to array it alongside of the nominee of the Democratic Party of Alabama.

Instead what did they do? Dissipated their energies in a foredoomed attempt to force men elected by the people to do something they hadn't been chosen to do. Where was your spirit of American democracy, majority rule, and sportsmanship all down that line?

As for my comment of last week which was assailed by Mr. Stewart I believe the late convention of Young Democrat Clubs has borne me out. The major effort of the Alabama delegation seems to have been to try to keep intra-party differences from being aired. If this is settlement within the party, we want none of it!

In conclusion, the letter was mine own humble effort, Mr. Stewart. There are yet some men in the republic who will speak out with spontaneity on a matter close to their hearts.

JOHN HUDDLESTON.

Montgomery.

15 Southern Governors Back States Rights, Free Enterprise

Biloxi, Miss., Nov. 22 (U.P.).—Fifteen Southern Governors ended a planning conference today by voting to give their "unqualified support" to the principles of States' rights and free enterprise.

The conference elected Gov. J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina, 1948 States' Rights presidential candidate, as its next chairman.

Leander H. Perez of Louisiana, director of the States Rights movement, termed this a fitting recognition of Thurmond's campaign against the Truman civil rights program.

Perez indicated his choice for 1952 chairman would be former Secretary of State James F. Byrnes, now a likely candidate for South Carolina Governor, who indicted "big government" in a speech before the conference last night.

Besides indorsing States Rights, the Governors passed resolutions condemning "Government regimentation of the individual or socialization of competitive industry."

The Governors also protested the frequent refusal of Northern and Western Governors to extradite escaped prisoners to Southern States on grounds that they would be subjected to "cruel and unusual treatment."

They said Governors who refuse extraditions violate the "full faith and credit" clause of the Constitution and "tend to create a haven for criminals."

The conference formally asked the Council of State Governments to "make a thorough study of this problem with a view to the creation of means and methods for ending such disregard of constitutional authority."

By another resolution the Governors protested the Federal Government's claim to ownership of submerged oil lands off the coasts of Louisiana and Texas.

THURMOND HEADS SOUTH'S GOVERNORS

Choice of 1948 States' Rights Nominee Held Political Move of National Bearing

By JOHN N. POPHAM

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

BILOXI, Miss., Nov. 22—Gov. J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina, the presidential candidate of the States Rights Democrats in 1948, was unanimously chosen today chairman of the Southern Governor Conference to succeed former Gov. Ben Laney of Arkansas.

The selection carried national political overtones, coming on the heels of a speech in which former Secretary of State James F. Byrnes attacked the spending and taxation policies of the Truman Administration and urged the assembled governors to "stand up and fight" federal government encroachment on their sovereignty.

Mr. Byrnes has broadly hinted that he will be a candidate in the Democratic primary next summer for governor of his native state of South Carolina. Governor Thurmond is widely regarded in the state as the most likely candidate to contest Senator Olin D. Johnston in the same primary for the Senate seat.

Governor Thurmond has been a severe critic of the Truman Administration and when he was named Democratic National Committeeman this year he declined to serve. Later Senator Burnet R. Maybank and Mrs. Ann Agnew were selected as national committee members from South Carolina.

"State Sovereignty" Backed

Subsequently, at a heated session in which the national committee moved to oust representatives from states that had given their electorial votes to the States Rights Democrats, the post was barred to Mrs. Agnew and Senator Maybank declined to sit without her, leaving South Carolina without national committee representation. Governor Thurmond accused the committee of practicing "Prendergastism."

Before selecting its new chairman the Governors' conference unanimously approved a resolution asserting its belief in "state sovereignty" and "individual freedom" as essential to the "survival of the Republic."

The resolution also expressed opposition to "government regimentation of the individual and socialization of competitive industry" and voiced support of "the traditional American way of life and our free-enterprise system."

Leander B. Perez, Louisiana attorney and national director of the States Rights Democrats headquarters in Washington, who said he was attending the conference as "an interested observer," handed copies of the resolution to the press before it was adopted. He stated that the resolution was submitted by Gov. Earl K. Long of Louisiana and Herman Talmadge of Georgia.

He had learned, he asserted, that the resolutions committee, composed of Govs. Thurmond, Long, Roy J. Turner of Oklahoma, W. Kerr Scott of North Carolina, James E. Folsom of Alabama and William Preston Lane Jr. of Maryland, had approved the resolution after making several word changes "to appease Folsom."

States Plans for 1950

He declared that the States Rights Democrats would enter candidates in the 1950 congressional elections in the South. His organization, he added, would adopt its 1948 campaign method of "trying to capture the Democratic party's primary machinery in a state and have our candidates run as the regular Democratic candidate on the ballot."

Next year's political contests will involve such "liberal" Southerners and National Administration supporters as Senators Claude Pepper of Florida, Lister Hill of Alabama and Frank P. Graham of North Carolina.

Mr. Perez called the speech by Mr. Byrnes last night "a masterly description of the principles of states rights."

Asked if the States Rights Democrats were "viewing Mr. Byrnes as an acceptable nominee for President in 1952," Mr. Perez replied: "He is a patriotic and honorable citizen who could fill the office capably and creditably."

Mr. Byrnes has held consistently to the role of a regular Democratic party member who is dissatisfied with specific governmental programs.

After a morning of moving about the lobby of the conference hotel accepting congratulations on his speech, Mr. Byrnes left by plane for his home in Spartanburg, S. C. He is to spend Thanksgiving Day with his old friend, Bernard Baruch, at Mr. Baruch's plantation home near Georgetown, S. C.

Submerged Lands Plea

The Governors approved a resolution urging Congress to recognize the title of the states to their "submerged lands and resources." The resolution asked that the House Judiciary Committee make its report on the issue "with a minimum of delay" and that the Senate proceed with hearings as soon as possible.

The conference also requested the Council of State Governments to study the problem of the "delivery of fugitives from justice" and to recommend means for its solution. Several northern states have recently refused to extradite fugitives of southern states.

Another resolution called on the Reconstruction Finance Corporation to make credit available at a reasonable rate of interest to enable states and localities to build sanitation facilities, bridges, highways and similar self-liquidating projects.

States' Righters Disappointed

States' Righters clearly have been disappointed by the address of former Secretary of State James F. Byrnes before the Southern Governors Conference at Biloxi Monday night. Among them there apparently had been hopes that the secretary might come out definitely for their cause.

Mr. Byrnes has been considering running for governor of South Carolina in next year's primaries. That state, of course, provided the States' Rights candidate for president, J. Strom Thurmond, who was elected chairman of the conference. Leaders of the States' Rights group may have built their hopes largely around the idea that if Mr. Byrnes were going to run for governor in South Carolina it would be on some sort of States' Rights platform.

Besides, they had noted that in his recent Washington and Lee address Mr. Byrnes had vigorously warned against excessive centralization of government.

But there was nothing in Mr. Byrnes' Biloxi speech to give specific endorsement to the separatist hopes of the dissenting faction of Southern Democrats.

He did talk about the states performing services "demanded by the people." That evidently meant that he believed the states should do some of the things now being done by or asked of the federal government.

There is much to be said for that general idea. More sound action by state governments in some fields would help to reduce demands on the federal government.

But one difficulty in this connection is that some of our states are not able financially to provide certain improvements and services which they clearly need and which would be in the interest of the country as a whole. Better educational facilities, for instance.

On the other hand, some of our states could have done things that perhaps would have tended to lessen the demands for federal action.

In this general connection, one might say that if poll tax reform had been enacted by those states still imposing this levy, there would be no demand for federal action in this field.

* * *

Anyway, this was not exactly the kind of states rights talk that some of the dissenting leaders had been hoping for. But perhaps their disappointment and surprise were not very great. For they may not really have strongly expected that as astute a politician as Jimmy Byrnes would take up a movement now pretty forlorn and obviously on the decline.

Even the States' Rights leaders at the conference themselves decided against asking a conference endorsement of their movement against individual citizen, of regimentation of the individual citizen, of They must realize something of what now is generally, of "socialization of competitive industry," but Democrats generally, of happening.

A resolution was approved against "gov-course can join in that sentiment.

Alabama Dixiecrats Who Gave And Received

Birmingham News Sun 3-6-49

BY JAMES FREE
News Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON, March 5—States' Rights Party supporters in Alabama contributed $22,770 to their national party campaign fund last year. This was almost twice the amount Alabamians gave to the national Democratic Party in 1948. That total was just over $13,000, as was reported in this newspaper last Sunday.

The Alabama States' Rights committee turned in $12,770 to the Party, records of the party in South Carolina show a $100 contribution made through the state by A. S. Glover of Birmingham, Ala.

The Hale County States' Rights committee, with headquarters in Greensboro turned in $254.85 to the state headquarters.

* * *

SEVERAL OF THE EXPENSE items recorded may be of interest. On Oct. 28, 1948, the States' Rights national headquarters has an item of $1,073 paid to Horace Wilkinson, Birmingham attorney, for reimbursement of expenditures for publicity and advertising, the biggest single entry being a $538 payment to Sparrow Advertising Agency, Birmingham.

Major items on the state party organization payroll were $75 weekly to Dave Battle, brother of Birmingham's Rep. Laurie C. Battle, for about six weeks during the campaign; and $50 weekly to Mrs. J. H Erin for approximately the same period.

On Oct. 7, the national headquarters paid $468.50 to Wilkinson & Skinner, of Birmingham, for reimbursement of traveling expenses.

Sun 3-6-49

During August, September and October, the national States' Rights headquarters paid Glen Saunders of Montgomery, former newspaper man, $500 a month and certain travel expense. Saunders, it was learned, was brought down from New York at the suggestion of Horace C. Wilkinson for promotion and publicity work during the campaign.

Dixiecrat Future Dark, Demo Leader's View

Birmingham News Wed 3-2-49

BY JAMES FREE
News-Age-Herald Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON, March 16—With better leadership the Dixiecrats could have accomplished their purpose and defeated President Truman last year. But unless President Truman insists upon uncompromising battle for enactment of his entire civil rights program the Dixiecrats have no future even in the states they carried in 1948.

This is how the Dixiecrats size up in the opinion of the man who led the Democratic National Committee's fight against the States' Rights Party in the presidential campaign. William J. Primm Jr. who was a special assistant to Democratic Committee Chairman J. Howard McGrath and McGrath's main reliance in dealing with Southern problems, says:

"The Dixiecrats missed the boat, and I doubt if it's coming back for them. The Dixiecrats have no future, unless there is prolonged, unnecessary fanning of civil rights issues.

"A lot of people still don't realize how serious the civil rights opposition from the South could have been last year. With better management and clearer policy direction, the States' Rights Party might readily have swept eight to 10 states in the South."

Primm is convinced Dixiecrat movement's major blunders were:

* * *

1. FAILURE TO SET itself up unmistakeably as a new, separate political party committee to States' Rights principles.

2. Failure to make its aims and issues so clear that Southern governors and members of Congress from Dixie would have been compelled to take a stand either with the Dixiecrats or with the Democrats.

3. Its lack of consistency in seeking support in the various states In some states it took over the regular Democratic state organization. In others it ran as an independent party.

His idea is that, once the strong civil rights opponents chose to walk out of the Democratic National Convention, they should have —if they were serious about carrying out their objective of defeating pro-civil-rights Truman—formed a clear-cut, opposition party and made a genuine effort to enlist all Southern states on their side.

"Instead," says Primm, "they proclaimed in some states that they were the true Democrats, and in other states they contended they were a new political party.

"In Alabama, the Dixiecrats kept the Truman-Barkley ticket off the ballot. It's doubtful that the Truman-Barkley ticket could have won had it been on the ballot, but at least the voters had a right to reject it and that right was denied them. Alabama voters blame the Dixiecrats for this high-handed, undemocratic procedure."

Such arrogant leadership aroused resentment by many Southern Democrats who might otherwise have been inclined to go along with the State's Righters, according to Primm. It made it easier for the Democrats to turn back the Dixiecrats in Georgia, Florida, Arkansas and Virginia. It made the Dixiecrats an almost negligible force in Tennessee, North Carolina and Texas.

Dixiecrat Is Told Off By Rayburn

BY ROBERT S. ALLEN

WASHINGTON, Jan. 7 (NANA) —Rep. William M. Colmer, Mississippi Dixiecrat, got short shrift from House Speaker Sam Rayburn in pleading for a place on the powerful rules committee.

Colmer had been a member of the committee under previous Democratic control. He was very anxious to be renamed in this Congress. Rayburn, who had been bitterly assailed by the Dixiecrats during the presidential campaign, listened stonily to Colmer's plea.

"As a Dixiecrat, you don't have much claim for consideration," Rayburn remarked.

"But, Sam," argued Colmer, "it took a lot more courage to be a Dixiecrat than it did to be for Truman."

"If it had," snapped Rayburn, "you wouldn't have been a Dixiecrat."

That ended the conference and Colmer's chances of getting back on the prize committee.

CHAIRMAN Gessner T. McCorvey of the state Democratic executive committee catches me up on a technicality for an observation in last week's column.

I reported that in 1930 the state committee barred Tom Heflin for not writing into the qualification of candidates the requirement that they must have supported and voted for the Democratic nominees in the previous general election. This, I said, would cause considerable debate when the committee meets next January, and that some might try in an attempt to bar McCorvey and others who supported the Thurmond-Wright ticket for president.

Mr. McCorvey writes:

Thurs. 4-21-49

"YOU refer to the fact that the rules, since the ouster of Tom Heflin, who voted for Herbert Hoover rather than Al Smith, **have required that all party candidates must have supported and** voted for the nominees of the Democratic Party. To a certain extent this is correct, but if you mean to convey the idea that primary candidates must vote for the nominees of the national convention of the so-called Democratic Party, rather than the nominees of the Alabama Democratic primary, then you are entirely in error.

"The pledge which each candidates takes, and the pledge printed on the ballot which is cast by each Democrat voting in our Alabama primary elections, is a pledge to abide by the result of the Alabama primary election, and to aid and support all the nominees in the ensuing general election. In other words, the candidates and the voters agree to support the nominees of what? Not the nominees of some national convention of the alleged Demcratic party, but the nominees of the Alabama Democratic primary.

Thurs. 4-2-49

"In our Democratic primary election in May, 1949, I along with ten other Democrats were nominated as presidential electors. We were in honor bound to support all the nominees of the Alabama primary elections. Among those nominated were the 11 candidates for presidential elector who led the ticket. Consequently in the general election in November we were obligated to support those eleven nominees, and this is exactly what we did . . ."

He goes on to point out that 1928 bolters to Hoover voted for Republican electors, not Democratic ones.

(All the eleven electors nominated and elected last November previously pledged themselves to vote against President Truman or anyone supporting his Civil Rights program. They carried out the pledge, voting for States' Righters Thurmond and Wright after running under the Democratic Party's official emblem, the rooster.)

Now I've caught Mr. McCorvey. Remember? Tom Heflin, **then senator, didn't vote in the 1928 election. He happened to** remember at the last minute that party rules then required that candidates must not have voted against Democratic nominees in the previous general election. Tom stayed home, but in 1930, when he was coming up for reelection, the state committee wrote in the proviso that candidates must have both supported and voted for nominees. That killed Tom politically.

J. MILLER BONNER, of Camden, threatened to keep tab on office-holders attending the Trumanite Jefferson-Jackson Day dinner in Birmingham recently. Bonner said he and the Dixiecrats would unfrock them, so to speak, in 1950 or 1952. I didn't see any scorekeepers, but for the edification of Mr. Bonner and other Dixiecrats here's a partial list compiled by one of our scouts:

Thurs. 4-2-49

State Senators—James B. Allen, Gadsden; Tom Blake Howle, Oxford; Broughton Lamberth, Alexander City; Fuller Kimbrell, Fayette; Albert Boutwell, Birmingham; A. L. Patterson, Phenix City; Rankin Fite, Hamilton; Joseph N. Langan, Mobile, and John E. Gaither, Heflin.

State Representatives—C. B. Cox, Clanton; Ira B. Thompson, Luverne; E. L. Roberts, Gadsden; Edward B. (Ed) Miller, Gadsden; T. Herman Vann, New Hope; J. J. Benford, New Hope; B. L. Cole, Phenix City, and J. W. Brassell, Phenix City.

Probate Judges—G. H. Stacy, Bibb County, Centerville; Coma Garrett, Jr., Clarke County, Grove Hill; W. B. Nolan, Clay County, Ashland; Grady W. Cook, Cleburne County, Heflin; H. H. Kinney, Cullman County, Cullman; Tom C. Garner, Jefferson County, Birmingham; S. G. Johnson, Lamar County, Vernon; J. L. Killian, Lee County, Opelika; Roy Malone, Limestone County, Athens; J. C. Griffin, Perry County, Marion; C. J. Coley, Tallapoosa County, Dadeville; Lecil D. Gray, Jr., Walker County, Jasper.

Montgomery Advertiser Thurs. 4-7-49

Ike And States Rights

About this time last year the nation was trying to twist the arm of General Eisenhower until he gave in and vocalized for the draft for the presidency. They said the idea of Eisenhower running was a pipe dream and not to be taken seriously.

For a while all such Eisenhower admirers had to take considerable ridicule and the embracing a fantasy. They said the idea of Eisenhower running was a pipe dream and not to be taken seriously.

By A. F. Mahan, Jr.
Asst. Managing Editor, The Advertiser

As a matter of fact, all the evidence now strongly suggests that Eisenhower was wavering like Hamlet. Nor can us erstwhile Eisenhower drafters be longer ridiculed, for it has since been disclosed that Truman himself was working hand-in-glove with us. He twice urged the nomination upon Eisenhower—and once he gravely offered to run for vice-president on his ticket. 6-16-49

But that's all over, at least until 1952. What we wanted to say was that in 1948 we insisted that Eisenhower would be acceptable to the South on civil rights because of his statement that race relations couldn't be determined by legislation.

His latest statement in opposition to Federal aid for education has a strong states rights base. General Eisenhower, now president of Columbia University, told Congress that he favors helping only states that can't raise enough taxes to support the high level of education and then only "under formulas that would permit no abuse, no direct interference of the Federal authority in education processes and no opportunity to expand the flow of Federal money into areas where need could not be clearly demonstrated . . . The army of persons who urge greater and greater centralization of authority and greater and greater dependence upon the Federal treasury are really more dangerous to our form of government than any external threat can possibly be arrayed against us."

6-16-49

The Advertiser does not agree entirely with Eisenhower on Federal aid, but it is highly gratifying and sustaining to find so powerful and enlightened a leader thrusting a lance in behalf of authentic (not phony) states rights. We hope to see this matchless figure with the Roosevelt sunniness play his full part in national affairs.

But Committee Votes To Seat Mrs. Thomas

Credentials Group's Party Purge Executed

By Fast Voice Ballot

Wed. 8-25-49

BY JAMES FREE
News Washington Correspondent

WASHINGTON, Aug. 24—States' Rights members from Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi and South Carolina were bounced off the Democratic National Committee today.

The committee accepted all recommendations of its credentials unit to "expunge" the States' Righters, including Marion Rushton, national committeeman from Alabama.

Mrs. Lennard Thomas, Alabama national committeewoman from Montgomery, was seated at today's session of the national committee.

THE COMMITTEE, involved in a hot, long-standing family row over the desertion of States' Righters last year, shouted its approval of

(Democrat Text on Page 7)

recommendations for punishment handed down by the credentials unit.

The party purge was executed by voice vote.

Mrs. Thomas had been invited to the national meeting by Retiring Chairman J. Howard McGrath, but Mr. Rushton was not so invited.

In its report to the full committee, the credentials committee urged Mr. Rushton's ouster on the ground he admitted before it that he "actively opposed the election of the Democratic nominees for president and vice president chosen by the national party at Philadelphia last year."

"We find," the credentials committee report continued, "that a vacancy in the office of the Democratic National Committeeman for Alabama exists."

THE CREDENTIALS committee also recommended that the name of William H. Talbot, of Louisiana, be expunged as national committeeman; that the names of Mississippi committeeman, J. B. Snider, and committeewoman, Mrs. Hermes Gautier, be expunged; that Sen. Burnett Maybank be seated as national committeeman from South Carolina.

Miss Mary Evelyn Dickerson, of Louisiana, was recommended for seating as national committeewoman for that state.

The post of national committeewoman from South Carolina would remain vacant under credentials committee recommendations.

The credentials group found Mrs. Albert Agnew, of South Carolina, had "permitted her name to be used by another political party" in 1948 and it urged her name be expunged from committee rolls.

The credentials committee recommended that Dwight Morrow be seated as national committeeman from Texas, stating that "the evidence did not sustain charges" made against him.

As the national committee session opened with a roll call, the name of Mrs. Thomas was called for Alabama. The national committeeman post for Alabama was blank on the roll call, since Rushton had not been invited.

Mrs. Thomas made this statement:

"I belong to and support the Democratic Party because I believe it is the party that does the most for the most people.

"I have done my best to bring about a better understanding of the South and our peculiar situation, and in so doing I have gained a better understanding of the new South we are trying to build toward a greater U. S.

"Intelligent and right-thinking Southerners are helping to raise the economic status of the Negro race. Only a low class of politicians is guilty of using our Negroes as political footballs.

"The South and her magnificent natural resources is the backbone of the U. S. The two races can continue to live together and progress toward greater prosperity if we have the right spirit and keep our segregation laws in force. This is a 'must' in the Southland.

"I believe in the national two-party system. I did not believe in or support the States' Rights Party for I think splinter parties are detrimental to nations.

"The 'Dixiecrats' will have a chance in the future to join Republican or Democrats. They should make their own choice. This is a free country. I believe in states' rights but I also believe in states' responsibilities."

Horace Wilkinson, Birmingham attorney, attending today's meeting as an interested spectator, predicted the expulsion of Rushton would result in a great expansion in the ranks of the States' Rights Party.

Wilkinson, who came to Washington "on other business," conferred with Mr. Rushton several times yesterday and today.

* * *

RUSHTON HAS STATED publicly he supported the Thurmond-Wright ticket in 1948.

Mrs. Thomas has stated she did not support the States' Rights ticket. The Truman-Barkley Democratic nominees were not on the Alabama ballot last November.

Mr. Rushton gave the credentials committee the following statement:

"During the last decade, I have been elected three times by the Democrats of Alabama in statewide primaries to represent them as a member of this committee. In my campaign for election in 1948, I specifically stated that if elected, I would oppose in every way within my power the adoption of any federal program repudiating home rule and states' rights in matters reserved to the states by the Constitution. It was upon that platform that the people of Alabama elected me in 1948 and upon it I presented my credentials to this committee upon its organization and was seated.

"I returned to Alabama and informed our citizens publicly and by letter to the Democratic State Committee that the national party has abandoned the principles upon which my people had so long supported it and elected me and I asked them for further instructions.

"I simultaneously tendered my resignation to the Democrats of Alabama in order that if they wished to do so, they might elect another in my place who would find it possible to support the new and novel doctrines of the national party as determined at the Philadelphia convention. I informed the chairman of this committee of my action.

"The Democratic Party of Alabama has more than a year's opportunity to express themselves in response to my action. It has refused my tender of resignation and at the same time instructed me by resolution to advise the Democratic National Committee that they, the Democrats of Alabama, are determined that in 1952 the nominees of the so-called National Democratic Party will not receive a single, solitary electoral vote from Alabama unless and until the Democratic National Committee and the so-called National Democratic Party abandon its anti-Southern hate program otherwise known as the civil rights program.

"The people of Alabama in the primaries, in the election and now through the action of their duly elected representatives composing the state committee of Alabama have given me my instructions which are for your information. I have quoted. Now having complied with them, it is you who must determine whether you wish to continue further relations with the Democrats of Alabama. The decision rests with you."

* * *

MR. RUSHTON PASSED by a group with which Mrs. Thomas was chatting in a hallway—after he appeared before the credentials committee—and she called out to him:

"Hello, Marion. I feel sorry for you."

"Please don't," he replied.

"I mean," she continued, "that I've been taking a lot of criticism for about a year and now it's your turn."

Mr. Rushton smiled and walked on.

States' Rights Drive Pushed

Committeemen Sought In All Alabama Areas; Issues To Be Defined

Advertiser

The Alabama States' Rights Committee has taken another step to maintain its control over the State Democratic Executive Committee, it was revealed yesterday.

The move is an effort to get States' Rights committeemen set up in every beat and precinct in the state to advance the principles of the group.

Marion Rushton, local attorney and chairman of the Alabama States' Rights' Committee, said that it "is part of a move to keep the Democratic Party of Alabama in Alabama hands."

He added that it will be a "gradual and continuing fight."

Lower Levels

Rushton said last night that the States' Rights leaders were attempting to organize throughout the state on the lower levels and work up from there.

He stated that through the efforts of the local precinct chairmen his group hoped to acquaint the people with the issues in an effort to have them elect next Spring members of the State Executive Committe who believe in the States' Rights principles.

Rushton said that a letter had been mailed in some of the congressional districts to certain persons asking them to assume the chairmanship of their respective precincts.

Stating that the letter might have been sent into all the state's nine districts, he said the move was statewdie, nevertheless. In places where letters have not been sent, persons have been contacted by telephone or personally by members of the group.

Letters that were sent out asking these certain persons to assume the chairmanship of the movement in the various precincts contained return postcards on which each person was to say whether he would serve as a chairman.

The letter that was mailed in at least one congressional district, the Ninth (Jefferson), said:

"Without authority of law, on instructions of President Truman the National Democratic Executive Committee refused to seat Marion Rushton, our elected representative, and put as a condition that we must agree to the vicious civil rights program of Truman.

"Our State Democratic Executive Committee, which has fought for us, is not recognized by the present national party in Washington.

"In the elections to be held next May, the issue will be whether we are to run our party in Alabama as we see fit, or to take dictation from those in Washington who seek to destroy our civilization. We want every candidate for local committeeman to commit himself on this issue.

"We must organize. To survive, we must be willing to fight.

You can be of great help. Will you serve as committeeman in your precinct, and give some of your time and energy to the cause of local self-government and the preservation of our way of life?

"If you will, please sign and return the enclosed post card."

North-South Alliance

DEMOCRATS AND OLD-GUARD REPUBLICANS have now organized one of the smoothest-working alliances on Capitol Hill. With many signals across the aisle, these two groups vote almost as one. They also think alike, consort together, and have more in common than most Northern Democrats and liberal Republicans.

Leaders of the Dixiecrat-GOP alliance are well known. Their names—Gene Cox of Georgia, Howard Smith of Virginia, John Wood of Georgia—are frequently in the headlines. But the rank and file members, whose votes make the coalition click, are not well known.

Here is the rollcall of the gentlemen who, on such vital issues as Taft-Hartley repeal and rent control, make the alliance work:

DEMOCRATS: Boykin, Alabama; Gathings, Arkansas; Rogers, Florida.

From Georgia, Cox, Davis, Preston, Wheeler and Food; Passman, Louisiana; from Mississippi, Abernathy, Colmer, Rankin, Whitten, Whittington and Winstead.

From North Carolina, Barden, Chatham, Doughton, Redden; from South Carolina, Hare, McMillan, Richards; Murray of Tennessee; Smith of Virginia.

From Texas, Fisher, Gossett, Kilday, Lucas, Pickett, Poage, Regan, Teague, Wilson.

REPUBLICANS: From California, Allen, Anderson, Bramblett, Phillips, Scudder, Werdel, Jackson; Hill, Colorado; Sanborn, Idaho.

From Illinois, Allen, Arends, Chiperfield, Mason, McMillen, Reed, Simpson, Velde, Vursell, Church; from Indiana, Halleck, Harden, Harvey, Wilson.

From Iowa, Dolliver, Hoeven, Jensen, Le Compte, Martin; from Kansas, Cole, Meyer, Hope, Rees, Scrivner, Smith; from Maine, Fellows, Hale; Miller of Maryland; from Massachusetts, Goodwin and Nicholson.

From Michigan, Blackney, Crawford, Ford, Hoffman, Michener, Potter, Shafer, Wolcott, Woodruff, Dondero; from Minnesota, Andersen, Andresen, Hagen, O'Hara; Short of Missouri; D'Ewart of Montana; from Nebraska, Curtis, Miller, Stefan; from New Hampshire, Cotton and Merrow.

From New Jersey, Eaton, Towe; from New York, Gwinn, Macy, Reed, Taber, Wadsworth; from Ohio, Bolton, Brown, Elston, Jenkins, McCulloch, McGregor, Vorys, Weichel; from Oregon, Ellsworth and Stockman.

From Pennsylvania, Dague, Gavin, Gillette, Graham, Rich, Simpson; from South Dakota, Case, Lovre; Jennings of Tennessee; from Wisconsin, Byrnes, Davis, Keefe, Murray, Smith; Barrett of Wyoming.—©.

JAY G. HAYDEN

GOP Can't Ignore the South

WASHINGTON—Talk of a combination of Southern Democrats and Republicans, with Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower as their presidential candidate, has set off a flood of dissertations asserting both the technical impracticality and the ideological incongruity of such a union.

First, it is contended, the Republican Party could not change its name without destroying itself in its Northern strongholds and the South will never accept any candidate labeled "Republican."

Secondly, because racial equality has been a foundation stone of the Republican Party since its beginning, and the South is as segregation-minded as ever, the proposed combination inevitably would crash on that issue.

As to the first of these propositions, mutual support of General Eisenhower would not necessitate either surrender of the Republican name in the North, or adoption of that label by the General's Southern supporters.

The Republican Party could nominate Eisenhower and a convention of States' Rights Democrats also could nominate him. Electoral votes won under either label would be equally potent.

One development of 1948 not likely to occur again was the theft of regular Democratic electoral slates without giving President Truman even a fighting chance.

IN ALABAMA, there was a semblance of popular decision in that the electors were chosen in a Spring primary in which the issue was squarely drawn between the pro- and anti-Truman forces. All the Democratic electoral nominees in that state were pledged to vote in the electoral college against any candidate who failed to disavow the Truman Civil Rights program.

But in Mississippi, South Carolina and Louisiana, the Democratic electoral slates were taken away from President Truman without reference to the Party's rank and file and the Truman ticket was deprived of any real opportunity to contest the November election.

Forewarned, as it now is, the National Democratic organization is in no danger of again being so frozen out. In fact, James F. Byrnes, by proposing to run for Governor of South Carolina, on a platform of opposition to the Truman "welfare state," is challenging the National Democratic organization to come into his state and fight it out two years ahead of the next Presidential contest.

Byrnes has not mentioned the racial issue in any of his recent speeches. His friends here say he believes that flaunting the banner of "white supremacy" as a vote-getting device in the South has done that section great injury.

HE IS attempting to pitch his advocacy of state rights and individual freedom—as against social and economic regimentation, surrendered to in return for Federal cash handouts—on a level that will appeal equally, North, South, East and West.

There are many Republicans, on the other hand, who believe that their party is making a mistake by supporting the Roosevelt-Truman conception of federally-compelled racial equality, while opposing concentration of power in Washington as to other matters.

One of the many political miscues charged against Gov. Thomas Dewey after the 1948 election was his failure either to enter the South or discuss its viewpoints.

Because he had brought about passage of a fair employment practice law which was working well in New York State, Dewey was in fine position to argue that State action was the best way to solution of the race issue. His Southern supporters urged that if he would assert that position in just one speech south of the Mason and Dixon line he would win several Southern States.

Instead, Dewey shunned the South completely and pussyfooted the whole Civil Rights issue.

Whether or not Dewey would have benefitted from a more courageous course, it is a fairly safe speculation that the next Republican Presidential nominee will not attempt to win the South by ignoring it.

Lacks Understanding

THE PROPOSAL OF Senator John W. Bricker, Republican, of Ohio, of a coalition party of conservative Republicans and Southern Democrats shows that he is utterly lacking in an understanding of the political history of the United States.

The Republican party was born out of a great moral issue. It came into being on the issue of the extension of human slavery. The Democratic party was the pro-slavery party.

Although history records that the Civil War was fought to maintain the Union, and the slaves were emancipated as a war measure, the fact is the basic issue was slavery and the Republican party was on the side of human freedom.

After the Civil War the Republican party wrote into the United States Constitution, the Thirteenth Amendment forbidding slavery, the Fourteenth Amendment conferring citizenship upon colored people, and the Fifteenth Amendment giving them the right to vote.

LOSS OF GRIP

Not until the Republican party laid aside its moral principles and became the champion of property rights did it lose its grip upon the voters.

It was Herbert Hoover who gave the Democrats their opportunity to take the colored vote away from the party of Lincoln. As titular head of the Republican party he wanted colored Republicans replaced by lily whites in positions of leadership in Southern States.

Franklin D. Roosevelt defeated Hoover in 1932, weaning away a sizeable bloc of the colored vote which once had been solidly Republican, and since then the Democratic party has fortified itself among colored voters.

Today the Democratic party seeks to purge itself of Dixiecrats, another name for slavecrats, and is advocating a broad, legislative civil rights program.

A coalition party of conservative Republicans and Southern Democrats would get no support from colored voters. For a record as a white supremacist worse than that of former Secretary of State James F. Byrnes one would have to go back to "Pitchfork" Ben Tillman of South Carolina, Jim Vardaman of Mississippi, and Hoke Smith of Georgia.

As a member of Congress, Byrnes was even opposed to annual Federal contributions to Howard University and not only opposed antilynching legislation but sought to justify lynching on the floors of both the House and Senate as necessary for the protection of white Southern womanhood.

The Republican party can win elections without forming an alliance with Dixiecrats. It must, however, become identified with policies which are not mere carbon copies of Democratic policies. Economy in government is one such policy. Others are an improved and perfected Taft-Hartley labor law, reduction of taxes, and opposition to Government price-fixing.

NEW OPPORTUNITY

On the matter of civil rights, the second session of the 81st Congress will give Republicans an opportunity to become again the party of freedom and equality. All they need to do is present a solid phalanx against a Dixiecrat filibuster on whatever civil rights bill the Democratic leadership may decide to call up.

Governor Alfred E. Driscoll of New Jersey has proved that Republicans can be elected to office on a civil rights record. New Jersey has a State fair employment practice law. Governor Driscoll put through the New Jersey constitutional convention provisions outlawing race segregation in the public schools and in the National Guard.

He defeated Boss Frank Hague's Democratic gubernatorial candidate Elmer H. Wene, in the November elections, and in doing so he received the support not only of colored voters but of other minority groups as well.

Let Senator Bricker take a lesson from the Whig party. It died about 1856 because it tried to straddle the slavery issue. If the Republican party takes seriously the proposal of Senator Bricker and tries to straddle the civil rights issue, it may go the way of the Whig party.

'Unholy' Dixie-GOP Alliance Blocking Truman Campaign Vows, Sabath Says

Atlanta, Ga. Constitution 24

Congressional blasts marked the order of the day yesterday.

Senate Democratic Leader Scott W. Lucas assailed what he termed the "reactionary" coalition of Republicans and Southern Democrats for blocking enactment of most of the President's campaign promises.

Chairman Adolph J. Sabath, Democrat, Illinois, loosed a salvo at the coalition, denouncing it as an "unholy alliance," and agreeing with Lucas it had robbed the Administration of a "working majority" in both the House and Senate.

CONGRESS ROUNDUP

A Republican Senator, Young, of North Dakota, jumped into the Senate fireworks surrounding next year's farm program, charging Democrats with playing politics.

The State Department white paper on China received a senatorial broadside in a preliminary skirmish to the forthcoming fight to write China into the arms bill.

Pointing out that Democrats won control of Congress last year, Young said "they promised farm-

Combined from Wire Services

ers a better price-support bill and it is up to them to deliver."

"Democrats have an 8-to-5 ratio on the Senate Agriculture Committee and they still lack any agreement on the program," he said. "I will co-operate with them even as far as reporting a bill to the Senate, though I may not agree with all of it."

Mon. 8-22-49

High U. S. officials are discussing the possibility of "basing" atomic bombs in Britain, but under safeguards that would keep them under exclusive American control.

Key members of Congress, who already have held several informal conferences with top Administration officials on the question, regard it as one of the basic issues to be faced in connection with joint defense planning under the North Atlantic Security Pact.

The role of the A-bomb in discouraging Russian aggression against Western Europe may come in for further discussion when the combined Senate Foreign Relations and Armed Services Committees meet behind closed doors tomorrow to begin final work on President Truman's $1,450,000,000 arms aid program.

Sen. Lucas refused to give up the fight on the "coalition." He asserted that the Senate will be held in session until Thanksgiving, if necessary, to pass more of the proposals on Mr. Truman's legislative slate—and to make one last try on explosive civil rights bills.

Constitution

Sabath believed, however, that Democratic leaders will abandon their drive for action at this session on bills for which "we haven't got the votes," and permit sine die adjournment about Sept. 1.

348

Lucas, Sabath and House Speaker Sam Rayburn, speaking on radio programs, lauded achievements of the Eighty-first Congress to date, despite the many delays and "obstacles," and predicted it will have a fine record when it completes its work at next year's second session.

Lucas appeared first with Rayburn as a "fill-in" for vacationing Radio Commentator Drew Pearson on the American Broadcasting Company network, and then with Sabath in a broadcast over Station WCFL, Chicago, sponsored by Labor's League for Political Education, an arm of the AFL.

Four ranking Senators bitterly denounced the State Department's White Paper on China as a "whitewash of a wishful, do-nothing policy."

Mon. 8-22-49

They demanded "immediate and adequate military aid" for the Chinese Government which the White Paper assailed.

The four Senators, Bridges, Republican, New Hampshire; McCarran, Democrat, Nevada; Wherry, Republican, Nebraska, and Knowland, Republican, California, said in a joint statement that "instead of facing facts in China and admitting its error, the State Department still buries its head in the sand and issues a white paper." They directed strong personal criticism at Secretary of State Acheson.

The white paper, issued Aug. 5, blamed China's long series of reverses at the hands of Chinese Communists on asserted political, economic and military ineptitude of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-Shek's Nationalist Government. The State Department, in addition, turned thumbs down on any further aid to the Government pending the developing of a new long-range policy for dealing with the Red menace.

RALPH McGILL

Myth of 'The Solid South'

It long has been my opinion, often here expressed, that failure of the Populist Party to establish itself as an opposition force was one of the real political tragedies of the South.

348 Journal

It was this failure which delayed, and still retards, development of the two-party system in the South. It was disintegration of that party which halted the integration of the Negro into politics and thereafter made enormously more complicated the race problem, particularly in Georgia.

Atlanta, Ga.

Tom Watson, one of the truly great men of that era, was so embittered by the death of a child and the betrayal of the Populist movement he suffered a mental breakdown and was never again the people's leader the nation knew. He whose garments Negro farmers had sought to touch in reverence, he whose name had been in prayer on the lips of poor persons, white and colored, became a scourge and a fomenter of riots and lynchings.

But the fact of his early greatness must not be forgotten. He came very close to smashing the old plantation rule. He was on the verge of solving the racial problem's most vexing inequities, equal rights at the ballot box and common cause in economic injustices. The Populist movement was a revolution and, in places, a bloody one.

Constitution

Watson Nothing more clearly illustrates the Shakespearean quotation, "The evil that men do lives after them, the good is oft interred with the bones." Watson is remembered as a drunken brawler, as an organizer of mobs and as a man who sowed the wind for the people in later years to reap a whirlwind of hate and fear and violence. Yet, in his time he was a fearless, tolerant man who insisted on full political rights for the Negro. The Populist program called everywhere for a united front between white and colored farmers. Watson himself wrote the program in Georgia, printing his appeal this way:

Sun. 10-14-49

"Now the People's Party says to these two men: 'You are kept apart that you may be separately fleeced of your earnings. You are made to hate each other because upon that hatred is rested the keystone of the arch of financial despotisms which enslaves you both. You are deceived and blinded that you may not see how this race antagonism perpetuates a system which beggers both.'"

Again, he wrote in bitterness when failure was at hand:

"You might beseech a Southern white tenant to listen to you upon questions of finance, taxation and transportation; you might demonstrate with mathematical precision that herein lay his way out of poverty into comfort; you might have him 'almost persuaded' to the truth, but if the merchant who furnished his farm supplies (at tremendous usury) or the town politician (who never spoke to him excepting at election times) came along and cried 'Negro rule!' the entire fabric of reason and common sense which you had patiently constructed would fall, and the poor tenant would joyously hug the chains of an actual wretchedness rather than do any experimenting on a question of mere sentiment. . . . The Negro has been as valuable a portion of the stock in trade of a Democrat as he was of a Republican."

This was the Populist Watson.

All this is by way of introduction to a book.

"Southern Politics" It is "Southern Politics!" It is written by a Texan, V. O. Key, Jr., now on the political science faculty at Yale, from a mass of research gathered across a period of three years.

In general it is a fine, really superior accomplishment. It includes a State-by-State study which is fascinating and remarkably accurate. The Georgia material is excellent. The flaws are those created by developments since the research was done. Georgia has been, as the book says, a State of dual factionalism, but the fight growing out of the legislative effort to amend the Constitution so that Gov. Ellis Arnall might be eligible for another term, smashed the pattern of opposition so that today there is no dual factionalism. The book notes that while the Atlanta newspapers, long in opposition to Talmadge, did not support him, they also did not oppose him in the last election, and that one, The Constitution, had some almost friendly things to say. That was true. What the research did not reveal was the very sound reason for it. It was that the prospects for Georgia offered by the opposition to Talmadge were worse than those probable under Talmadge. Thousands of Georgians refused to vote either way. The newspaper judgment since has been largely confirmed by developments now current. We did like, and still do, some of the appointments and did make friendly comment. The unsound conclusions in the book are few and do not detract from its general worth.

Problem Dr. Key devotes considerable time to the Populist revolt and concludes that in its failure the South lost its one good chance for a two-party system. Since that time the race problem has colored all political thinking and action.

The Dixiecrat revolt, which failed, he sees as the last dying gasp of the old plantation political system. He is right. The Dixiecrats may last for a while and may even show a little more strength. But they cannot endure for long. The sincere persons who were attracted to them by their claim of States' rights are learning the true meaning and intent of the leaders and are deserting.

Dr. Key is right in declaring there is not, and never has been, a solid South insofar as the phrase implied any regional unity. Each State has its methods and factional loyalties. The only unity lies in a common front on matters involving the race issue.

The book is not vacation reading. It is recommended to all those interested in political history and political science. It is not merely the first, and therefore the best book on Southern politics it is a really fine and valuable job of research and of writing.

House Un-American Activities Committee

6 to Refute Paul Robeson

Jackie Robinson Tops Wood's List

2-DAY HEARING

Gen. Eisenhower to Tell Our Loyalty

WASHINGTON

(See Editorial, Cartoon, Page 4)

Officials of the House Un-American Activities Committee last week refused to reveal the names of certain colored "leaders" who have requested an opportunity to refute, Wednesday and Thursday, Paul Robeson's statement for the committee's record.

The distinguished singer and actor has denied emphatically since his return to NYC, that he told the recent communist-inspired Peace Conference in Paris that colored people would not fight for the United States in event of war with Russia.

What Paul Really Said

He told a mixed audience of 5,000 persons at Rockland Palace, NYC, on June 19:

"At the Paris Conference, I said it was unthinkable that the colored people of America or elsewhere in the world could be drawn into war with the Soviet Union.

"I repeat it with hundredfold emphasis. They will not." Robeson said his address in Paris had been grossly misinterpreted by the American press.

7 Witnesses Invited

Seven witnesses, including a Jewish rabbi, have been invited to appear before the House Un-American Activities Committee this week to refute Robeson's statement.

Heading the list is Jackie Robinson, star second baseman of the Brooklyn Dodgers and leading batter in the National League. The others are:

Dr. Charles S. Johnson, president of Fisk University; the Rev. F. Sandy Ray, chairman, Board of Social Agencies of the National Baptist Convention, Brooklyn, N.Y., Lester Granger, executive secretary, National Urban League; Rabbi Ben Schultz, director, American Jewish League Against Communism; Thomas W. Young, Norfolk, Va., Journal and Guide; and George A. Hunton of the Catholic Interracial Council, New York City.

Report by Eisenhower

All have accepted the invitation except Mr. Hunton, but his appearance is expected.

Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower president of Columbia University commander of United States forces in the European theater during World War II, will appear or submit a statement based on his observations of the loyalty of colored soldiers in time of war, it was learned.

While the two-day hearing will be held primarily to allow the seven witnesses to refute Robeson's views, a committee spokesman said it will deal also with the attempted infiltration of various minority groups by Communists.

Wood Explains Move

Rep. John S. Wood, (Dem., Ga.), chairman of the committee, said his group invited representatives of colored people, "who desired to be heard in reply to the statement of Mr. Robeson."

He said he had no "misgivings" about the loyalty of colored people to the United States, adding:

"Certainly this committee did not intiate the movement. We were approached by some colored leaders who suggested that Mr. Robeson's sentiments were not concurred in by them.

"They intimated that they would like the American people to know it. For that reason they were invited to appear."

Jackie's Statement

Asked his opinion of Robeson's statement, Jackie Robinson said last Friday in NYC:

"All I can say is that Paul Robeson speaks only for himself.

"I'm not too familiar with what he said, and I'll have to study it before I can comment on it.

"I'd fight any aggressor — the Russians or any other nation.

"Anybody who wants to take away the things I've gained will have to fight for it. . .

"I want to fight for my child's right to live in this country, and for any other child's"

34d 1949

House Un-American Activities Committee (Jackie Robinson)

This Is What Jackie Told Congress

WASHINGTON—The following is the blunt philosophy concerning Communism and race relations in America as told to the House Un-American Activities Committee Monday by Jackie Robinson, second baseman for the Brooklyn Dodgers and first Negro player in the major leagues:

Defender 34d

WHEN the House Committee on Un-American Activities invited me to appear here today and express myself on the subject of your present interest, I answered that I would be glad to do so, although it isn't exactly pleasant to get involved in a political dispute when my field of earning a living is as far removed from politics as anybody can possibly imagine.

Sat. 7-30-49

"I am sure you know that I am a professional ballplayer. Baseball has been called the great American sport because all American get their kicks out of the game some way or other, no matter what their political or social connections might be. So, it's customary, and I suppose pretty sensible, for ballplayers to keep out of partisan politics or any other kind of arguments and contests that may split their supporting public.

Chicago Def.

"Of course, it will be said, and it is certainly true, that the question of Communist activity in the United States isn't partisan politics. But it's also true that some of the policies of this committee have become political issues. And so, naturally, I've had a great many messages come to me by wire, phone and letter, urging me not to show up at this hearing. And I ought to make it plain that not all of this urging came from Communist sympathizers. Of course, most of it did. But some came from people for whom I have a lot of respect and who are just as opposed to Communist methods as I am.

"And so it isn't very pleasant for me to find myself in the middle of a public argument that has nothing to do with the standing of the Dodgers in the penant race—or even the pay raise I am going to ask Mr. Branch Rickey for next year.

"A Sense of Responsibility"

"So you'll naturally ask, why did I stick my neck out by agreeing to be present, and why did I stand by my agreement in spite of advice to the contrary. It isn't easy to find the answer, but I guess it boils down to a sense of responsibility.

"I don't pretend to be any expert on communism or any other kind of political "ism". Going to college at UCLA (the University of California at Los Angeles), helping to fight the war, with about ten million other fellows, trying to break into professional baseball and then trying to make good with the Dodgers, and trying to save some money for the time when my legs lose their spring—all this, together with my family life, has been enough to keep me busy without becoming an 'expert'—except on base stealing or something like that.

"But you can put me down as an expert on being a colored American, with thirty years of experience at it. And just like any other colored person with sense enough to look around him and understand what he sees, I know that life in these United States can be mighty tough for people who are a little different from the majority—in their skin, color or the way they worship their God, or the way they spell their names.

"I'm not fooled because I've had a chance open to very few Negro Americans. It's true that I've been a laboratory specimen in the great change in organized baseball. I'm proud that I've made good on my assignment to the point where other colored players will find it easier to enter the game and go to the top. But I'm very well aware that even this limited job isn't finished yet. There are only three major league clubs with only seven players signed up, out of close to four hundred major league players on sixteen clubs.

Says Progress Goes On

"But a start has been made, and progress goes on, and the Southern fans as well as the Northern fans are showing that they like the way things are working. And as long as the fans approve, we're going to keep on making progress, until we go the rest of the way in wiping Jim Crow out of American sports.

"We are going to do this because the American fans are just beginning to understand that a sport to be a real sport, has got to be contested on the basis of the best man or team winning—and that "best" has got nothing to do with how much brown or red or yellow tint is in a man's skin.

"We're going to make progress in other American fields besides baseball if we can get rid of some of the misunderstanding and confusion that the public still suffers from. I know I have a great desire and I think that I have some responsibility for helping to clear up that confusion. **As I see it there has been a terrific lot of misunderstanding on this subject of communism among Negroes in this country, and it's bound to hurt my people's cause unless it's cleared up.**

"The white public should start toward real understanding by appreciating that every single Negro who is worth his salt is going to resent any kind of slurs and discrimination because of his race, and he's going to use every bit of intelligence, such as he has, to stop it. This has got absolutely nothing to do with what Communists may or may not be trying to do.

"And white people must realize that the more a Negro hates communism because it opposes democracy, the more he is going to hate any other influence that kills off democracy in this country—and that goes for racial discrimination in the Army, and segregation on trains and buses, job discrimination because of religious beliefs or color or place of birth.

"Not Fooling Anyone"

"And one other thing the American public ought to understand, if we are to make progress in this matter, is the fact that because it is a Communist who denounces injustice in the courts, brutality and lynching, when it happens, doesn't change the truth of his charges. Just because Communists kick up a big fuss over racial discrimination when it suits their purposes, a lot of people try to pretend that the whole issue is a creation of Communist imagination.

"But they are not fooling anyone with this kind of pretense, and talk about "Communists stirring up Negroes to protest" only makes misunderstanding worse than ever. Negroes were stirred up long before there was a Communist party, and they'll stay stirred up long after the party has disappeared—unless Jim Crow has disappeared then as well.

"I have been asked to express my views on Paul Robeson's statement in Paris to the effect that American Negroes would refuse to fight in any war against Russia because we love Russia so much. I haven't any comment to make, except that the statement, if Mr. Robeson actually made it, sounds very silly to me. But he has a right to his personal views, and he wants to sound silly when he expresses them in public, that's his business and not mine. He's still a famous ex-athlete and a great singer and actor.

"I understand that there are some few Negroes who are members of the Communist party, and in the event of war with Russia, they would probably act just as any other Communist would. So would members of other minority and majority groups.

"There are some colored pacifists, and they'd act just like pacifists of any other color. And most Negroes—and Italians and Irish and Jews and Swedes and Slavs — would act just as all these groups did in the last war. They'd do their best to help their country stay out of war; if unsuccessful, they'd do their best to help their country win the war—against Russia or any other enemy that threatened us.

Not As "Any Defense"

"This isn't said as any defense of the Negro's loyalty, because any loyalty that needs defense can't amount to much in the long run. And no one has ever questioned my race's loyalty except a few people who don't amount to very much.

"What I'm trying to get across is that the American public is off on the wrong foot when it begins to think of radicalism in terms of any special minority group. It is thinking of this sort that gets people scared because one Negro, speaking to a Communist group in Paris, threatens an organized boycott by fifteen million members of his race.

"I can't speak for any fifteen million people any more than any other one person can, but I know that I've got too much invested for my wife and child and myself in the future of this country, and I and other American of many races and faiths have too much invested in our country's welfare, for any of us to throw it away because of a siren song sung in bass.

"I am a religious man. Therefore I cherish America where I am free to worship as I please, a privilege which some countries do not give and I suspect that nine hundred and ninety-nine out of almost any thousand colored Americans you will meet will tell you the same thing.

"But that doesn't mean that we're going to stop fighting race discrimination in this country until we've got it licked. It means that we're going to fight it all the harder because our stake in the future is so big. We can win our fight without the Communists and we don't want their help."

Jackie States The Case

We hope that every American, white and colored, reads the full statement made by Jackie Robinson before the House Un-American Activities Committee last week. It was the longest home run he has ever hit.

Jackie proved that he was not only a valuable major leaguer but also a valuable American. Defender 2-4-

Before he spoke, fears had been expressed by some Negro pundits and one or two smart alec columnists that Jackie would wave a bandanna and put on an Uncle Tom show. Lat. 1-30-49

If Jackie is an Uncle Tom, then the race would be a great deal better off if it had fifteen million such Uncle Toms. Frankly, we also agree with Jackie that if Mr. Robeson wants to sound silly that is his business.

The Brooklyn Dodger star made it clear that we have great grievances in America and that we are going to fight racism with all our might until it is knocked out. He stated further that we don't need the Communists and we don't want their help.

This describes the position of the Chicago Defender and we believe these are the sentiments of all American Negroes with only a handful of screwball exceptions. Chicago Defender

Commenting editorially on the testimony of Jackie, the New York Times stated: "In fact, Jackie Robinson's statement is impressive testimony to the vitality of American democracy, to the determination to keep on 'fighting race discrimination in this country until we've got it licked,' a fight that is of supreme importance 'because our stake in the future is so big,' a fight that can and will be won without false, self-serving, Communist support."

Inaugural Crowds To Overtax Washington

Journal & Guide
Norfolk Virginia
1-1-49

By LOUIS LAUTIER
For the NNPA News Service

WASHINGTON, D. C. — Reports that Representative Bill Dawson and the Illinois delegation have the alternative of staying away from the inauguration or living in Pullmans is bunk. Since the death of his mother-in-law, Dawson has lived with his his brother-in-law Dr. Tom Brown and wife, Olivette, and he maintains an apartment here for the entertainment of his friends.

Dawson is not averse to taking a hand at cars. His father-in-law, the late Rev. Thomas J. Brown, was a minister, and rather than do anything that might be considered in any way as descecrating a minister's home, Dawson had his card sessions at his apartment.

When he returns for the 81st Congress and to take over the chairmanship of the House committee on expenditures in the Executive Departments, Dawson will take up his residence again with Tom and Olivette, and there he will be staying during the inauguration.

Also, contrary to reports, all Washington hotels are not closed to mixed delegations. "Shag" Taylor of Boston, whom nobody will take for an Irishman, has regularly stayed with the Massachusetts delegation when here for inaugurations, at such hotels as the Hamilton and the Ambassador.

Larry Doby and his wife and Louis Jones were all quartered at one time with the Cleveland Indians at the Statler. And Mrs. Sadie Alexander, mate of Raymond Pace Alexander—they're both Philadelphia lawyers—stopped regularly at the Statler during the time the President's Committee on Civil Rights was holding hearings.

ACCOMMODATIONS SCARCE

Hotel accommodations for the inauguration are at a premium, inaugural visitors are going to have to stay in homes, on Pullmans, and in other cities and commute to Washington.

Incidentally, a testimonial dinner to Dawson, who headed the National Citizens Committee for the Election of President Truman, will be tossed at the Interior Department cafeteria January 21, the day after Mr. Truman's inauguration for a full four-year term in his own right.

BISHOPS COUNCIL

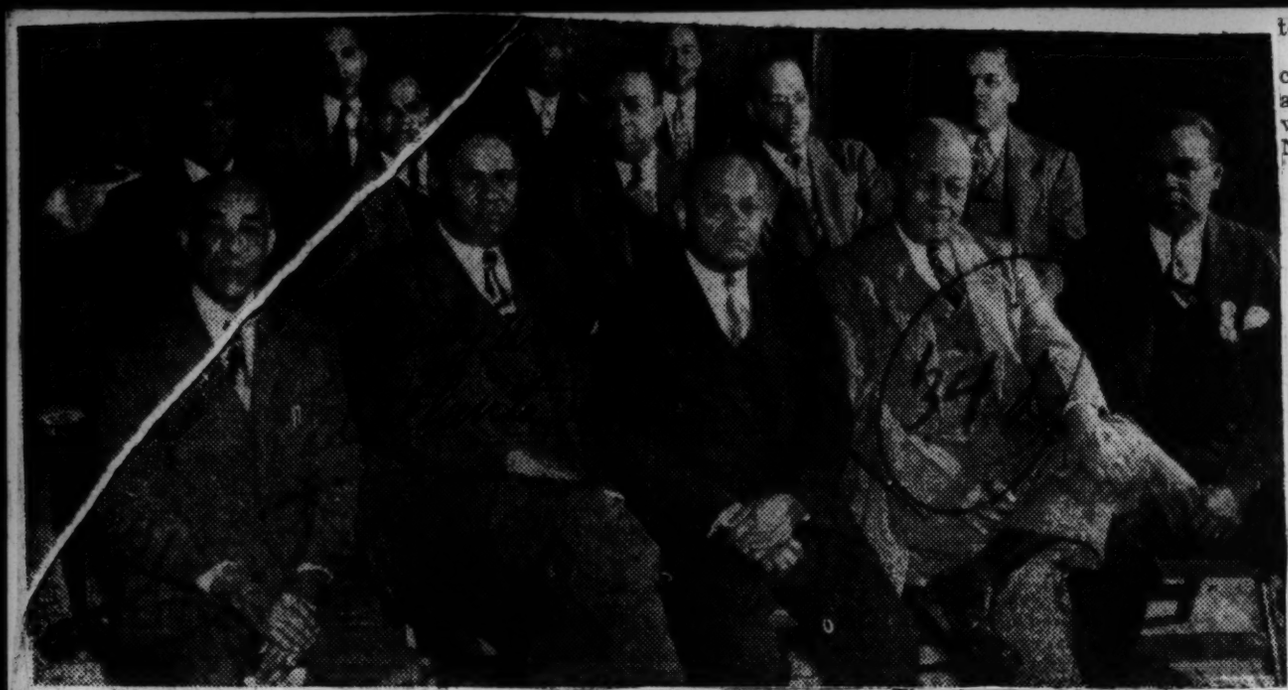
Aside to the AME Bishop's Council: Why not put somebody in Washington in the New Year with a good sense of public relations, who will have the courtesy to let reporters ask their questions before saying he won't comment on church affairs, the answers to which the clergy and laity have a right to know. Arthur Jackson, the AME financial secretary, believes he's pleasing the bishops by keeping mum, but he's doing the church a disservice by not helping to get rid of the foul ordors enveloping it.

Ten candidates — five in the senior high schools and five in the junior high schools—are being mentioned for the vacancy as assistant principal and dean of women at Dunbar High School, created by the death of Julia Brooks. The candidates are Jennie Wilder, Mollie Hundley and Gladys Fairley (Dunbar High) Edna Holland (Armstrong), Annie Duncan (Cardozo), and Rose Clifford, Lorraine Heathcock, Dorothy Ballard, Benette Washington — she's on maternity leave —and Vinita Gersham, the latter five from the junior high schools.

Jeanne Wentz, a schoolmistress, and Raymond Woodridge, a government employee, were a recent merger. Ditto Gloria Johnson, a senior at Miner Teachers College, and Harold Jones, a teacher at Briggs-Montgomery School, and Mark Brown, son of Elsie Wiggins, mate of Dr. Elmer Wiggins, and Doris Burke . . . Grace Marshall's daughter, Cecelia, has been given a probationary appointment as a teacher in the local public schools.

MISSISSIPPI "LADY FOR A DAY" - Mrs. Arenia C. Mallory, founder-president of the Saints Industrial School, Lexington, Miss., was the only resident of her local town - white or Negro - and the lone Negro woman from the "Deep South" to receive an invitation to President Truman's Inauguration and all of the social affairs attending the celebration, including the Inaugural Ball and the President's reception (considered the outstanding event of the inaugural week). She is shown bidding goodbye to her hostess and life-long inspiration, Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune, Founder-President, National Council of Negro Women.

UNAUGURAL DANCE—Beautiful Lena Horne of cinema and night club fame, and celebrated bandleader Lionel Hampton dance at the Presidential Inaugural Ball in Washington Thursday night. Photo.



SOUTHERNERS AT TRUMAN'S INAUGURATION — Above is pictured part of a large group of Southerners who went to Washington to witness and participate in various exercises in connection with the inauguration of President Harry S Truman as the 33rd chief executive of the nation. While in the capital city some of the men above participated in the formation of the Southern Council of Negro Democrats, an organization designed as a spokesman for the Negro Democrats of the southern region.

Daily World

In the front row, left to right: J. P. Gilliam of Little Rock, Ark.; We-Witt T. Acorn of Memphis, Tenn.; Atty. A. T. Walden of Atlanta, Ga.; Dr. J. M. Robinson of Little Rock and C. A. Scott of Atlanta.

Second row left to right: Carter Wesley of Houston, Texas, S. R. Sandford of Covington, Ga., D Miles Amos of Atlanta, C. C. DeJo of New Orleans, La., and J. M. A kinson of Brunswick, Ga.

Third row left to right: Mo Kendrix of Washington, D. C. bu formerly of Atlanta, Rev. W. V Weatherspool of Atlanta and Lou Lautier, White House Correspondei of the Atlanta Daily World an NNPA.

Mixed Units March in Big Parade

Called Greatest

Demonstration of Integration Ever Seen in Capital

By LEM GRAVES Jr.
(Washington Correspondent)

WASHINGTON—The historic inauguration of President Harry S. Truman here last Thursday was marked by a firm and positive statement of his faith in the principles of equality for all men.

Early in his inaugural address on the steps of the Capitol, Mr. Truman said:

"The American people stand firm in the faith which has inspired this Nation from the beginning. We believe that all men have a right to equal justice under law and equal opportunity to share in the common good. We believe that all men have the right to freedom of thought and expression. We believe that all men are created equal because they are created in the image of God.

"From this faith w[illegible] [illegible]l not be moved."

President Truman outlined a determined program for peace and for the extension of democratic rights and privileges to all the people in the world. He compared communism with the principles of U. S. democracy.

He then announced a four-point program to help other nations and people to achieve democracy and to reject communism. He declared that it was his intention to make this country's industrial potential and technical knowledge available to all democratic nations in their efforts to reconstruct democratic systems.

GREAT DEMONSTRATION

The inaugural activities which followed President Truman's address marked the greatest demonstration of integration ever seen in the Nation's Capital. All doubt that Mr. Truman had profoundly affected the national scene by his strong civil rights statements was dispelled by the panorama of mixed activities which established this inauguration as the first one in which the dignity of the American Negro was constantly reasserted.

Integration highlights, beginning with the inaugural parade, are as follows:

A full strength battalion of 1,000 white and Negro soldiers, commanded by mixed officers, marched down Pennsylvania Avenue completely mixed. These soldiers, drawn from five battalions of general service engineers at nearby Fort Belvoir, Va., were completely integrated and this phalanx of khaki-clad men was one of the most spectacular features of the parade.

They were followed by a mixed mobile unit riding light tanks with whites and Negroes sharing assignments in most of the tanks.

The West Point Military Academy unit and the Annapolis Naval Academy units both included Negroes. So did Marine and Coast Guard detachments.

The parade included some segregated units such as the 171st Military Police detachment, the D. C. high school cadet corps, the James Reece Europe American Legion band.

INTEGRATION PATTERN

The integration pattern had begun two nights before the inauguration when a small party of four Negroes were guests at the Truman-Barkley dinner in honor of the President and Vice President. Judge William L. Houston, his sister, Miss Clotilde Houston; his daughter-in-law, Mrs. Charles Houston, and Albert Ammons attended this affair.

On Wednesday night, the gala concert, featuring several Negro artists and Lionel Hampton's band, was attended by several hundred Negroes who were not segregated

On inauguration night, about two hundred Negroes attended the inaugural ball for the first time in history. They danced, and participated generally with the other 5,000 guests without incident. Lionel Hampton was called in at the last moment to substitute for the ailing Benny Goodman in front of the Goodman band.

Several Negro guests attended the President's reception at the National Archives Building on Thursday.

On Friday, Negroes were guests of Senator Howard McGrath at a reception at the Shoreham Hotel for the members of the Democratic National Committee, while on the same night, many whites attended the testimonial dinner for Congressman William L. Dawson at the Department of Interior.

WORKED VERY WELL

Along the parade route for the full five hours of the prolonged demonstration, Negroes were indiscriminately seated according to the seats they had bought. Over a million Americans, from all parts of the country, were witness to the integration of Negroes in almost all phases of the official ceremonies.

Chairman Melvin D. Hildreth of the over-all inaugural committee told Judge William L. Houston after the inaugural that "the pattern of integration worked very well." He added that there were no incidents and that white people he had noticed appeared in no way upset by the presence of Negroes at any of the events including the purely social affairs. He said: "We have broken the ice and there should never be any more segregation at such affairs here."

PAST MEETS PRESENT ON INAUGURATION DAY

New York Times

Truman and Barkley, Brought Up in The Traditions of the Old South, Favor Many New Ideas

New York Times

SPECTACLE STILL THE SAME

Sun-1-23-49

By ARTHUR KROCK

WASHINGTON, Jan. 22—The growth and change of political philosophy in the United States as contrasted with the static folkways of the nation were brightly illuminated by some of the events of Inauguration Day.

Two men of Southern Confederate ancestry were sworn in as President and Vice President for the first time since the War Between the States that ended nearly eighty-four years ago. But their second common heritage, a boyhood spent on the farm, has long been traditional for citizens who attain their rank in the Republic.

Their Southern and Confederate ancestors who settled on the Eastern seaboard and moved West into Kentucky and Missouri were stout opponents f the spread of economic and military activity by the American Government beyond the Western Hemisphere. But the President in his inaugural address urged that these activities, to the ends of national security and human benevolence, be expanded to take in the entire world.

The Virginians and Kentuckians from whom Harry S. Truman and Alben W. Barkley are descended fought in the Confederate armies to assert the sovereign right of states to secede from the Union and to deal as they saw fit with their internal problems, among which they reckoned the institution of human slavery. But both of these descendants endorsed and will press for a "civil-rights" program of Federal legislation, one of the principal objectives of which is to give power to the central government to force the South to abandon local ordinances that obstruct the full application of the program to Negro citizens.

Basic Philosophy

The civilization from which the President and the Vice President sprung was founded on Jefferson's theory that the individual is greater than the state and that the best Government is that which governs least and locally. Yet Mr. Truman and Mr. Barkley are committed to policies and measures which envisage a constantly increasing state, more highly centralized than at any time in our history. And though not even Jefferson spoke out more strongly than they for the dignity and freedom of the individual, their political opponents insist that the state they plan to create crosses into the area of socialistic collectivism in which that dignity and freedom will be greatly constricted.

But the change and development in political philosophy and sectional viewpoint of which the President and Vice President are now the national spokesmen is by no means a sudden or complete break from their Southern background. In their generation—Mr. Truman is 64 and Mr. Barkley 71—Southern Democrats have in many respects supported this change and helped to effect this development. Except for the so-called civil-rights program, and legislation in the field of taxation and labor relations, the large majority of Southern Democrats since the advent of William Jennings Bryan has followed that fork in the road of political thinking which in current parlance is called "left." Their only notable turnabout was when Southern Democrats like Mr. Barkley led in bringing about national prohibition and the Volstead Act to enforce it—both highly federalistic infringements on the classic Southern concept of states' rights.

Sun-1-23-49

Bryan's Tactics

Bryan, who was warmly supported by the young Truman and the young Barkley, assailed "Wall Street" and its alleged iniquities just as the President did during the campaign. Bryan favored public ownership of the railroads, a platform from which Mr. Truman's recent statement that the Government may have to enter the business of steel production is not too distant. For years millions of American citizens thought nothing was more radical in the area of fiscal economics than Bryan's advocacy of what was called "free silver." But none of these proposals or attitudes could wean the Southern Democrats from Bryan.

When Franklin D. Roosevelt espoused the New Deal and steadily translated it into legislation, the Southern Democrats went along with him overwhelmingly. They balked only at his Supreme Court enlargement bill, certain uses of taxation to promote social-economic theories and his effort to purge some of their conservative members of Congress. They were ahead of him in favor of intervention in World War II, and were stanch advocates of his foreign policy.

Change in Thinking

Therefore, while Mr. Truman and Mr. Barkley stand far to the left of the political philosophy their Southern ancestors maintained and fought for, it is only on one or two programs—though these are fundamental—that they have parted company with the public thought of their generation and their locale. That this can be true, and also that men of this background have parted company with it on these particular issues, emphasizes how great the change of American political thinking has been in their single generation.

But if this aspect of their inaugural marked change, others revealed the opposite with respect to national habit and custom. Though the procession which followed Mr. Truman and Mr. Barkley to the reviewing stand was larger and more spectacular than any, it was strictly within the framework of the past.

The politicians gathered as before to make their peace with the victors they had opposed or disbelieved in, or to impress their loyalty by conspicuous presence. The home folk and the companions-in-arms breakfasted and marched and danced in overflowing pride over neighbors brought to high estate. The Government workers lined the streets to cheer hopefully for the preservation of the current payroll.

Sun-1-23-49

Thurmond's Reception

Even within the tradition was the absence of a smile on the faces of the President and Vice President (some observers thought the absence of a nod from Mr. Truman as well) when one citizen passed in review. He is Gov. J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina, who headed the independent Democratic States' Rights ticket that carried four states generally certain to give their electors to the regular Democratic nominees. Though rolling exhibits from other states in the category were greeted coldly, the only boos were for this outstanding hero of World War II and the float of South Carolina.

Governor Thurmond's reception certified another concept that with many Americans does not change—that party regularity in the final phase of supporting its nominees is sacrosanct, regardless of the principles on which bolting may be based. Among politicians this is prompted to a large degree by self-interest, but many citizens frown on bolting as a weakening of the two-party system.

Anyhow, Mr. Truman won despite the States' Rights revolt. And, however Americans have changed otherwise, they still love a fighter against odds, especially when he is a winner.

Negroes Invited

The Bronx Times

As far as we have records, this is the first time that Negroes have been extended the honor of participating in the inauguration of the United States. There is nothing unusual in a president's inauguration, of course, but it is out of the routine of former presidents to so honor Negroes by inviting them to share in the quadrennial affair.

Tues-1-18-49

It is right and proper that such recognition should be extended to them. Negroes, in the last election, more than any other, have taken a significant part in the election of the president. Figures show from the previous campaign that Negroes more than justify the increased voice they are having in government. Nationally, they average better than 75 per cent for Truman against all other candidates combined.

A sample spread of the Negro vote for Mr. Truman can be seen in a typical Chicago ward, where Congressman Dawson received 92,000 votes on the Democratic ticket to 5,000 for the Progressive Party candidate. Seventy-five per cent of the Negro vote in Pittsburgh went to Truman, while only 2 per cent fell into the Wallace column. The practically all Negro Hill district gave Wallace 300, Dewey 3,000, and Truman the remainder of the 9,000 votes. Even in California the picture was the same. And in Harlem, the vote was 90,000 for Truman,, 25,000 for Dewey and 21,000 for Wallace. For steadfast devotion in the face of every temptation to desert, now the Negro deserves the best the Democratic Party has to give, Civil rights protection included.

Crack Engineers Display Wares

Negro Race Soldiers In Inaugural Parade

Bronx Times

WASHINGTON—One hundred and sixty Negro soldiers from Fort Belvoir, Va., took part in the President's inaugural parade here last week. The soldiers were members of Headquarters and Service Company and Companies A, B and D, Ninety-fourth Engineer General Service Battalion.

These troops were temporarily pany "B," Ninety-fourth Engineer assigned to a composite unit, Com-

Battalion, commanded by Capt. Herbert Tucker, 1345 Franklin Street, N. E., Washington, D. C., for the purpose of marching in the parade.

In addition to Captain Tucker, the following officers from Fort Belvoir were assigned to Company "B" for the parade: First Lieut. Jerry Vallery, 5335 Wyalusing Avenue, Philadelphia, Pa.; First Lieut. William Reeves, 1614 W. Butler Street, Philadelphia, Pa.; First Lieut. John C. Tilton, 1746 Germantown Street, Dayton, Ohio, and First Lieut. William Kitt, Tuskegee, Ala.

Lieut. Col. Edmund H. Lang, the commanding officer of the Ninety-fourth Engineer Regiment, was appointed temporary commander of a composite battalion representing units from Fort Belvoir. In addition to Company "B," the battalion was composed of troops from the 410th Engineer Construction Battalion and the 801st Engineer Aviation Battalion. Members of Colonel Lang's staff were. Capt. Fred W. Aron, Capt. Marvin L. Schram and First Lieut. Alexander S. Merritt.

Also participating in the parade was the VIP (Very Important Persons) Escort Detail from Fort Belvoir, commanded by First Lieut. Augustus R. Johnson, 4005 South Parkway, Chicago, Ill. The unit is composed of one officer and fifteen enlisted men; Lieutenant Johnson is assisted by M/Sgt. James McMurray, 2447 Eighth Avenue. New York City.

Talmadge Gets Cold Shoulder In D.C. Parade

Of all state delegations attending the inauguration of President Truman, Georgia — will she even live down the lynchings — got the "raspberry."

Not only did her decorative float — symbolic of the Little White House, fail to enter the parade — but her Governor, who headed the state's delegation was greeted with boos. Foremost among the booers was Actress Tallulah Bankhead who gave out lustily from the Presidential reviewing stand when the Georgia delegation motored by. To top it all, President Truman saluted the delegation with his back turned. Only Mr. Truman holds the secret as to the intent of the incident.

DID HER NUMBER LEFT

After giving vent to her pent-up disgust, Miss Bankhead caught a train to New York where she was slated for an evening performance in "Private Lives."

Apparently the Governor was unaware of Miss Bankhead's display of emotions when he remarked that he got some "cheers from white people and "boos from Negroes."

Of the float, Governor Talmadge termed it to be inadequate, a "disgrace to Georgia." He said the float was poorly built, and did not "satisfactorily represent Georgia."

Although South Carolina's Governor, Strom Thurmond, waved ex-[illegible] at Mr. Truman, the President acknowledge the gesture with a smile fading from his face and hastily turned away. He merely stared at the Governor.

Alabama's Governor Folsom was cheered. So was North Carolina's Governor Scott.

It was beyond any doubt that the infamous Monroe Lynchings, the Mallard, Nixon and Gilbert cases, notwithstanding the current attempt to disfranchise Negro voters, figured greatly in the display accorded the state delegates.

JIM CROW SUFFERS BLOW BY INAUGURAL GUESTS

WASHINGTON, D. C. — (NNPA) —The color line fell at the Roosevelt Hotel last Tuesday when the Tammany Hall delegation threatened to cancel their reservations and bring suit if colored persons in the delegation were not accommodated.

Arriving here for the inauguration, the delegation went directly from Union Station to the Roosevelt Hotel in buses. They entered the hotel and were being assigned rooms, when it was observed that there were colored persons in the delegation.

The room clerk called a halt and sent for the hotel manager. In the meantime, the delegation sent for Hugo Rogers, Tammany leader and president of the Borough of Manhattan.

Mr. Rogers and J. Raymond Jones, deputy commissioner of housing of New York City, went in to see the hotel manager and definitely told him that if the colored persons in the delegation were not given rooms, the whole delegation would go back to New York.

WON'T HANDLE LUGGAGE

In the meantime, the colored employees of the hotel went into a huddle and decidd they would not handle any more baggage until the colored Tammanites were given rooms.

The hotel management decided to accommodate the colored as well as the white members of the delegation. The eighteen colored persons in the group were assigned rooms and during their stay here, used the facilities of the hotel, including the dining room.

A spokesman for the Tammany delegation said individuals are either a part of the organization or not, regardless of color, and before the delegation left New York they decided that when they arrived in Washington they were going to be together and, if they could not stay in one place, they would stay nowhere here.

Abolition of Racial Segregation At Truman's Inaugural Praised

By Walter White

Although only a few commentators mentioned it, a miracle occurred in Washington on Jan. 20, almost as incredible as the spectacular re-election of President Truman. The miracle was that of total abolition of racial segregation.

The man from the Southern state of Missouri ordered done what had never been done before in American history. Negroes were invited to every event, from the inauguration itself to the reception at the National Art Gallery given by the President and Mrs. Truman; the Truman-Barkley dinner, the gala on inauguration eve, at which Dorothy Maynor and Lena Horne starred; the Shoreham Hotel cocktail party to the members of the Democratic National Committee and innumerable lesser but more intimate events. At the inaugural ball the best dressed and most well mannered guests, according to Bob Considine, were Negroes, while a distinguished American woman told me that the most beautiful and smartly gowned woman she had ever seen was a colored guest at the ball.

Probably nine out of ten white Americans would have been convinced on Jan. 19 that "it couldn't happen here." Dire predictions would have been uttered of fist fights, angry words or even race riots if the previous custom of a Jim Crow ball in a dingy and remote section of Washington were abandoned. Equally ominous fears of racial clashes would probably have been voiced about Negro guests at Washington's hotels—or of conspicuously empty seats at the inaugural itself, similar to the much photographed and publicized empty table of Governor Olin D. Johnston of South Carolina, at last year's Jackson Day Dinner in Washington, in protest against the Truman civil rights program.

"Wool Hat Boys" Absent

What happened? Precisely nothing, except that this year's inauguration was better behaved than any in recent history. Americans rose, as they have a habit of rising, to emergency, to the challenge of ordinary human decency. In one of the choicer stands in the Capitol Plaza, directly in front of the spot where President Truman, of Missouri and Vice-President Barkley, of Kentucky, were sworn in, one in ten of the guests was dark-skinned. When a Negro couple in their eagerness to see what was going on stepped in front of three white women with marked Southern accents there was no complaint by the latter, only a gracious acknowledgment of the apology of the colored couple when they recognized their discourtesy.

I have mentioned that this was the best behaved inaugural of many quadrennia. Perhaps that pleasant circumstance was due in part to the staying away from Washington of an element which has formed a sizable proportion of the crowd at previous inauguration of Democratic administrations.

A Dignified Inaugural

These were the "wool hat boys" who utilized the occasion to consume vast quantities of liquor, to rid their lungs of the rebel yell in the nation's capital in defiance of "damyankees," who found expression of their frustrations by using electric buzzers on unsuspecting and attractive women. They were the willing victims of salesmen of tawdry "souvenirs" a[illegible]cal interest found more than eighteen inches underground in places like Pompeii.

Scandalous Rites Banned

The Bacchus cultists were sex-worshippers. Their rites became so scandalous that the Roman Senate banned the religion in 186 B. C., but the Pompeii temple of the sect defiantly remained in use at least for a while after the Senate decree, the excavators were able to verify.

Mr. La Mura's inability to get a cash settlement for his lost artichoke land points up the major barrier to new discoveries at Pompeii—a dire shortage of cash for the excavators. Skilled diggers or the boos of spectators, many of them with Southern accents, as the automobiles of Governor J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina and of Governor Herman Talmade of Georgia passed by. One of the most conspicuous of these voices was Miss Tallulah Bankhead's from the President's reviewing stand.

May I add one post-inaugural note of developing democracy in Washington? Marcus Heiman's transformation of the National Theater, Washington's only outlet for the living theater, into a motion-picture house in lieu of abolition of the color line has been a dismal failure financially. White Washingtonians, by their almost unanimous avoidance of the National Theater, are demonstrating to Mr. Heiman that they, too, are growing up despite evidence that much remains to be done to make Washington what it should be.

Can it be that a segregationless inaugural and a boycott of a theater are proving that Americans are beginning to practice as well as talk about democracy? It could be.

States' Righters Map
Five Point Program for
1950 Congress Race

Washington(ANP) The National States' Rights Committee, in an effort to block the welfare state proposed by President Truman, has mapped a 5-point program to be followed in the 1950 congressional campaign.
Frank Mayerhoof, local spokesman for the Committee, said here last week that the group is already "organized down to precinct level in 14states" and is financed to expand to the remaining states before 1952.
The progr am lists these points: Congress shall make no law and no treaty shall be made that conflicts with a state law pertaining to education, elections, qualifications for suffrage, civil rights of individuals, racial relations, labor, zoning transfer and ownership of property and no federal court shall invalidate state laws on these subjects.
There shall be no nationalization of labor, business, industry or the professions.
Grants and aid from the United States shall be administered exclusively by the states.
Proceeds of all income, profits, estate, gift and inheritance taxes, not expended on the armed services, our veterans and their dependents, shall be returned to the states.
Deficit spending shall cease except in time of war. Appropriations in excess of the money on hand at the end of the year to pay them are void.

St.Louis, Mo.
Argus
Fri. 11-25-49

Only Anonymous Dissent

Atlanta Daily World

When we published our editorial several days ago forthrightly stating our regret that Former Vice President Wallace had forsaken one of the major two national political parties and stated that we could not follow Mr. Wallace on his Third-Party adventure, we did expect some disagreement, [illegible] from our position. We stated that our people could best obtain their aspirations through one of the two traditional parties. Second, that in this important crucial election year, especially in the South where there is a racial problem from our standpoint, we should unite our political strength and put upper most the securing of our right to vote in Georgia.

Nevertheless, apparently we so well stated our case there was no legitimate dissent from our position because we have only received two anonymous letters disagreeing with our view on Mr. Wallace on his Third Party program.

Now the Communist Party in Georgia has come out in the open in urging support of Mr. Wallace's third-party candidacy. It likewise, criticises Gov. M. E. Thompson and Herman Talmadge, candidates for governor, and suggests that some third candidate should run for governor apparently on a Wallace ticket. This action in itself is a good reason why we should not disperse our voting strength on any third party ticket or candidate.

Ordinarily we do not recognize anonymous communications. But because of the danger that a suggestion made in one we received yesterday could turn out to be our political future we quote herewith a portion of it:

"Permit us to extend our hearty congratulations for the most excellent work you are performing in advancing the interest of our race in Georgia and throughout the nation. It should be, and is, deeply appreciated by the rank and file of our race everywhere, and by many right thinking white people.

"We are sorely in need of a political leader in the state and if we can get an outstanding candidate for governor we are confident that the result would astound some of our people. Of course we do not want Mr. Talmadge and we must emphatically repudiate Gov. Thompson."

The communication goes on to state that we should support some liberal third candidate. This is the point we are concerned with. At present the campaign is drawn between Gov. Thompson and Mr. Talmadge and we hope it will remain on that basis. Third or fourth candidates injected into the race for governor will enhance the possibility of the election of the Talmadge forces which are committed to circumscribe, if not prevent us from voting in the primary in the future. Tues-1-20-48

Moreover, why should we "repudiate" Gov. Thompson? Did he not veto the white primary bill? Yes. We realize that some elements of labor are peeved with the governor because he signed the labor law which was passed almost unanimously by the legislature in January, 1947. But it is our opinion that if Gov. Thompson had not signed this labor bill which had such strong support in the legislature, that body would have reconvened itself and passed both bills over the governor's veto. In that case, we would again be in the courts spending both our money and time over our right to vote in the primary elections.

The Georgie labor law is severe we admit. Nevertheless, we believe the right to vote is more important than some restraints that have been placed on both the Negro and white workers. If we keep united our political strength we can eventually remove all the discriminatory racial barriers that will confront us. Time will tell whether we have the intelligence to do the job that is at hand.

"I AM NOT A COMMUNIST, BUT DO MY OWN THINKING," DECLARES WIFE OF PAUL ROBESON

Black Dispatch

Oklahoma City, Okla.

Don't Intend to Live in Russia or Africa Because of Views, Says Speaker

Sat. 6-4-49

NOTED WOMAN HIGHLIGHTS WALLACE TOUR

6-4-49

(By Conrad Clark)

NEW HAVEN, CONN. — (ANP) — In an address, entitled "Double Talk," Mrs. Eslanda Goode Robeson, wife of Paul Robeson, said "I am not a Communist, but I have my own ideas and convictions about American law and freedom and loyalty." The wife of the noted singer spoke at the final round-up of the Wallace Peace tour here last Wednesday.

Sat. 6-4-49

Mrs. Robeson accompanied the Progressive party leader, Hanry A. Wallace, and his two European guests, Senator Michele Giua of Italy and H. Lester Hutchinson, member of the British Parliament, on a tour of 15 states within the past three weeks, covering 10,000 miles by air, and speaking before more than 100,000 people in 16 major cities.

In her final address of the tour, Mrs. Robeson told her audience that "as a Negro I have grown up in my country surrounded on one hand by elegant conversation about freedom and democracy and Christianity and on the other hand by performance quite the opposite."

6-4-49

Continuing, she said, "All men are created equal, yet my people are not equal. All men are brothers, yet all people may not live, work, study, eat, worship, travel, play side-by-side with their white brothers. America is the haven of the lowly and oppressed, yet we have deliberate, persistent persecution of my people—calling us names, depriving us of our rights as citizens, throwing us into jail without trial, lynching us if prison seems too much bother.

"All this sort of thing is, unhappily, very familiar to me; may-be some people are disconcerted, frightened, and confused by it, but not I.

"I am a Negro-American, yes, but I'm not going to live in Africa." Refirming her statement of not being a Communist but having her own ideas and convictions about America law and freedom and loyalty, Mrs. Robeson stated she was not going to Russia to live, either.

6-4-49

"I've been to both places on my own, without being sent, and I found them very interesting, indeed, but I am an American citizen —American by birth, ancestry, and free choice," she concluded.

Williams Quits Ga. Progressives

Daily World

Atlanta Ga.

The Rev. Samuel Williams, Morehouse College professor, Wednesday had resigned from Georgia's People's Progressive Party because of a disagreement with the majority of the State Policy Forming Committee on "basic philosophy."

Williams was former chairman of the party's Atlanta Steering Committee and a member of the State Policy Committee, which backed Henry Wallace for the presidency in last year's national election. Sun. 6-30-49

Disagreement on matters of "policy, strategy and interpretation" among pro-Wallace leaders first appeared just before the 1948 election.

RESIGNATION ACCEPTED

The State Committee of the party last week accepted Williams' resignation. Larkin Marshall of Macon, chairman of the state party, said Williams resigned "because he couldn't give time and attention to the work of the party." Williams, however, quickly denied he had resigned "on the grounds of not having sufficient time and energy to devote to the work of the party." Said the Morehouse professor:

"The reasons for my severing connections with the party go deeper than lack of time and energy. My letter of resignation made no mention of these reasons. I found myself in disagreement with the party on matters of basic policy, strategy and interpretation of same."

Previously, the Rev. C. T. Pratt white, of Dalton, a major figure in the state's pro-Wallace movement, split with the party.

Late Wednesday, James L. Barfoot, 1948 candidate for Georgia governor on the Progressive Party ticket and party director, announced his resignation from all the positions he held with the organization.

Barfoot stated that he had worked "in the tradition" the late President Franklin D. Roosevelt, but was now finding the state Progressive party "completely dominated by a dogmatic left-sectarian group". Barfoot said the "tactics of this group make it impossible to build a democratic broad-based peoples party and he could not work "in a situation where mutual respect, honesty and integrity is lacking."

Cops Raid Party Of Negro, White Youth Here

Daily Worker
New York, N.Y.

Police of the 30th Precinct Saturday night raided a party sponsored by the New World Club of the Young Progressives, held at 702 St. Nicholas Ave. Negro and white youths attended the party.

Police Sergeant Platt gave a summons to Morris Easton for "running a commercial dance without a permit." He must appear in Washington Court, June 21, 9 a.m.

Present during the raid were three guests of honor from Louisiana and Georgia as well as Attorney Charles P. Howard, Progressive Party leader of Iowa.

"The police would never try to break up parties given by Republicans and Democrats," Howard told the youths after the raid, because their parties are Jimcrow affairs." Mon. 6-13-49

The party in the headquarters of the Furriers American Labor Party club became a rousing demonstration, and plans to picket the court when Easton appears were discussed.

Senator Glen Taylor Quits

Daily Worker

Senator Glen H. Taylor, Idaho Democrat and running-mate of Henry A. Wallace last November on the Progressive Party ticket, threw in his sponge last week and announced that the people of the United States have indicated that they do not want a splinter party. Sat. 8-6-49

The Senator, who created quite a great sensation last Spring when Birmingham law enforcement officials arrested him on charges of violating the city's segregation laws when he attempted to enter a church through the same entrance for Negroes, made his announcement over the Mutual Broadcasting Company during the "Meet the Press" hour.

Atlanta, Ga.

"I am no longer associated with the Progressive Party," he said. The results of the November election in which the Progressive Party polled only a fraction of the major party vote, showed that "the American people do not want a splinter party."

The net result of Senator Taylor's announcement, of course, cannot be estimated at this time, but it is almost certain that it will seriously reduce the party's following in several sections of the Nation, North and South. Already, many followers of the Progressive Party's ideals have since, the November elections, deserted its ranks. Others probably will follow as sentiment takes shape in national party councils. For one thing, party workers have heard very little from their chieftain, Henry A. Wallace, since the election.

Miss Thelma Dale Appointed to Progressive Party Staff

Afro-American Sat. 9-3-49

PHILADELPHIA

Miss Thelma Dale, former labor organizer, who has long been active in promoting the fight for civil rights, has been appointed to the Philadelphia staff of the Progressive Party.

In announcing the appointment, Mrs. Alice F. Liveright, Philadelphia party chairman, said Miss Dale's major assignment here will be the Fourth Congressional District "from where we expect to elect a colored Congressman in 1950."

"With the help of Miss Dale," the local chairman added, "it will be possible for the Progressive Party to work more effectively on the important question of decent housing, police protection and jobs for colored citizens."

Miss Dale was active in the founding of the Southern Negro Youth Congress in 1937. She served as field secretary and administrative secretary of the National Negro Congress and was a delegate to the first International Women's Congress in Paris in 1945.

She was also an organizer for the United Office and Professional Workers Union, CIO, in New York.

By LEM GRAVES JR., Courier Staff Correspondent

NEW YORK—Who, what and why is Paul Robeson? Courier Sat. 9-17-49

Because the great baritone has been lifted out of the world of concert artists and projected, amid spectacular fanfare, upon the world political and ideological stage, many Negro citizens are beginning to wonder what manner of man is this articulate advocate.

The questions and the answers—such as one can separate from the doctrine which inevitably accompanies any inquiry into controversial matters—are important because no matter what side of the raging controversy Americans are disposed to take, Paul Robeson is now, and probably will continue to be for a long time, an important and a symbolic figure.

Changes of expression picture the graphic Robeson story.

The questions were put to Mr. Robeson in an exclusive interview by The Courier last week in the seclusion of a New York apartment. The questions and the answers are complicated somewhat by the fact that Mr. Robeson has, in the minds of a large number of Americans, two distinct public personalities. One is that of the militant advocate of racial equality and human rights and the other is that of the affectionate apostle of Soviet Communism.

To Mr. Robeson and his faithful followers, there is no inconsistency in these two personalities. To many other Americans, Soviet Communism and civil rights are regarded as basically incompatible. In order to make up their minds about Paul Robeson—something Negro Americans have generally decided that they must do—they must resolve the dilema. Mr. Robeson's answers may be helpful.

* * *

WHO IS PAUL ROBESON? Without reviewing all the biographical details, it is appropriate to point out that he was born of poor slave parents in the country club atmosphere of Princeton, N. J., where, he says, the rich white college boys heaped indignities upon his family. He was raised by impoverished relatives on an eastern Carolina farm. He did menial jobs to gain an education, became one of the greatest all-around athletes in U. S. college history, and, in the process of winning a Phi Beta Kappa key, established a record of scholarship which still stands at Rutgers University. He became a successful actor, and won international acclaim as one of the finest baritones in musical history. Recently, he and those who came to hear him sing were brutally stoned and beaten by state troopers, young hoodlums, organized veterans and assorted club-swinging cops in nearby Peekskill.

* * *

WHY? When asked this, Mr. Robeson became understandably bitter. He attributed the infamous riot to "fascist elements which are determined that a Negro shall not have freedom in this country." He added that he was amazed because he didn't believe Governor Dewey would be stupid enough to allow this to happen.

WHAT DOES ROBESON WANT? In his own words: "World peace and racial justice." On the question of peace, Robeson refused to even contemplate a war between the United States and the Soviet Union. He said: "America knows she cannot fight Russia now," pointedly implying that America could not win a war with Russia. Since he thinks only in terms of peace, he said, he would not discuss war with Russia. At the same time he works for peace, said Mr. Robeson, he also works for genuine freedom for black people the world over. He declared that he is interested in the people of Africa and the West Indies because he sees no hope for U. S. Negroes so long as any black people are enslaved or terrorized. He believes that Negroes should have their civil rights in America and he says he has dedicated his energies to that fight.

* * *

DOES HE WANT A NEW KIND OF ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL SYSTEM IN AMERICA? Mr. Robeson said he wanted justice and equality in this country under "any kind of system the people want . . . I don't want America to adopt a system for which it is not ready . . . This country is not ready for either the socialization which was adopted in England or the system which is in operation in Russia. But it is ready for the extension of democratic principles such as was outlined by Roosevelt . . . Truman is tied to the reactionary elements in this country and we are not getting the New Deal which Roosevelt envisioned." He wants a division of the wealth, "to eliminate the situation where 1 per cent of the people own 60 per cent of the wealth."

Courier 9-17-49

DOES HE LOVE THE SOVIET UNION? "Yes, I have a deep affection for the Soviet Union . . . and I will not cease to have that affection . . . When I was there, I walked the streets with manly dignity for the first time in my life." He denies that Soviet communism is synonymous with fascist terror, oppression, and denial of liberty.

DOES HE LOVE AMERICA? "I do not love and will not fight to protect the America that is Rankin, Forrestal, the Duponts, or the Peekskill mob . . . I love the land, the traditions of freedom and liberty (although we have not realized the freedom the system is supposed to offer) and I love the people who were on my side up at Peekskill."

* * *

WHY DOESN'T HE GO BACK TO RUSSIA? This question, said Robeson, is ridiculous. He asserted: "I could go to any number of countries and do very well. But this is my native land. I stayed abroad for many years, but decided that I had to come back and fight the forces of reaction which were oppressing my people . . . I am willing to brave Dewey's storm troopers and to take any risks in order to continue the fight for democracy in my native land."

* * *

WHAT DOES HE HOPE TO GAIN? MARTYRDOM? A POSITION AS A "BLACK STALIN" COME THE REVOLUTION?" Neither, replies Robeson. He adds that he did not create the situation which has resulted in his martyrdom. He went to Peekskill to sing. He did not speak. "My followers were peaceful . . . It was the forces of reaction which precipitated the violence." As for the charge that he has aspirations to be a "Black Stalin," Mr. Robeson answered that he was in no way trained for political leadership. He said he merely wanted to sing. However, he declared, when he made the "surprising" discovery that he was in the international spotlight as a result of casual remarks he made in Paris, he decided that he would not retreat, that he would not deny

* * *

the statements attributed to him and that he would assume the role of militant advocate.

* * *

DOES HE BELIEVE THAT HIS RADICAL POSITION WILL HASTEN THE END OF RACIAL OPPRESSION? Mr. Robeson declined to say that such a thought was a strategic consideration. (In some of the things Mr. Robeson has said on previous occasions, there was the implication that he considered the radical approach to the problem of discrimination strategically necessary.) He does say emphatically that his is the radical approach and he indicated that he would never abandon this course until all the evils of American life are corrected.

* * *

IS HE A COMMUNIST? He said he wouldn't answer that question for a Congressional committee and he wouldn't answer it for Courier readers. But he did say: "I have a perfect right to be a Communist if I want to be. The Communist party is a legal American party."

Would he approve of a revolution in the U. S.? He answered that he did not think a physical revolution would be successful and added that he disliked physical violence.

* * *

WHAT ARE HIS FUTURE PLANS? First, he wants about ten days of vacation, free from the stresses and strains of his recent experiences. Then he wants to start production of two plays, "Othello," which he will back with his own money, and "Prometheus Bound," for which he believes he can find the money. Then he wants to do some more concerts.

Mr. Robeson said he did not plan to make a tour of the South, as reported by a New York newspaper. He does not plan any specific engagements of a political nature although he will not retreat from controversial situations which are provoked in connection with his singing tours. He will attend a few meetings of a quasi-political nature growing out of the recent "incidents."

He does not plan a return to Peekskill although he declared he would accept any invitations to appear there for the third time. He asserted that he achieved his aim when he went back on the Labor Day week-end.

Projected into the international spotlight—partly by his own design and partly by the inept and vicious tactics of New York State Police—Paul Robeson is today a figure of tremendous power and appeal. As he closed his interview with this reporter, he asked a significant question:

> "Will America grant to its minorities full freedom, civil rights, and personal dignity or will it turn to fascist oppression as did the 'storm triopers' of Germany, Italy, and Peekskill?"

* * *

DOES HE WANT RUSSIAN DOMINATION OF THIS COUNTRY? No, he says, he wants the poor and underprivileged to have a decent break whether they are white or black.

Randolph Hits Paul Robeson

Courier

Pat. 11-5-49

OAKLAND, Calif. — A. Philip Randolph, international president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, AFL, sharply criticized Paul Robeson last week here at a press conference.

In his remarks at the press conference, Randolph denied that Robeson was the spokesman for the Negro, and declared that Negroes have not fallen for the Communist party line.

Independent Thinking Feared

We believe Dr. E. Franklin Frazier, in discussing the background to the unreason and fury pitted today against Paul Robeson, struck the bull's-eye recently when he said:

"Let me remind you that in American culture the Negro male has never been permitted to play a masculine role . . . This is partly why white America has become incensed at Paul Robeson. Mr. Robeson represents the Negro man in the masculine role as a fearless and independent thinker."

In other words Robeson typifies the emergence of Negro manhood from the thralldom of his slavish past, where it was considered wise and sagacious to parrot the thinking of the white man. Robeson is subversive because he has overgrown cant and hypocrisy, and because his decisions are generated within, and not influenced by outside controls.

You study the present phenomenom of hate visited upon Paul Robeson and determine in your own mind whether or not this is not the proper index to the violent attempt to prevent him from being heard. Thousands of whites have said far more about the Soviet Union than Paul Robeson. For instance, the Rev. Hewlett Johnson, archbishop of Canterbury, has written a book in which he speaks out boldly in the interest of Russia; Henry Wallace has expressed himself as thinking favorably of peace and accord with the Soviet. The late President Roosevelt expressed open admiration for Premier Josef Stalin; but upon none of these Nordics were visited the hate and spleen as is today heaped upon the head of Paul Robeson. Using this type of yardstick one may easily assume there may be some merit in the observation of Dr. Frazier.

By the same measuring rule one may observe the savage assault made upon Ben Davis, Communist New York councilman, who was defeated last week in the Gotham election. One would not have to be a Communist to admire Ben Davis. We developed esteem and admiration for Ben Davis when single-handed and alone he took up the legal cudgels for Angelon Herndon, and before he had joined the Communist party. There is nothing that Ben Davis has ever done since that time that has lessened our reverence and high respect for this fine manly black man who thinks for himself, and to our judgment epitomizes all that there is in courage, audacity and resolution. This is a quality sadly lacking among Negro leaders of the present century. We think Dr. Frazier has completely identified the background to our worship of both Robeson and Davis, when he expresses his view respecting current American opposition to Robeson.

There has been utter and absolute unwillingness during recent centuries to seriously regard the thinking and judgment of black men. This is part of the conspiracy that suggests black inferiority. That is why any Negro who parrots the will of the majority race is arbitrarily set up as a leader. A city manager in a certain town told a Negro confidant sometime ago that when he was elevated to the position he holds he was told to listen to three Negroes. You can, of course, understand that each of this trio are one hundred per cent Uncle Toms, and it is notably true that when Negroes find out that certain blacks in the commmunity have this transitory power conferred upon them they immediately become recognized as instrumentalities through which certain favors come, and therefore are immediately elevated out of their natural importance in the Negro community.

On the other hand, the black man who exhibits a disposition to think for himself is immediately marked for the tommyhawk. Collusion is reached in control centers to see that every effort of this individual fails. Just a few failures of ventures headed by this man immediately drives the Negro masses to the Uncle Toms, for it is the inclination of everyone, irrespective of race, to ride a bandwagon. Few there are who will follow a loser. We where a Republican, in a Democratic state, long enough to know that white men react to failure in the same and identical manner as the blacks.

We have said all this in order to let everyone know that we regret Ben Davis failed reelection as councilman in New York City. We know the man personally. He is a great big husky fellow, with lovable eyes, who inspires you with his sincerity and genuineness. We think his testimony before the jury that convicted him in a New York court room is the greatest indictment that could be brought against our way of life. Davis told the jury that southern prejudice, and especially bias he discovered in a Georgia courtroom, is the evil that drove him to Communism. It was because he caught justice peeping over her questionable glasses in an American courtroom that caused Ben Davis to turn towards Communism, and away from our pretentions of democracy. What he saw in an American courtroom in the land of Talmadge caused something to die within him and he decided to try another and uncharted sea.

Of course if Ben Davis had bowed his head in resignation and submission to the prejudice and race hate he discovered all about him he would today be classified as a loyal black man, but during the trial he discovered the only substantial assistance that came to him in his hour of travail issued from Communists. America should get down on bended knees and ask God to make the decision as to whether Ben Davis was right or whether he was wrong.

We think the crux of this issue rests in the independent and self-reliant judgment these two black men have exercised in reaching major decisions. They want to change social, economic and political conditions under which thirteen million sable-hued American citizens suffer. They are unwilling to allow other men to put words on their lips or thoughts in their minds. Self sufficiency in judgment has brought down upon their heads the fury of the master class. These are truly two black men who have "gotten out of their place."

Russians Plan Film About Paul Robeson

WASHINGTON. — According to the Sunday World Herald, the Russians are making a movie about Paul Robeson.

The theme, it is reported, will be that the Negro is persecuted in the United States, subject to slurs and insults.

To offset this propaganda by the co-operative Mr Robeson, it has been suggested that Dr Ralph Bunche be appointed American Ambassador to Moscow.

There is reason to believe that Dr Bunche would be an excellent ambassador.

Certainly the man who settled the Jewish-Arab war, as UN.'s chief representative, has considerable diplomatic skill.

He stated his beliefs admirably in a speech not long ago.

"We Negroes," he said, "must be great realists.

"The road over which we must travel is clear, though the prospect may not be pleasant.

"We suffer crippling disadvantages because of our origin.

"But we are Americans, in a basically democratic American society."

A man who thinks like that would be an asset to the United States in spasso House, Moscow, and would be a living refutation of whatever strange tales the Russian script writers may think up for their Robeson story.

MR PAUL ROBESON

Famous Negro American singer and stage actor. The Russians are making a movie about him to screen the sufferings of Negroes in the U.S.A. To counter this, it is being suggested that Dr Ralph Bunche should be appointed U. S. Ambassador to Russia.

Scott Answers Winchell

Robeson Backed On Freedom Stand

Chicago Sat. 9-17-49

NEW YORK—A quick rebuttal was made by Neil Scott Sunday night to Walter Winchell's hints that Paul Robeson was aiding the Communists to start a world-wide race war.

Scott asserted, "We Negroes disagree violently with Paul Robeson on Russia, but endorse him when he fights lynch mobs, poll tax, segregated residential districts, police brutality."

"It is not important how much money Robeson makes, it's how much freedom does the average American Negro enjoy. Money is important, but freedom is what the average Negro wants, and intends to have in any way he can get it."

Winchell had stated, "the biggest laugh of the month is that Paul Robeson, who graduated with honors from an American University, and who in one night earns more than the average American earns in a year, says that in America, a Negro hasn't a chance."

Winchell charged that the Communists are striving to start a world-wide race war by propagandizing the millions of brown and black people of Asia and Africa via the Moscow radio. Winchell said that Asians and Africans alike "are benefitting greatly from American help."

Robeson Cancels Speech At Oberlin

CLEVELAND, Oct. 6—(AP)—Paul Robeson will arrive here by plane this afternoon. The Negro singer and leftwing lecturer will speak at a public rally tomorrow night on Cleveland's East Side.

Several veterans' organizations already have voted to ignore the meeting to avoid possible recurrence of rioting that attended a Robeson speech at Peekskill, N. Y.

A speech scheduled by Robeson at Oberlin College today was cancelled after college authorities stipulated a Negro leader holding opposite views must share the platform. Robeson's appearance had been arranged by a student forum.

The cancellation, announced by Ray Dennis, co-chairman of "The Cleveland Committee to Welcome Paul Robeson," asserted the terms were "not consistent with the right of a citizen to be heard."

The cause espoused by Robeson, the statement added, was "not subject to debate."

The other Negro to have appeared with Robeson was the Rev. Horace White, of Detroit. The forum was to be on "The American Negro and Civil Liberties Today."

Robinson Testifies:

Says Robeson Wrong, Negroes Would Fight For Their Homeland

Birmingham News Birmingham, Ala.

BY DOUGLES B. CORNELL

WASHINGTON, July 18—(AP)—Jackie Robinson said today that if Singer Paul Robeson "wants to sound silly" in public, "that's his business."

Mon 7-18-49

The Brooklyn Dodgers' second baseman, first Negro to break into the major leagues, told the House un-American activities committee Negro Americans would fight for this country "against Russia or any other enemy."

HE WAS THE LAST WITNESS called by the committee to refute a recent statement by Robeson, once a famous athlete himself, that Negroes in the U. S. would not fight in a war against Russia.

The committee's small hearing room was packed when Robinson and his wife arrived, and a loud "Amen" came from somewhere in the crowd when he finished reading a long statement.

The baseball star said he never has had time to become an expert on anything "except base stealing or something like that," but that he appeared out of a sense of responsibility. He said there has been "A terrific lot of misunderstanding" about Communist influence among Negroes "and it's bound to hurt my peoples' cause unless it's cleared up."

Robinson said any Negro "worth his salt" is going to resent "any kind of slurs and discrimination" because of his race.

"This has got absolutely nothing to do with what Communists may or may not be trying to do," he declared. "And white people must realize that the more a Negro hates communism because it opposes democracy, the more he is going to hate any other influence that kills off democracy in this country.

"Negroes were stirred up long before there was a Communist Party, and they'll stay stirred up long after the party has disappeared—unless Jim Crow has disappeared by then as well."

* * *

ROBINSON SAID HE HAD no comment to make on Robeson's statement that Negro Americans would not fight Russia, except that "it sounds very silly to me." And, he added, if Robeson "wants to sound silly" in public statements, "that's his business and not mine."

In case of war, Robinson said, Negroes would "do their best to help their country win the war" the same as "Italians and Irish and Jews and Swedes and Slavs and other Americans."

Robeson added fuel to the fire yesterday. 7-18-49

He told a "bill of rights" conference in New York that "we Negro people, we Progressives, we Communists, we little people" will be in the forefront of the "struggle of the American people."

"We're going to reach out for some of this great land that belongs in the hands of the American people," he said. "We have found a weapon with which to fight." Robeson said the weapon "originated with a man named Marx."

Other Negroes spent several days with the un-American activities committee last week in public hearings. One after another, they said that American Negroes are loyal to their country.

They accused Robeson of hurting the Negro race.

One, Manning Johnson, testified that he had spent 10 years in the Communist Party and knew Robeson as a Communist. He said Robeson wanted to be a "Black Stalin."

THE ROBESONS AND THE PRESS

The Afro-American Baltimore, Md.

It should not be difficult for most of us to understand the most recent outburst of Paul Robeson, Sr., against what he calls, "the democratic press."

Mr. Robeson, concert and stage star, just back from a tour of Europe and the Soviet Union, was angered Sunday by newsmen and photographers who were seeking admission to the wedding of Paul Robeson, Jr. and and Miss Marilyn Paula Greenberg, a white girl. Sat 6-26-49

The wedding was a private affair and the Robesons saw no reason why the press should try to horn in.

What the senior Robeson forgot, however, is the fact that he and his family are sufficiently important to make whatever they do of interest to the general public. In such a role, privacy, no matter how greatly desired, seldom can be enjoyed.

From his days as All-American end at Rutgers University and through his years of success in the theatre, in plays and movies and on the radio as artist and speaker, the democratic press, of which Mr. Robeson complains, has helped him to achieve international eminence.

Without the aid of the press, imperfect as it may be, he would never have attained the prominence that he has, certainly not within the same period of time. People read about Robeson and wanted to see and hear him, and he thrived on the publicity.

Having long since gained financial competency, Mr. Robeson now feels no obligation to the press.

We believe that he is absolutely honest and sincere in his conviction. We share with him his hate for sham and hypocrisy. Certainly Mr. Robeson has made a far greater contribution to progress and understanding than have many of his detractors of both races.

Many AFRO readers will say that the younger Robeson's marriage to a white girl is more harmful than helpful to our cause and that he could have found a girl of his own race just as light in color.

Yet, we know that it is through intermarriage—the closest and most intimate of all associations—that much can be done to eliminate racial prejudice.

It is for the opportunity for all of us to be able to make our choices in this matter that the elder Robeson fights. He will need all of the aid that he can muster.

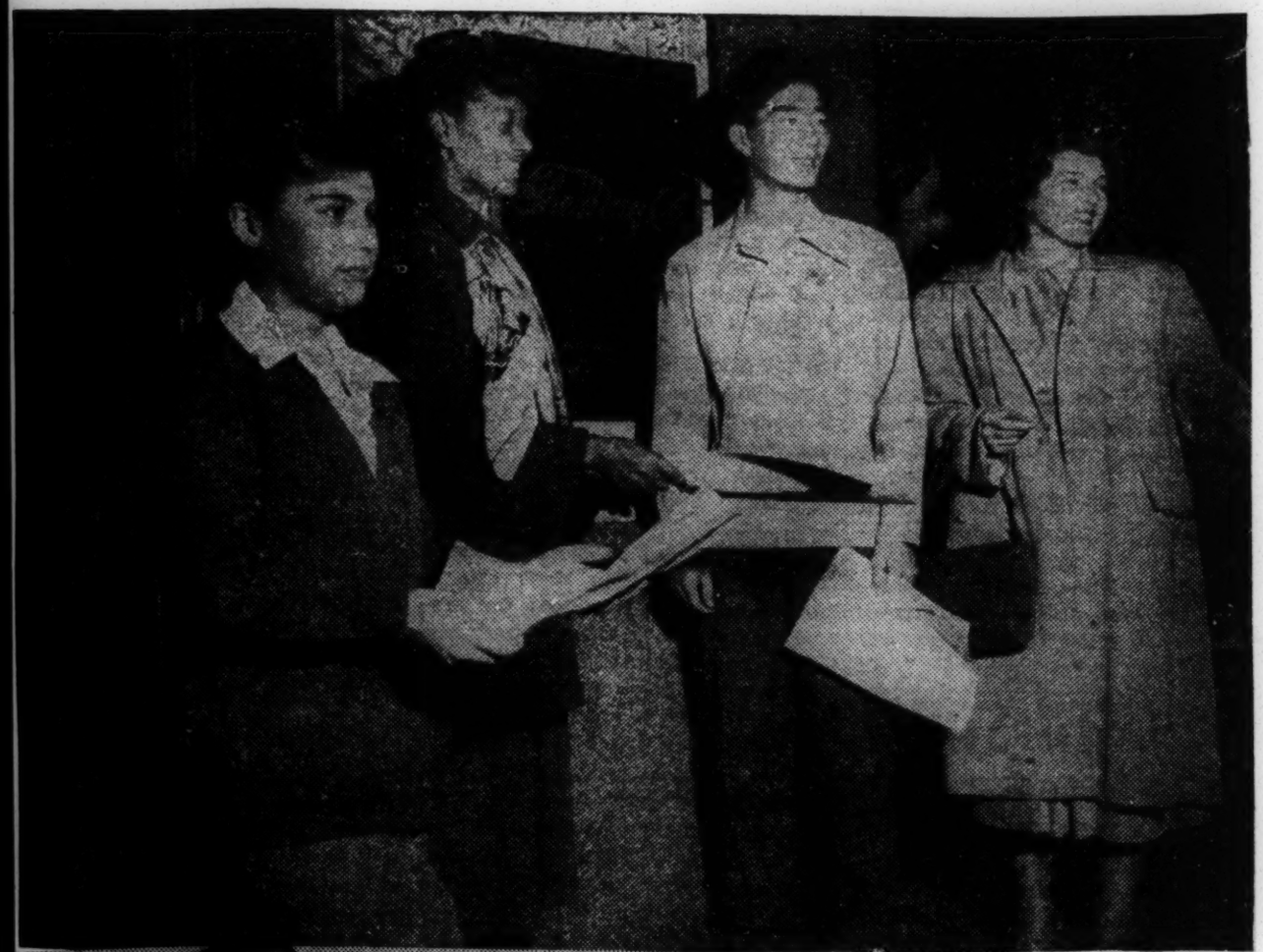
We believe that he can ill afford to make an enemy out of what could well be a useful ally.

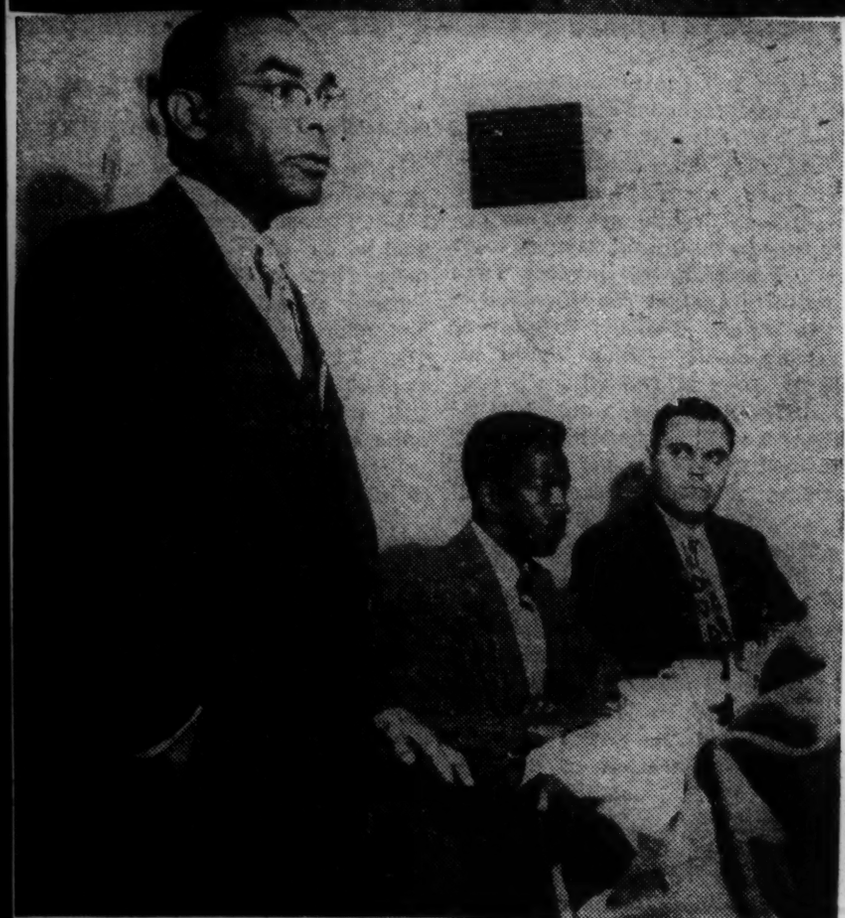
BUST OF ROBESON SET
ATOP 13,000 FOOT
MOUNTAIN IN RUSSIA

Moscow-Further homage was paid Paul Robeson here recently, when rugged Russian climbers scaled the 13,000 foot mountain named for the great singer to place a bust of him atop the peak. The climb, a real feat, took place in sub-freezing weather.

Both the bust and the feat were dedicated in the name of "battling solidarity with those millions of ordinary people of America whom Paul Robeson represents." The action was hailed through Russia.

Afro-American
Baltimore, Md.
Sat. 10-29-49





ONETIME — congressional candidate Sidney Moore launches a campaign, sponsored by the Independent Progressive Party, to persuade the May Co. to hire Negroes in sales and clerical positions. Moore is shown explaining the Fair Employment Committee of the IPP drive to local newsmen at a luncheon last Friday at the Biltmore hotel.

In the photo above, members of the Young Progressives finger handbills which the IPP commenced distributing last Friday in front of the store and the petitions on which 10,000 signatures are wanted this month. From left: Dorothy Salazar, Henrietta Moody, Ike Sanbonmatsu, and Dorothy Starrells.

Moore told the newsmen the May Co. has refused to discuss the question of ending racial discrimination in hiring and contends its policies concern only the store. Group also plans telephone campaign to the store, asking end to discrimination.

Disorderly Conduct Trial Of Sen. Taylor Scheduled March 16

March 16 has been named as the date for the trial of U. S. Sen. Glen Taylor on charges of disorderly conduct. The date was fixed by Circuit Judge George Lewis Bailes after he had granted Sen. Taylor a continuance from the original date of Jan. 11.

Judge Bailes granted the continuance on a motion by Arthur Shores, Negro attorney, who appeared in Sen. Taylor's behalf.

Shores said he had been unable to obtain a "consent continuance" from Tom Huey, acting Birmingham city attorney, at a hearing last Friday.

Shores said the consent continuance was customary among attorneys. He said he understood Commissioner Eugene Connor objected to the postponement.

The Idaho Democrat, recent running mate to Presidential Aspirant Henry A. Wallace, was arrested on disorderly conduct charges in Birmingham May 1, when he attempted to enter a segregated meeting through a door reserved for Negroes.

He was convicted in Recorder's Court and fined $50 and was given a 100-day suspended sentence.

He appealed the case to Circuit Court.

Sen. Taylor's Case Slated For Review

The State Court of Appeals announced yesterday it will review Senator Glen Taylor's disorderly conduct conviction Tuesday.

The Idaho Democrat was convicted in Birmingham police court May 4, 1948, during the election campaign. The conviction has already been upheld by a Jefferson County circuit court.

Police Court Judge Oliver Hall levied a $50 fine, imposed a 180-day suspended jail sentence and put Taylor on six months' probation while declaring the incident a publicity stunt.

Taylor, then a vice presidential candidate on Henry Wallace's Progressive Party ticket, was arrested May 1, 1948, after a scuffle with policemen when he tried to enter a door reserved for Negroes at a meeting of the Southern Negro Youth Congress.

After his arrest, he attacked the Birmingham segregation law and branded it unconstitutional.

He said charges against him were being pressed illegally and declared the "arrest and mar handling is a blatant violation of my constitutional right."

RACIAL ISSUE DENIED IN SENATOR'S ARREST

MONTGOMERY, Ala., Dec. 1 (AP) Birmingham's segregation ordinance was not an issue in the conviction of Senator Glen Taylor, Democrat, of Idaho, last year, an assistant city attorney said today.

It was clearly a "routine disorderly conduct case," Thomas E. Huey Jr. told the Alabama Court of Appeals and was "so treated in the lower court." Mr. Huey said Senator Taylor's attorneys had no grounds for trying to inject the constitutionality of the segregation ordinance in the case.

Senator Taylor was arrested on May 1, 1948, while trying to enter a door reserved for Negroes at a meeting of the Southern Youth Conference. He was fined $50 and given a suspended sentence of 180 days when convicted in police court. The Circuit Court upheld the sentence.

He had gone to Birmingham to make a speech while a candidate for Vice President on the Progressive party ticket.

Mr. Huey denied allegations in Senator Taylor's brief that Birmingham police had no right to keep the Senator from using the Negro entrance and that the segregation ordinance violates the Fourteenth Amendment.

"All the witnesses testified that Senator Taylor was the aggressor * * * He rammed against the officer with his shoulder twice and used abusive language when officers tried to take him away," Mr. Huey said.

Republican

Negro Once Ruled Texas Republicans

Post 9-18-49

By MACK WILLIAMS

FORT WORTH, Texas, Sept. 17 (AP).—The son of a slave who became a banker and a power in Texas politics is living out his days wrapped in the luxuries of his fine Fort Worth home.

Fabulous "Gooseneck Bill" McDonald is 83 now, feeble and ill, and gone are the days when he enthralled Texas Negroes with his oratory and political know-how.

"I don't run the Republican party and the Texas Negro Masonic Grand Lodge like I used to," William McDonald said dolefully from the four-poster bed to which he has been confined for 18 months.

A big diamond ring gleamed on a bony, tapering finger of his left hand and a silken robe hid the long, slender neck which the late Col. Bill Sterrett of The Dallas News, decades ago, had thought worthy of mention.

"He called me Gooseneck in a story, and I never got away from it. Folks still call me Gooseneck."

McDonald's two-story home, framed by tall white pillars and copied from the residence of the last man to own his father, was built about forty-five years ago.

That was during the time Bill and Col. E. H. R. Green dominated the Texas Republicans.

Green was the son of Mrs. Hetty Green, eccentric New York multimillionairess and railroad owner who wore shabby clothes and pinched pennies. His mother sent him to Terrell to run her Midland Railroad.

SPEECHES CHARMED

McDonald had been sent to the old Wilberforce College in Nashville, Tenn., by Col. Jed Adams of Kaufman, Texas, and other white friends. When Bill met Green in Terrell, Texas, in 1896, McDonald was a rising young politician.

Negroes in Terrell and elsewhere in Texas were charmed by Gooseneck Bill's speeches. When Colonel Green decided to enter politics on a Republican "black-and-tan" platform, he chose Bill as his guide and paid him $575 a month.

"The Colonel didn't know any more about politics than that girl," said McDonald, pointing to a maid at his bedside. "I made him chairman of the Republican State Committee in 1904."

Green and Gooseneck Bill survived political battles until 1912. In that year, their control of the Texas Republican party was broken by "Lily-Whites," who supported Cecil Lyons of Sherman.

Woodrow Wilson's election left bare pickings for the Republicans. Gooseneck Bill came to Fort Worth and founded the Fraternal Bank and Trust Company. It rapidly became a financial stronghold and depository for the state's Negro Masonic lodges. McDonald was elected secretary of the State Grand Lodge in 1889 and served for many years. He was the organization's "king-maker."

ANOTHER WRONG GUESS

Green and McDonald guessed wrong again in 1920, supporting Leonard Wood as the GOP nominee. R. B. Creager of Brownsville supported the victorious Warren G. Harding and was rewarded with the state chairmanship. He still dominates the Texas Republicans.

That ended much of Gooseneck Bill's influence. He veered to Al Smith in 1928, and backed Franklin D. Roosevelt. He claims credit for swinging Texas Negroes to the Democrats, but he turned against the New Deal later and voted for Thomas E. Dewey.

McDonald has been president emeritus of the bank since Jan. 1, 1948, and, though he retains his stock, he takes no part in the business.

McDonald's father was born in slavery in Nashville, Tenn. His mother was a free woman. Gen. Nathan Bedford Forrest, Confederate cavalry leader, once owned McDonald's father and took him from Tennessee to Alabama. Then the father was sold again and was brought to Texas, the property of George Martin of Kaufman County. Gooseneck Bill was born in Kaufman County.

Have conditions of the Negro improved?

"They have in my time," said Gooseneck Bill. "My house is as fine as Mr. George Martin's house. Fact is, I copied it from his house."

It is an 11-room, air-conditioned residence with expensive furniture, heavy Oriental rugs, cut-glass chandeliers, oil paintings and scores of silver and china pieces.

In his mahogany bed McDonald listens to the radio and the news of the day, and now and then dispenses such political forecasts as "Texas won't be a 2-party state until the Republicans go back to a 'black-and-tan' policy."

Bricker Ignores History in Seeking Merger of Republicans, Dixiecrats

Chic. American, Sept. 12, 1949 Baltimore, Md.

GOP Born of Opposition to Slavery, How Now a Reunion With Ex-Foes?

342

Lautier Urges Return of Party to Principles; Senator Says Forget Rights, Fight Socialism

By LOUIS LAUTIER

WASHINGTON — (NNPA) — The proposal of Sen. John W. Bricker (Rep., Ohio) for a coalition party of conservative Republicans and Southern Democrats shows that he is utterly lacking in an understanding of the political history of the United States.

The Republican Party came into being on the issue of the extension of human slavery. The Democratic Party was the pro-slavery party. Although the Civil War was fought to maintain the Union, and the slaves were emancipated as a war measure, the fact is the basic issue was slavery.

After the Civil War, the Republican party wrote into the United States Constitution, the 13th Amendment forbidding slavery, the 14th Amendment conferring citizenship upon colored people, and the 15th Amendment giving them the right to vote.

So Democrats Took Over

Not until the Republican Party laid aside its moral principles and became the champion of property rights did it lose its grip upon the voters. It was Herbert Hoover who gave the Democrats their opportunity to take the colored vote away from the party of Lincoln.

Franklin D. Roosevelt defeated Hoover in 1932, weaning away a sizeable bloc of the once solidly Republican colored vote. Since then the Democratic party has fortified itself among colored voters and today is advocating a broad, legislative civil rights program.

A coalition party of conservative Republicans and Southern Democrats would get no support from colored voters. The man considered as the coalition's Presidential candidate, former Secretary of State James F. Byrnes, has a "white supremacy" equal to that of "Pitchfork" Ben Tillman of South Carolina, Jim Vardaman of Mississippi, and Hoke Smith of Georgia.

As a member of Congress, Byrnes even opposed annual Federal contributions to Howard University and tried to justify lynching on the floors of both the House and Senate as necessary for the protection of white Southern womanhood.

Fair Play Pays Off

The Republican party can win elections without forming an alliance with Dixiecrats. It must, however, become identified with policies which are not mere carbon copies of Democratic policies.

Governor Alfred E. Driscoll of New Jersey has proved that Republicans can be elected to office on a civil rights record. New Jersey has a State fair employment practice law, as well as constitutional convention provisions outlawing racial segregation in the public schools and in the National Guard.

Let Senator Bricker take a lesson from the Whig party. It died about 1856 because it tried to straddle the slavery issue. If the Republican party takes seriously the proposal of Senator Bricker and tries to straddle the civil rights issue, it may go the way of the Whig party.

Says He Fears Socialism

Meanwhile, Senator Bricker, himself has tried to clarify his proposal. His suggestion, he said on Thursday, was that conservatives in Congress, without regard to party or sectional lines, unite to fight the trend toward socialism.

On the matter of civil rights he came out unreservedly for equal treatment of all Americans but declared that reversal of the present trend toward the welfare state was more important than any single piece of legislation.

He admitted that "there are deep differences between Northern Republicans and Southern Democrats over questions of civil rights. But he thinks they might be surmounted 'by adopting a program which treated all Americans as Americans rather than as a series of minority groups."

BOB CHURCH TELLS REPUBLICANS ABOUT THEIR SINS OF OMISSION

Sets Up Three-Point Program to Win Negro Back to the Fold of Lincoln

MUST END COLLUSION WITH DIXIE-CRATS

WASHINGTON. — (ANP) — The 105 members of the Republican National Committee meeting at the Shoreham hotel last Thursday were told by R. R. Church, long time Republican politician that the Republican party could regain the confidence of millions of the colored electorate if it would furnish sufficient votes to break the Dixiecrat filibuster and make fair employment practices a reality for all Americans.

Pointing out that the "FEPC is more important to the colored electorate throughout the nation than any other civil rights measure of the group of measures", Church said in effect that a bloc Republican vote for this measure would, to his mind, play an essential part toward victory of his party in 1950 and 1952.

Declaring that the divided Democratic party to help pass this measure it would again receive sufficient votes to become "the majority party in many states now controlled by the Democratic party. We can elect a majority to the 82nd congress and we can put our nominee in the White House in 1952."

Balance of Power

Church reminded the leaders and members of the policy forming committee that "the electoral votes of Illinois, Ohio, and California—more than enough to have elected the Republican candidate—were lost in 1948 by less than the majorities cast for democratic candidates in the predominantly colored wards of the principal cities in those doubtful and decisive states. One example, three south side Chicago wards, predominantly and overwhelmingly colored gave Truman more than 50,000 plurality. Truman carried Illinois by 30,000."

This happened, continued Church, because the elected representatives of the Republican party and others in policy forming and administrative positions in that party, did not carry out their 1944 platform promises to Negroes and other minority groups."

"Words and promises alone are a waste of breath, ink and paper; 1948 proved that. The colored electorate had said 'FEPC—or else.' The Republican 80th congress did not enact FEPC, did not even try, and so it was 'or else' in 1948.

"If the members of the Republicon National Committee, believe that the adherance, allegiance and the votes of the colored electorate are important, that in the principal doubtful and decisive states they are essential to victory and the return of the Republican party to power in state and federal governments, you can act now to re-establish the confidence of the colored electorate in the Republican party, its program and its candidates."

Give Negroes Voice In Party Affairs

Referring to a survey made by Dr. Ralph Bunche in 1938 at the request of the Republican National Committee chairman John D. M. Hamilton, Church recalled that Dr. Bunche recommended that representatives of the colored electorate be placed in policy forming positions in the committee.

For years and years, continued the Republican leader, he has been trying to show the national committee the importance of electing at least six colored Republicans to membership in the National committee, three men and three women from the country at large, with the same status as any other member. But to date nothing has been done.

"I now urge this same action" emphasized Church. Three steps must be taken, he said, if the Republican party hopes to lend to victory in 1950, and 1952, they are:

1. Elect six Negroes to the Republican National Committee with the explicit understanding that in no sense will they occupy Jim Crow quota positions.
2. Repudiate any association or collaboration with the anti-civil rights Dixiecrats in the Democratic party.
3. The mobilization of solid Republican support in the 81st Congress for the enactment of FEPC with enforcement powers.

The Republican American Committee of which Mr. Church is chairman, is composed of leading colored Republicans in 38 states and the District of Columbia.

It has been stated that this committee through its chairman was largely responsible for securing the three marginal Republican votes in the House Committee on Education and Labor which gave the FEPC measure a favorable action.

The votes of this committee have always been very close on all liberal legislation, and it had been predicted that if the FEPC bill did pass the committee it would perhaps be by a margin of only one vote. But the three Republicans who unexpectedly swung the votes to a favorable decision were Representatives Brehm, Kearns and Velde.

In spite of the hard struggle to squeeze the FEPC bill out of the committee with a favorable vote, it has been announced recently that it will not be likely to come to the floor for a vote until January.

Break With Dixiecrats, Party Urged

WASHINGTON, D. C. — R. R Church chairman of the Republican American committee, told members of the Republican National committee that there are three things they must do to gain the Negro vote.

In part, they are: 1) the election of at least three men and three women to the Republican National committee with the understanding that they will not occupy Jim Crow quota positions,

2) Repudiation of any collaboration with anti-civil rights Dixiecrats in the Democratic Party, and

3) The mobilization of solid Republican support in the 81st Congress for enactment of FEPC with enforcement powers.

Church referred to a survey and recommendation by Dr. Ralph Bunche in 1938 which proposed that representatives of the colored electorate be placed in policy forming positions on the Republican National committee.

Church addressed 105 members of the National Republican committee recently at the Shoreham hotel. Citing the failure of the Republican Party to carry the colored majority vote in 1948, he said, "In my opinion, it happened because the elected representatives of our party, and others in policy forming and administrative positions in our party, did not carry out our 1944 platform promises to Negroes and other minority groups."

Church further stated that FEPC is more impartant than civil rights or any group of measures and that the Republican Party can break the Dixiecrat filibuster and make it a reality.

In concluding he stated. "We can bring about such a change that it will be possible to ask Dr. Bunche, who has refused appontment as an Asst. Secretary of State. . . .to return from voluntary exile to the service of his country."

34d 1949

Republican
Perry Howard, Republican, National Committeeman (Mississippi)

Explains 'Darky' Jokes

'Slimy Trick,' Says Howard

Courier Sat. 8-20-49
Pittsburgh, Pa.

(Special to The Courier)

WASHINGTON—Taking exception to a story in the Aug. 13 edition of The Courier in which he was charged with having told "Uncle Tom" jokes at a meeting of the Republican National Committee, Perry Howard, Republican National Committeeman of Mississippi, issued the following statement this week to The Courier:

"I was not at all surprised at being attacked by my political and jealous enemies when my friend was elevated to the chairmanship of our Republican National Committee. In fact, every time there are some political results to my liking and to my benefit, these same old discredited politicians and traducers seek to discredit me, but always to no avail.

Editor's Note: The jokes were explained in Lem Graves' column, "Washington Notebook," appearing under the same date as the Howard story.

"In the first place, why didn't they publish the jokes referred to, with all the space they took up in this national paper?

LAUDS GABRIELSON

"It is easy to understand that the publication of the jokes would have answered them without any comment from me. Now here is the gist of what took place: Mr. Guy Gabrielson of New Jersey was nominated and I arose and seconded his nomination in words of just about this tenor—'I second the nomination of Mr. Gabrielson because, under his leadership in New Jersey, the state of New Jersey has set a pattern on civil rights which I hope to live to see other states adopt. In addition to this, he is a man of great learning, an able lawyer, a man of great wealth and with fine financial connections, all of which will assure us of raising the necessary funds to carry on as a party organization.

"'We need a man of Mr. Gabrielson's type because he is personna grata with the colored leaders of this country; they have confidence in him. I reluctantly state and admit that we have not won a Republican election since my people left the party in 1932, and I predict we will not win another election until they return. Therefore it is imperative that we have a man of Mr. Gabrielson's type.'

"Now our other candidate is Mr. Beck of South Dakota, who has had no national experience and who knows nothing about colored people. In fact, there are not enough colored people in South Dakota to provide pall bearers for one funeral. What would Mr. Beck do with a colored audience if brought face to face with one?

JOKE IN QUESTION

"And now here is the anecdote of which there is criticism: 'Mr. Beck would be very much like the white gentleman in Boston on one occasion who was addressing an audience of educated and cultured colored men and he wanted to make the old, hackneyed and traditional expression that there was a Negro in the woodpile. He did not put it in that way for fear he would offend the sensibilities of his audience, and instead of saying—'Negro in the woodpile,' he said—'I am of the opinion that there is a gentleman of African descent in our winter supply of fuel.'

"The other story was to drive home the importance of electing a seasoned chairman and to that end I insisted that our political situation was so critical that we must have a man of Mr. Gabrielson's experience, and to that end I told the story of the Irishman who had been advised that whenever in trouble he should fall upon his knees and call upon God and he would come to his rescue. The occasion soon arose when his oxen were in the mire, and thereupon the Irishman jumped from his seat and fell upon his knees and said: 'Oh God, come down here and help me at once; don't send that boy Jesus of yours, for this is no time to fool with children.'

"The latter anecdote may be a bit blasphemous, but it was intended to drive home my point.

"Now these are the only two anecdotes or stories that I told, and if there is anyone so stupid and so vicious as to twist and distort these stores into what is called "darky jokes," you can definitely put them down as people who have designs upon my success. Furthermore, these stories have been told from Massachusetts to California, and in many cases I have been requested to repeat them.

"My record from the cradle to now, in battling as sensibly and as practically as I can for the civil rights of our group and for the respectability and dignity of my people, is so well known that I don't need to further elaborate upon this answer to my critics.

"INFAMOUS LIE"

"The young reporter from The Pittsburgh Courier was gravely imposed upon by these disgruntled politicians. Reading the story as it appeared on the front page of this great paper, in great headlines, one would think that mass meetings were being held and I was being denounced when the whole thing was an infamous lie and when not a person in Washington had raised any criticism or made any comment. Re-read the article and see the other names that were connected and you will get the whole story.

"Furthermore, these are periodical attacks, and if Senator Taft my good friend, had been nominated last June you would have had a similar attack to this to immediately discredit me.

"In conclusion, it all a lousy slimy, jealous political trick, and I agree with Shakespeare when he said that 'Jealousy is the only monster that generates the food upon which it feeds.'"

G.O.P. Leader Here Told Negroes to Back Black

John Leake, Negro member of the Republican County Executive Committee, yesterday said about 200 Negro Republicans had told Ralph Homan they were sticking with Edward C. Black in the party primary fight here.

Leake said Homan, executive secretary of the Republican County Executive Committee, also was told at Republican headquarters in the Realty Building Wednesday night that the Negro leaders and workers were against anti-Black candidates.

He and other speakers, Mrs. Mozetta Miles and James Edwards, also a member of the county committee, asked Homan to tell Judge Franklin S. Fitch, county committee chairman, they were for Miles R. Thacker for County judge and L. C. Willis for County clerk.

'Barker Backer Booed.'

Leake said that the onl yvoice raised in defense of County Judge Horace M. Barker, candidate for renomination, was that of George Redd, recently named by Barker as an investigator in the County-alcoholic-beverage administrator's office. He said Redd was "booed down."

The meeting was one of a series Homan has been holding with party precinct captains, district leaders, and election officers to determine their preferences for nomination for City and County offices. Fitch has said he may make known the results after the last meeting.

Thacker Declines Comment.

County Attorney Sam Steinfeld yesterday answered a question regarding his choice in the mayoral primary by saying he was for Commonwealth's Attorney Frank A. Ropke. County Commissioner Miles R. Thacker answered "No comment just now" to the same question.

Both Steinfeld, for County Attorney, and Thacker, for County judge, previously had been endorsed by Ropke.

Lineup Confusing.

The line-up is confusing because Steinfeld and Thacker are on the Black-faction slate with Sheriff Rees Dickson, candidate for Mayor, and Ropke is on the Brumleve-faction slate with Barker, for County judge, and W. Howard Clay, for County Attorney.

Dickson declined to get into the jigsaw puzzle. Steinfeld said he was one of a group which had asked Ropke to run and he was sticking with him. When told of Steinfeld's choice, Dickson answered "No comment; I will make a statement at the proper time." Ropke's original endorsement of Thacker and Steinfeld came some time ago.

Courier-Journal 7-22-49

The Elephant's Memory

One thing is certain about the sorry plight in which the Republican Party finds itself today—it is of the GOP's own making.

Back in 1938, Dr. Ralph Bunche not as prominent in world political affairs as he is today—made some recommendations to the party. He had been asked to make as survey by the GOP National Committee Chairman John D. M. Hamilton.

Chief of his recommendations was one calling for placing representatives of the colored electorate in policy-forming positions on the national committee.

Last week, Robert R. (Bob) Church, chairman of the Republican American Committee, dusted off the 11-year-old Bunche recommendations and handed them back to the incumbent GOP bigwigs.

Said Mr. Church:

Daily American 8-20-49

Does the Republican Party care about the votes of the colored electorate? Does our party care enough to take certain action now that was recommended eleven years ago. . . ?

"After five straight defeats in Presidential elections and defeats in eight out of nine Congressional elections, it seems plain that Republican victory or defeat in 1950 and 1952 will largely depend on whether or not the colored electorate, particularly in Northern States once considered normally Republican, will return to the party. . ."

Baltimore, Md.

Mr. Church, of course, was referring to Illinois, Ohio and California where last year the GOP lost badly needed electoral votes because the predominantly colored wards of the principal cities voted for Mr. Truman.

The action of Republican members of the present Congress seems to prove clearly that the party has no intention of living up to its pledges made to colored voters.

Instead of allying themselves with the Northern wing of the Democratic Party in an effort to put across a sorely needed civil rights program, these Congressmen, for the most part are to be found in unholy alliance with the Dixiecrats who are pledged to defeat the program.

Republican

If the party is to win back colored voters, it must, Mr. Church emphasized, do three things:

1. Elect six colored representatives to the Republican National Committee on an integrated basis;

2. Repudiate any association or collaboration with the Dixiecrats, and

3. Mobilize solid party support in the 81st Congress for enactment of FEPC legislation with enforcement powers.

World conditions have changed considerably in the past eleven years, but not the Republican Party. The GOP, apparently, has become so used to bringing up the rear that it has lost all hope of ever leading the parade again.

Until it develops a positive and aggressive policy in place of its negative one, it can never hope to regain the colored voters it has lost or attract new ones. Unlike its namesake, the GOP elephant seems to have a very short memory.

Mississippi GOP Names Howard for Life

Courier-Journal 8-24-49

JACKSON, Miss. — Perry W. Howard, Mississippi GOP National Committeeman since 1924, at a meeting of the State GOP executive committee here last week was elected leader of the party's state machine for life, "as far as they were concerned." Perry's GOP faction recently won out over the lily-white faction in Mississippi in both state courts and the U. S. Circuit Court.

Mississippi GOP Fails To Dethrone Perry Howard

By NNPA News Service

PHILADELPHIA, Pa.—Lily-white Republicans of Mississippi last week lost another round in their battle to take over party affairs in their state from the regular party organization, headed by Perry W. Howard, Republican national committeeman of the state.

A three-judge United States Circuit Court of Appeals here on Wednesday upheld the dismissal in the Federal District Court here of their suit to enjoin the seating of Howard delegation in the Republican national convention held here last June.

In a unanimous 17-word ruling, the appellate court held that the chief issue involved—the seating of the delegation—had been decided and, therefore, no controversy existed.

The lily-white Republicans were headed by George L. Sheldon, former governor of Nebraska, who moved into Mississippi.

Federal District Judge J. Cullen Ganey originally dismissed the suit on grounds that the Federal courts had no jurisdiction. It was his opinion that the dispute should have been settled in the convention itself, which voted to seat the Howard delegation when it approved the report of its credentials committee, or in Mississippi courts.

After Judge Ganey's adverse ruling, the Mississippi lily-white brought suit in Mississippi courts. The issue was decided against them in the trial court and later affirmed by the Mississippi Supreme Court.

Mississippi Vetoes Halleck

AT ONE POINT when Indiana's Charlie Halleck was proposed as a compromise by Deweyites, Perry Howard, Negro national committeeman from Mississippi, threatened to resign.

"I can't face my colored friends and tell them I have been a party to any such compromise," Howard announced at the secret session. "I am opposed to Charlie Halleck and will step out if he is chosen as our leader."

Halleck's friends scoffed at rumors he is anti-Negro and insisted that Perry Howard was playing politics for his friend, Bob Taft.

However, another committeeman referred to "Drew Pearson's" report that the Indiana congressman rode around in Cadillac limousines on a congressman's salary.

"If Charlie Halleck were elected he'd have five Cadillac limousines around national headquarters," commented one Taft rooter.

However, when Halleck was approached by Deweyites he flatly refused to be a candidate unless Gabrielson dropped out of the race and he was to be elected unanimously.—©

34d 1949

Student Division-Young Progessives of America

Drive Against Bias In Education. Draft

34d Memphis World

Memphis Tenn.

DETROIT—National campaigns ot end discrimination in education and repeal the draft were launched here Thursday at a three-day Conference of the Student Division, Young Progressives of America.

Delegates from more than 50 colleges throughout the country unanimously passed resolutions calling for an end to discriminatory quota systems and demanded that Congress refuse federal aid to any school which imposes segregation for Negro students or discriminates against any minority group. At the same time they favored extension of federal aid to equalize and expand our present educational system.

Walter Wallace, National Student Secretary, presented the resolutions calling for an end to segregated schools. He recommended as part of the campaign an immediate introduction of test cases in North Carolina and Louisiana.

OVER 100 CHAPTERS

The Student Division of Young Progressives today has chapters on more than 100 college and school campuses throughout the country. At the Conference, delegates from Mercer College in Macon, Georgia, University of Arkansas, University of California, Roosevelt College, CCNY, Brooklyn College, Vassar and over 40 other campuses were present.

34d

April 15 was chosen by delegates as the day student chapters through out the country would hold peace demonstrations. Each campus would simultaneously demonstrate their desire for peace and for repeal of the draft, culminating four months of activities pressing for legislative repeal.

Tu-1-7-49

Tzu Jan Li, a Chinese student who returned from China last August, addressed the Conference. He recounted several experiences of the Chinese student movement and told of their influence on the Chinese [illegible]ive movement. Following [illegible]eport, the Conference went [illegible]ord as opposed to further aid [illegible]ng Kai-Shek and demanding [illegible]hdrawal of American troops [illegible]hina.

Southern Negroes Organize

Daily World, Atlanta, Ga.

The organization of the Southern Negro Council of Democrats at Washington last week, which was timed to coincide with the inauguration of President Truman, is a wise and timely move. It will bring about a closer unity of thought and action between southern political leaders. It will enable them to plan a united approach to their mutual and common problems. And it will reduce misunderstanding and break down barriers which may prevent the employment of their energies and talents in a concerted attack upon the artificial schemes now being hatched in many of the states to prevent a full and free exercise of the right of suffrage by Negro people. It will also be the means of a clearing house of opinion on social and economic problems.

Wed. 1-26-49

That is as it should be. More and more southern Negroes are going to assume the role of voters and as such will be expected to share the responsibilities which go with this constitutional right. And no matter how much the southern politicians insist that Negroes are not interested in the ballot and that Northern agitators are the cause for this new-found enthusiasm, that argument is given the lie by the very determination of Negroes to exercise this privilege, even at the risk of danger.

Atlanta, Ga. 1-26-49

We know of no more worthy person for the presidency of this new organization than the man whom they elected without opposition, Attorney A. T. Walden, distinguished lawyer and leader. He is head of the Georgia Association of Citizens Democratic Clubs and as such, was influential in rallying over 100,000 Negroes to the polls during the 1946 State election, where for the first time since Reconstruction days, that Negroes voted in a primary election.

Southern Negroes Organize

The organization of the Southern Negro Council of Democrats at Washington last week, which was timed to coincide with the inauguration of President Truman, is a wise and timely move. It will bring about a closer unity of thought and action between southern political leaders. It will enable them to plan a united approach to their mutual and common problems. And it will reduce misunderstanding and break down barriers which may prevent the employment of their energies and talents in a concerted attack upon the artificial schemes now being hatched in many of the states to prevent a full and free exercise of the right of suffrage by Negro people. It will also be the means of a clearing house of opinion on social and economic problems.

That is as it should be. More and more southern Negroes are going to assume the role of voters and as such will be expected to share the responsibilities which go with this constitutional right. And no matter how much the southern politicians insist that Negroes are not interested in the ballot and that Northern agitators are the cause for this new-found enthusiasm, that argument is given the lie by the very determination of Negroes to exercise this privilege, even at the risk of danger.

We know of no more worthy person for the presidency of this new organization than the man whom they elected without opposition, Attorney A. T. Walden, distinguished lawyer and leader. He is head of the Georgia Association of Citizens Democratic Clubs and as such, was influential in rallying over 100,000 Negroes to the polls during the 1946 State election, where for the first time since Reconstruction days, that Negroes voted in a primary election.

Negro Leaders Of South Form Southern Unit

Atlanta Lawyer, Col. Walden, Named First President

Memphis World

Memphis Tenn.

Jue. 1-25-49

By EMORY O. JACKSON

WASHINGTON, D. C.—(SNS)—Southern political leaders organized the Southern Council of Negro Democrats with Attorney A. T. Walden of Atlanta, Ga., as president at a meeting held at Carver Hall here Friday.

Purpose of the council is to provide a solid regional leadership to serve as spokesman for the Negro of the South and to establish machinery to gain the best favorable hearing for his demands.

Other officers elected were Dr. J. M. Robinson, of Little Rock, Ark., vice-president; Rev. DeWitt T. Alcorn, of Memphis, Tenn., secretary and Herbert D. Taylor of Houston, Tex., treasurer.

1-25-49

The group voted to send a message to President Truman, Senator McGrath and Congressman Dawson praising them for the Democratic manner in which the Inaugural program, ceremonies, festivities and activities were conducted.

C. A. Scott of Atlanta and Percy Greene of Jackson, Mississippi were elected to the executive committee.

1-25-49

Each state affiliated with the council will elect one of its members to the executive committee. Council officers will have automatic membership on the executive committee.

Jul. 25-49

Delegates from nine states attended the meeting, with leaders in the other Southern States indicating that they would participate.

THAT THE NEGRO of the South is aroused to a new awakening was evidenced last week when a group of Southerners got together in Washington and organized a Southern Council of Negro Democrats.

Wed. 1-26-49

This meeting was an impromptu affair which came into being as a result of discussions between Negro leaders who came to Washington to witness the inaguration of President Truman. For the first time in history, Negroes from the Southern section of the country poured into the capital city to participate in the inauguration of a president.

Birmingham, Ala.

Atty. A. T. Walden, of Atlanta, was elected chairman. Among others attending the conference was Emory O. Jackson, Birmingham.

Political Unity Seen As Aim Of New Body

Journal & Guide

Jan. 29-49

Leaders Gather In Washington During Inaugural Exercises

WASHINGTON, D. C.—(NNPA)—A group of Southerners, here for the inauguration of President Truman, met last Friday at Carver Hall, a Howard University dormitory, and organized the Southern Council of Negro Democrats to coordinate political activities in matters in which they have mutual interests.

The purpose of the organization, a spokesman said, is to set up political machinery that will speak for the colored people of the South.

A resolution was adopted by the group commending President Truman and Senator J. Howard McGrath of Rhode Island, Chairman of the Democratic National Committee, for the democratic manner in which inaugural affairs were conducted.

The group decided to meet again as soon as possible to work out definite objectives for the newly-formed organization.

Various speakers at the meeting expressed concern about the growing influenc of the Ku Klux Klan in southern states, particularly Georgia. One of the reasons given for needing an organization of colored was to bring influence to bear to give colored people in the Sotuh greater physical protection.

OFFICERS NAMED

A. T. Walden of Atlanta, attorney, president of the Georgia Association of Citizens' Democratic Clubs, was elected chairman of the council.

Dr. I. W. Robinson of Little Rock, Ark., president of the Arkansas Negro Democratic Association, vice chairman; the Rev. DeWitt Alcorn of Memphis, executive secretary of the Memphis Chamber of Commerce, secretary, and Herbert Taylor of Houston, Texas, vice president of the Texas Club of Democratic Voters, treasurer.

Sat 1-29-49

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

The group voted to set up an executive committee consisting of all elected officers of the organization and one representative from affiliated states. C. A. Scott, editor and publisher of the Atlanta Daily World, was named to represent Georgia, and Percy Greene, editor of the Jackson Advocate, Jackson, Miss., was selected to represent Mississippi.

In addition to persons elected to office, present at the meeting were Isaac T. Gillian of Little Rock, executive secretary of the Arkansas Negro Democratic Association; Carter Wesley, editor and publisher of the Houston Informer, Houston, Texas; S. R. B. Sanford, an undertaker, of Covington, Georgia; Dr. Miles G. Amos, Citizens Democratic Club of Fulton County (Atlanta, Georgia).

Also C. C. Dejoie, editor and publisher of the Louisiana Weekly and treasurer of the National Citizens Committee for the Election of President Truman for Louisiana, New Orleans; J. M. Atkinson, treasurer of the Georgia Association of Citizens Democratic Clubs; the Rev. W. H. Weatherspool, chairman of the Truman for President Committee, Atlanta, and J. E. Mitchell, editor and publisher of the St. Louis Argus.

SOUTHERNERS AT TRUMAN'S INAUGURATION. — Above is pictured part of a large group of Southerners who went to Washington to witness and participate in various exercises in connection with the inauguration of President Harry S Truman as the 33rd chief executive of the nation. While in the capital city some of the men above participated in the formation of the Southern Council of Negro Democrats, an organization designed as a spokesman for the Negro Democrats of the southern region.

In the front row, left to right: J. P. Gilliam of Little Rock, Ark.; DeWitt T. Alcorn of Memphis, Tenn.; Atty. A. T. Walden of Atlanta, Ga.; Dr. J. M. Robinson of Little Rock and C. A. Scott of Atlanta.

Second row left to right: Carter Wesley of Houston, Texas, S. R. Sandford of Covington, Ga., Dr. Miles Amos of Atlanta, C. C. DeJoie of New Orleans, La., and J. M. Atkinson of Brunswick, Ga.

Third row left to right: Moss Kendrix of Washington, D. C. but formerly of Atlanta, Rev. W. W. Weatherspool of Atlanta and Louis Lautier, White House Correspondent of the Atlanta Daily World and NNPA. 22-1-28-49

Talk on 'Skegee Street Repairing

Courier
Oct. 8-20-49

TUSKEGEE, Ala.—County Solicitor, Harry D. Raymon of Macon County, discussed "Streets Improvement" at the meeting of the Tuskegee Civic Association, Sunday, Aug. 14, at Washington Chapel AME Church.

Street improvements within the Negro residential section of Tuskegee have been the topic of discussion for many years.

Recently the Tuskegee City Caun-cil proposed to hard-surface the street lying without the city limits but within the police jurisdiction. Presently this proposal is being advertised preparatory to submission to the Alabama Legislature for approval. It has been stated reliably that passage is virtually assured, as the State Representatives from this district are in favor of the proposal.

This Is What Jackie Told Congress

WASHINGTON—The following is the blunt philosophy concerning Communism and race relations in America as told to the House Un-American Activities Committee Monday by Jackie Robinson, second baseman for the Brooklyn Dodgers and first Negro player in the major leagues:

"WHEN the House Committee on Un-American Activities invited me to appear here today and express myself on the subject of your present interest, I answered that I would be glad to do so, although it isn't exactly pleasant to get involved in a political dispute when my field of earning a living is as far removed from politics as anybody can possibly imagine.

"I am sure you know that I am a professional ballplayer. Baseball has been called the great American sport because all American get their kicks out of the game some way or other, no matter what their political or social connections might be. So, it's customary, and I suppose pretty sensible, for ballplayers to keep out of partisan politics or any other kind of arguments and contests that may split their supporting public.

"Of course, it will be said, and it is certainly true, that the question of Communist activity in the United States isn't partisan politics. But it's also true that some of the policies of this committee have become political issues. And so, naturally, I've had a great many messages come to me by wire, phone and letter, urging me not to show up at this hearing. And I ought to make it plain that not all of this urging came from Communist sympathizers. Of course, most of it did. But some came from people for whom I have a lot of respect and who are just as opposed to Communist methods as I am.

"And so it isn't very pleasant for me to find myself in the middle of a public argument that has nothing to do with the standing of the Dodgers in the penant race—or even the pay raise I am going to ask Mr. Branch Rickey for next year.

"A Sense of Responsibility"

"So you'll naturally ask, why did I stick my neck out by agreeing to be present, and why did I stand by my agreement in spite of advice to the contrary. It isn't easy to find the answer, but I guess it boils down to a sense of responsibility.

"I don't pretend to be any expert on communism or any other kind of political "ism". Going to college at UCLA (the University of California at Los Angeles), helping to fight the war, with about ten million other fellows, trying to break into professional baseball and then trying to make good with the Dodgers, and trying to save some money for the time when my legs lose their spring—all this, together with my family life, has been enough to keep me busy without becoming an 'expert'—except on base stealing or something like that.

"But you can put me down as an expert on being a colored American, with thirty years of experience at it. And just like any other colored person with sense enough to look around him and understand what he sees, I know that life in these United States can be mighty tough for people who are a little different from the majority—in their skin, color or the way they worship their God, or the way they spell their names.

"I'm not fooled because I've had a chance open to very few Negro Americans. It's true that I've been a laboratory specimen in the great change in organized baseball. I'm proud that I've made good on my assignment to the point where other colored players will find it easier to enter the game and go to the top. But I'm very well aware that even this limited job isn't finished yet. There are only three major league clubs with only seven players signed up, out of close to four hundred major league players on sixteen clubs.

Says Progress Goes On

"But a start has been made, and progress goes on, and the Southern fans as well as the Northern fans are showing that they like the way things are working. And as long as the fans approve, we're going to keep on making progress, until we go the rest of the way in wiping Jim Crow out of American sports.

"We are going to do this because the American fans are just beginning to understand that a sport to be a real sport, has got to be contested on the basis of the best man or team winning—and that "best" has got nothing to do with how much brown or red or yellow tint is in a man's skin.

"We're going to make progress in other American fields besides baseball if we can get rid of some of the misunderstanding and confusion that the public still suffers from. I know I have a great desire and I think that I have some responsibility for helping to clear up that confusion. As I see it there has been a terrific lot of misunderstanding on this subject of communism among Negroes in this country, and it's bound to hurt my people's cause unless it's cleared up.

"The white public should start toward real understanding by appreciating that every single Negro who is worth his salt is going to resent any kind of slurs and discrimination because of his race, and he's going to use every bit of intelligence, such as he has, to stop it. This has got absolutely nothing to do with what Communists may or may not be trying to do.

"And white people must realize that the more a Negro hates communism because it opposes democracy, the more he is going to hate any other influence that kills off democracy in this country—and that goes for racial discrimination in the Army, and segregation on trains and buses, job discrimination because of religious beliefs or color or place of birth.

"Not Fooling Anyone"

"And one other thing the American public ought to understand, if we are to make progress in this matter, is the fact that because it is a Communist who denounces injustice in the courts, brutality and lynching, when it happens, doesn't change the truth of his charges. Just because Communists kick up a big fuss over racial discrimination when it suits their purposes, a lot of people try to pretend that the whole issue is a creation of Communist imagination.

"But they are not fooling anyone with this kind of pretense, and talk about "Communists stirring up Negroes to protest" only makes misunderstanding worse than ever. Negroes were stirred up long before there was a Communist party, and they'll stay stirred up long after the party has disappeared—unless Jim Crow has disappeared then as well.

"I have been asked to express my views on Paul Robeson's statement in Paris to the effect that American Negroes would refuse to fight in any war against Russia because we love Russia so much. I haven't any comment to make, except that the statement, if Mr. Robeson actually made it, sounds very silly to me. But he has a right to his personal views, and if he wants to sound silly when he expresses them in public, that's his business and not mine. He's still a famous ex-athlete and a great singer and actor.

"I understand that there are some few Negroes who are members of the Communist party, and in the event of war with Russia, they would probably act just as any other Communist would. So would members of other minority and majority groups. There are some colored pacifists, and they'd act just like pacifists of any other color. And most Negroes—and Italians and Irish and Jews and Swedes and Slavs — would act just as all these groups did in the last war. They'd do their best to help their country stay out of war; if unsuccessful, they'd do their best to help their country win the war—against Russia or any other enemy that threatened us.

Not As "Any Defense"

"This isn't said as any defense of the Negro's loyalty, because any loyalty that needs defense can't amount to much in the long run. And no one has ever questioned my race's loyalty except a few people who don't amount to very much.

"What I'm trying to get across is that the American public is off on the wrong foot when it begins to think of radicalism in terms of any special minority group. It is thinking of this sort that gets people scared because one Negro, speaking to a Communist group in Paris, threatens an organized boycott by fifteen million members of his race.

"I can't speak for any fifteen million people any more than any other one person can, but I know that I've got too much invested for my wife and child and myself in the future of this country, and I and other American of many races and faiths have too much invested in our country's welfare, for any of us to throw it away because of a siren song sung in bass.

"I am a religious man. Therefore I cherish America where I am free to worship as I please, a privilege which some countries do not give and I suspect that nine hundred and ninety-nine out of almost any thousand colored Americans you will meet will tell you the same thing.

"But that doesn't mean that we're going to stop fighting race discrimination in this country until we've got it licked. It means that we're going to fight it all the harder because our stake in the future is so big. We can win our fight without the Communists and we don't want their help."

Touchy Civil Rights Issue Put Before Young Democrats

CHATTANOOGA, TENN., Nov. 17—(AP)—After a long and bitter floor fight, the way was paved tonight to toss the touchy issue of civil rights squarely before the Young Democrats' national convention.

Shortly after the convention formally opened, a fiery undercover battle over President Truman's civil rights program erupted on the convention floor. The pro-civil righters won a test vote 311 to 156.

The convention split into two distinct factions when the rules committee report came up for approval.

The resolutions committee has steadfastly refused to approve any resolution which flatly endorsed President Truman's civil rights program. Adoption of the rules committee's recommendation, therefore, would have virtually stifled further civil rights discussion.

Selic Harrison of Detroit, chairman of the Michigan delegation, already has promised to offer a resolution commending President Truman on his civil rights program.

The resolution endorses specifically "creation of a national fair employment practices commission and passage of other civil rights legislation recommended by President Truman's commission on civil rights."

The test vote came on an amendment offered by George Edwards of the Michigan delegation. Edward's amendment, adopted by 311 to 156, allows any resolution presented to the resolutions committee to be brought before the entire convention, regardless of whether it was approved by the resolutions committee.

"I don't desire to see machinery set up here that will turn this into a cut and dried convention," Edwards asserted.

Rep. Wayne L. Hayes (D-Ohio), chairman of the Ohio Group, told the delegates:

"This convention can do a lot of good or a lot of harm to the Democratic party as well as the Young Democratic clubs in America and the various states. What happens here might determine whether we have a Democratic or Republican Congress in 1950.

"I want to warn this convention against tying its hands by the adoption of any such set of rules as was read from that platform."

Civil Rights Split Young Democrats

Chattanooga, Tenn., Nov. 17 (U.P.). A pro-civil rights faction won the right to present resolutions from the floor today as the Young Democratic clubs opened their national convention, split like their elders on the civil rights issue.

The group overrode the rules committee and by a floor vote announced at 311 to 156 succeeded in assuring a hearing on the issue. The civil righters want to put in a full indorsement of President Truman's program calling for anti-lynch, anti-poll tax and FEPC legislation.

Gov. Sid McMath of Arkansas, meanwhile, keynoted the convention by urging full Democratic harmony and handling the racial and "Dixiecrat" issues gingerly. He said there can be "no fixed line between political rights and economic rights."

The clevage between the Southern and Northern delegations had been sputtering all day, with the group from Minnesota leading the fight to get the civil rights issue to the floor. They took their cue from their Senator, Hubert Humphrey, who quarterbacked the inclusion of the civil rights in the 1948 national platform.

But it was George Edwards of Detroit who made the motion to clear the way for the resolutions to come before the convention.

McMath spoke up for Federal aid to education and Federal welfare programs in his keynote speech.

Ecuadorians Close Colombian Border

Quito, Ecuador, Nov. 17 (U.P.).—The government today ordered the border with Colombia closed and sent reinforcements to tighten vigilance along the line.

CIVIL RIGHTS FIGHT SPLITS DEMOCRATS

Backers at Chattanooga Youth Session Win Move to Force Issue to Floor Debate

By JOHN N. POPHAM

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

CHATTANOOGA, Tenn., Nov. 17—The opening session of the national convention of Young Democratic Clubs of America was split wide open today by the civil rights controversy.

After three hours of parliamentary debate that sounded warnings of "political disaster" for the Democratic party in the 1950 elections unless the convention delegates faced up to "the important issues of our time," the civil rights proponents won a smashing victory on the convention floor.

By a vote of 311 to 154 they brought about adoption of an amendment that would pave the way for bringing the controversial issue to the convention floor following charges that attempts had been made to dispose of the matter in closed committee sessions.

From the parliamentary maneuvers and unexpected vote-switching that took place on the convention floor it appeared doubtful that the same balloting alignment would prevail in an outright test on civil rights sentiment among the delegates.

Woven throughout the session were threads of minor controversies arising from intra-party disputes between Democrats and States' Rights Democrats, and open dissatisfaction with alleged "steamroller" tactics of present leadership of the group, which combined to bring the victory to the civil rights supporters.

Circulars Support Truman

At no time during the convention debate were the words "civil rights" mentioned in formal speeches. However, delegates freely admitted off the floor that the young Democrats' attitude on civil rights was at stake and several groups circulated in the convention hall mimeographed copies of "newsletters" forthrightly defending President Truman's stand on the issue.

The controversy came before the convention on a day when the delegates heard Democratic party notables deplore "factionalism" within the party and plead that "we can and should reconcile sectional differences in the interest of the common good."

William M. Boyle Jr., chairman of the Democratic National Committee, told the delegates that President Truman "has asked me to bring you his warm personal greetings" and to "thank each one of you for the notable contributions you have already made in the political victories of 1948 and 1949."

Mr. Boyle reminded the delegates that "the Democratic party is dedicated to a program of progressive liberalism in the interest of all the people."

Gov. Sidney McMath of Arkansas told the convention that "today there is abroad in all the Southland a healthy and a progressive movement."

"The light of tolerance and understanding is pushing back the fog of prejudice and hatred which for too long has been the stock in trade of too many political demagogues everywhere," he declared.

Protests Stir Debate

Soon after the convention session began a report by the committee on rules was approved. One of the rules would have prevented the introduction of any resolutions from the floor of the convention.

This report set off a storm of protest from the delegates, marked by cries of "steamroller," catcalls and jeers. There were several demands that the chairman recognize "a serious division of opinion" among the delegates.

George Edwards of Detroit moved that the rules be amended to allow any accredited delegate to introduce a resolution from the floor of the convention provided it had been submitted earlier to the resolutions committee.

This proposal lifted the lid from the simmering controversy and unleashed prolonged and acrimonious debate. It has been reported that a resolution endorsing President Truman's civil rights measures had been "pigeonholed" by the resolutions committee, and the report of the rules committee was regarded by many delegates as a further effort to stop the civil rights supporters.

Mr. Edwards' amendment was approved on a roll-call vote by states. The Texas delegation, headed by Roy G. Baker, president of the organization, who had been accused in a mimeographed "newsletter" of opposition to the civil rights supporters, ovted to support the amendment.

The Missouri delegation also voted for the amendment, W. D. Gilmore of Benton, Mo., is Mr. Baker's choice as next president of the Young Democrats. It was widely believed that the Missouri and Texas delegations supported the amendment largely to strengthen Mr. Gilmore's chances for the presidency.

34e 1949

Five Million Negro Votes

Black Dispatch Oklahoma City Oklahoma

The NAACP among its 1600 branches over the United States is going to attempt to secure five million registered Negro voters in the United States, all of which means this militant organization realizes, as does the Black Dispatch, that the Negro is not utilizing as fully and effectively as he should the power already in his hands. Too many of us talk about what the other fellow should do for us, but few seem to realize the responsibility that rests upon our own shoulders. Sat. 4-23-49

We can forget about the rest of the nation and recall the recent election held in Oklahoma City, when not to exceed 2,500 Negroes voted, out of a potential of around 10,000. If those 10,000 Negroes in Oklahoma City had voted, and with proper direction, they could have dominated and completely controlled the local election. Few Negroes realize the power in group strength, depending solely upon stupid individualism.

Luther P. Jackson, Virginia professor and historian, in a recent emancipation address in the Old Dominion, told his auditors that they should utilize such occasions, not for parade purposes, but as an occasion when Negroes are instilled with a clearer and more intimate knowledge of their citizenship responsibilities. We very much agree with Prof. Jackson, who seems to be thinking in consonance with the NAACP about what the American Negro should be doing.

In fact, if the electoral college is abandoned as the method by which presidents are elected in this country, the popular vote of the Negro is going to have to be counted upon more to win, and it will also be incumbent upon the Southern Negro to gird his loins and show up on election morning to offset the vote of reactionary Dixiecrats. We certainly approve the wisdom of turning every NAACP branch in the nation into a school of suffrage methods and techniques. The plan will be abused in a few instances, but in the main it will be highly beneficial as an educational influence.

Senator Owen Brewster of Maine recently published in the Congressional Record a chart showing the percentage, by states, of voters who vote and do not vote. It is very illuminating, for it shows that only fifty per cent of the potential actually cast their ballots on election day. This poll is also significant in that it shows fewer people voted in 1948 than voted in 1944. It has been our observation when times are good the average citizen loses little time voting, be he white or black, and we think this disposition to forget the political underpinning of prosperity in a democracy is the reason for the dropping off in the use of the ballot in the last general election. Sat. 4-23-49 Senator Brewster's tabulation of voters also proves that white people are just as remiss as blacks in their use of the ballot.

Since the Brewster figures show only 45,000,000 out of 90,000,000 potential electors voted in the last election, it should immediately become obvious the tremendous effect 5,000,000 Negroes would have upon election results. It would be surprising to know that Utah has the largest percentage of voters who appear at the polls, with Colorado second. Seventy-four per cent of the voters cast ballots in Utah and 71 per cent in Colorado.

Take Oklahoma, for instance; 64 per cent went to the polls in 1944, while only 50 per cent arrived to vote in 1948, a drop of 14 per cent. If the total 8 per cent of the Negro voters in Oklahoma had appeared at the polls last November and voted, Senator Kerr would have been afraid to vote against civil rights when the recent ballot was taken in the U. S. Senate. There are so many things we cry about that could be easily corrected with sensible use of citizenship power already in our own grasp. Unfortunately those who attempt leadership forget group interest for selfish gain, and that is where and when we all fall in the ditch. More than a half million voters failed to show up at the polling places in Oklahoma last November.

PUBLISH SURVEY OF NEGRO PRESIDENTIAL VOTE

Courier Times Oakland Calif. Fri. 2-4-49 340

NEW YORK, Jan. 31—Sixty-nine per cent of the total Truman-Dewey vote cast in predominantly Negro areas of cities throughout the country in the 1948 election went to President Truman, according to a survey published this month by the NAACP. Fri. 2-4-49

The report, based on tabulations of returns submitted by the Association's branches in twenty-three states notes that Negro voters supported President Truman overwhelmingly even in some communities that have traditionally been Republican strongholds, and indicates that in several cases the Negro vote held the balance of power which swung a city or a state into the Truman column. Reports on the Wallace vote showed a negligible count in all localities except New York and California. Fri. 2-4-49

NAACP ANNUAL REPORT SHOWS PROGRESS BEING MADE TOWARD NEGRO BALLOT RIGHTS IN DIXIE

The Dispatch, Oklahoma, Oklahoma.

Sat. 7-9-49

NEW YORK, July 1 — The long legal battle to reestablish the right of Negroes in the South to vote proved increasingly fruitful last year, according to the 1948 annual report of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, published today. The report points out that approximately 700,000 of an estimated one million qualified Negroes in the southern states voted in the November presidential election.

The NAACP report, entitled "The Fortieth Year in the Crusade for Civil Rights," summarizes activity of the Association during 1948 on all fronts, with sections devoted to branch activity, legal accomplishments, the legislative work of the Washington bureau, labor, veterans' affairs, church, public relations, research, and the annual conference of the association.

Political Action

In the North as well as the South, the NAACP placed emphasis during 1948 on the struggle for civil rights through political action, conducting an intensive campaign to encourage Negroes to value the right to vote and to exercise it judiciously. Early in the year, the association called a conference of 22 national Negro organizations, which formulated a "Declaration of Negro Voters" to serve as a guide in the selection of candidates to support in the November election.

"The fruitfulness of our political action campaign," the NAACP report states, "was clearly demonstrated by the results of the election . . . (Negro voters) demonstrated . . . independence and intelligence . . . when they voted in large numbers for candidates committed to civil rights and social welfare legislation." An NAACP survey quoted in the report points out that the Negro vote for President Truman as a "spokesman for civil rights" in each of the three pivotal states of Ohio, California, and Illinois, exceeded the margin by which the President carried the state. Sat. 7-9-49

Perhaps the "most signal victory" of the year on the legal front, the NAACP report indicates, was the unanimous United States Supreme Court decision in May, declaring racial restrictive real estate covenants unenforceable in state or federal courts. "When these cases were presented to the court," the report says, "the Solicitor General of the United States made an unprecedented argument maintaining that the enforcement of race restrictive covenants on real property was unconstitutional. The Attorney General and the Solicitor General of the United States filed a brief on behalf of the United States government to the same effect." In addition, twenty-five interested organizations filed briefs in the Supreme Court case, which marked the culmination of a 35-year fight by the NAACP against residential segregation.

Other outstanding legal victories were won by the NAACP during 1948 in the field of education, where the barriers of segregation and discrimination continued to crack under legal pressure; and in transportation, employment, the armed services, and criminal cases.

Pattern of Violence

The NAACP report noted several instances of mob violence and brutality in the South, particularly in Georgia. The reign of terror in that part of the country was climaxed by the lynching of Robert Mallard, a moderately successful Georgia businessman; the murder of Isaiah Nixon, who voted in the Georgia primary despite "warnings" from whites not to do so; and the beating of D. V. Carter, NAACP officer in rural Georgia who drove Negroes to the polls in his automobile.

Expansion of NAACP

"The contention of the Dixiecrats that the NAACP is an outside organization meddling in the affairs of the South," the report says, "is belied by our increasing strength in that region." Noting that of the 223 new NAACP units chartered in 1948, many were in the deep South, the report indicates that "a substantial part" of the association's membership is now located in that area "and is making rapid advances under able southern leadership."

Kentucky Voters' Law Hobbles Moral Action

LEGALISM, a painstaking regard for the strict letter of the law, has won out over public security in Bourbon county. The state court of appeals says the full Bourbon list of registered voters must be used in Saturday's primary election. It makes no difference that more than 5,300 names on the list are challenged as ineligible because their owners have died, moved or become otherwise disqualified.

This, say five of the six justices, is the rigid mandate of the Kentucky law on purging registration lists. In their decision they overruled Circuit Judge ARDERY who last week ordered the disputed portion of the list to be suspended. Judge ARDERY laid down careful rules to protect the rights of voters who had been mistakenly listed as not entitled to vote. But the higher court held, five to one, that this was not enough, that only the purgation board had authority to cull names.

Courier-Journal

In effect it was the same as saying that however unfortunate, however dangerous was this use of the tainted list, whatever suspicion thus would be cast on the integrity of another Bourbon county election, the technical requirement of the law made it so. Judge ARDERY was on sound moral ground, it was admitted; only his legal sanction was less clear.

The five justices obviously had pored over the law, word by word. There can be no dispute that they have set down accurately what they saw in its lines and what they read of its intent. And so there is but one natural conclusion. If the law as written will not suffice for protection against danger, even though the danger is crystal clear and undisputed, the law must be changed to permit action when action is called for—action as decisive, when necessary, as Judge ARDERY undertook to provide.

Tri. 8-5-49

The law is admittedly vague. It was a vagueness as to the time limit for purging that led to the situation in Bourbon county. Bourbon's purgation board, although it was agreed that large masses of names were improperly on the list, had adjourned without taking the simple and direct course of removing them from the list. On advice which seemed to them reasonable and authoritative, the board members believed they had passed the time when removal was legal, when due notice in advance of the primary election could be given in every case of a disputed name.

There should be no such doubts or limitations to create conditions in which morality is compromised by trick of phrases. In Bourbon, CASSIUS M. CLAY, chairman of a citizens committee, talks of a statewide organization to revise the voting laws for simplicity and effectiveness. "There are other counties besides Bourbon," he says, "where the list of voters needs to be purged of the dead, the felons, the lunatics and those who have lost their right to vote by change of residence."

Louisville, Ky.

Bourbon is one of 120 counties. Another is populous Jefferson, where political professionals have been frank to say that lists outside the city are cluttered with names which should not be there. While this condition exists, there is no security for the democratic process. The threat of fraud and manipulation is ever-present.

The Gallup Poll

Nation-Wide Survey Shows 65 Pct. Favor Home Rule for Washington

Courier-Journal 8-6-49

House Delays Action on Bill

By GEORGE GALLUP

Director, American Institute of Public Opinion

Princeton, N. J., Aug. 5.—Home rule for Washington, D. C., America's only voteless city, is favored by a large majority of persons questioned throughout the nation by the American Institute of Public Opinion. A home-rule bill for the district now is pending in Congress.

Washington's 900,000 people are governed by officials who are appointed, not elected, and the residents are not even permitted to vote for their own School Board. The Constitution makers wanted the national capital to be free from local political control. But agitation for self-rule has gone on for many years. The Senate voted unanimously for home rule more than two months ago but the House has delayed taking action on the bill.

15 Pct. Have No Opinion

The question:

"Do you think the people of Washington should elect their City officials—or should they continue to be appointed by the President?"

The vote:

Elected	65%
Appointed	20%
No opinion	15%

Residents of the district voted three years ago in favor of home rule in an unofficial plebiscite conducted under the sponsorship of the Board of Trade.

A total of 176,000 persons participated in the plebiscite, and voted 70 per cent in favor of home rule.

Race and Home Rule

John W. Simpson's anything-but - democracy-in-democracy's Capital argument in your August 27 issue proves nothing except that there is more myopia than eye doctors ever dream about.

Post

He assumes that Negroes (one third of the District's citizens) tend to vote as a unit, a proposition easily refuted by the facts of political life. Mr. Simpson asserts that one third of the voters could control an elective government.

Wash. Post 8-31-49

As a practical fact this may be true; but his arithmetic is poor when he implies that one third is larger than a majority if all those eligible vote, and he neglects the fact that the most conspicuous example of "government by minority" is those States in which literally millions of both whites and Negroes are virtually disenfranchised or otherwise weakened politically by the poll tax and/or unfair proportioning of election districts.

Washington

Proponents of home rule should take heart when hearing such arguments as Mr. Simpson's, for in the racial bigotry and harangues for a selfish *status quo* that come from home rule opponents they may indirectly measure the great strength and validity of their own proposals.

LEON SCHKOLNICK.

Washington.

Dixie Hill Political, Civic Group Gets Charter From State

Courier-Journal

Officers and members of the Dixie Hills Political and Civic Club, Inc., have just received a charter of incorporation from the State. Officers of incorporation include:

Stroud McKenzie, president; Samuel L. Chisholm, Secretary-Treasurer, Rev. Julius Alphabet, First vice president, and Harvest Ware, second vice president.

W. H. Jackson is Chairman of the Executive Committee, with Joseph H. Cantrell, associate Chairman.

President McKenzie sad in Atlanta Saturday that the club will take as its most pressing and immediate objective of reregistration

Under the law, all citizens will have to reregister and the Club will take an active part in this promotion. The first meeting of the membership under the new charter will be held in October. A business meeting of the board of directors was held Friday night.

Herald 8-31-49

Double Voting Power, Roy Wilkins Urges

Memphis, Tenn. Commercial

WACO, Texas — "The issue of civil rights is in politics," Roy Wilkins, acting NAACP secretary, told delegates attending the annual meeting of the Texas State Conference of NAACP Branches here recently.

Tri. 9-23-49

"If we are to win the fight for civil rights we must use our political strength," Mr. Wilkins said in his prepared address. "Our NAACP branches in Texas and elsewhere must double the registration of Negroes. We must see to the payment of poll taxes where that is still a requirement. We must hold schools for voters, discuss the issues and men and see that the ballots are cast."

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, he said, "is not at war with the South as such. Our Association is at war with an idea: the idea that black people, just because they happen not to be white, are inferior, are not entitled to equality with other people, and that white people, just because they are white, are superior and ordained by the Creator to be supreme rulers over other people. This is an extremely ridiculous idea and is growing more ridiculous year by year."

The NAACP official recalled the Association's 40-year fight against lynching and mob violence, disfranchisement, and segregation and discrimination in education and housing.

Negroes Congratulate Senators For Blocking Voter Qualifying Law

MOBILE, Ala., Sept. 10—(AP)—The Negro Voters and Veterans Association Saturday congratulated four senators whose filibuster blocked passage of a voter qualification law aimed at mass Negro voting.

J. J. Thomas, president of the organization, said its board of directors took the step at a meeting held a few hours after the Alabama Legislature adjourned.

Failure of the Legislature to enact the proposed measure left on the books a much more liberal one. It requires citizens seeking registration as voters must be able to read and write, or own property assessed at $300.

Thomas said these qualifications were adequate.

The senators whose talkathon blocked passage of a substitute for the Boswell amendment, which has been declared unconstitutional by the U. S. Supreme Court, were:

Joseph N. Langan, of Mobile; Broughton Lamberth, of Tallapoosa; Tom Blake Howle, of Calhoun, and Rankin Fite, of Marion counties.

Thomas urged Alabama Negroes not to rush in large numbers to register as voters until they have prepared themselves for the ballot.

"We're going ahead with our program of instruction on the state and federal constitutions and we will continue to extend our program throughout the state to prepare for an orderly qualifying of members of our race for the ballot," Thomas said.

The Voters and Veterans Association raised funds for the successful court fight on the Boswell amendment. Thomas said the organization's membership is increasing at Birmingham, Montgomery and Tuskegee.

Largest Race Vote In 50 Years Turns Tide; 1,600 Polled

MOBILE, Ala.—A Negro city vote of 1,600 which forced a runoff for two of the three Mobile city commission posts in last week's balloting, may be a deciding factor in the final election to be held next Monday.

Two of the present officeholders, Mayor Ernest T. Megginson and City Commissioner Charles T. Baumhauer, sought re-election on Monday, Sept. 12. Competing in the third race were five new candidates because the incumbent, Commissioner Robin C. Herndon, did not seek to be returned to office.

The Negro vote, said to be the largest here in the past fifty years, turned the tide that resulted in runoff races for two of the commission offices.

With a total of 13,409 city voters going to the polls, establishing a new Mobile record, Baumhauer was returned to the commission for post number one with a clear majority of 213 votes over his five opponents.

However, Megginson did not fare as well and must face County Commissioner Charles F. Hackmeyer for city commission post number two Monday. For the third post Attorney Paul W. Brunson will vie with County Cimmissioner Joseph R. Mitternight.

Rumors persist that one of the candidates in the runoff election scheduled for Monday has resorted to the time-worn "race issue" bugaboo. Negro leaders in the community declared that he, like practically all of the other of the fourteen candidates in the first race, campaigned for the colored vote. They believe that his reported skullduggery may be due to the small vote he received in the Seventh Ward, which is predominantly colored.

Many colored voters who had contended the Negro people want no special privileges but charged that the incumbents had solely neglected the needs of the group, gave an almost two-to-one vote against the two members of the city commission seeking re-election.

The Seventh Ward barometer showed that Baumhauer received only 295 votes to his five opponents' 527 and Megginson polled 287 to the 538 ballots cast for the two candidates who opposed him.

Negro voters generally shunned ward heelers who were suspected of trying to buy votes and registered their ballot preferences in accordance with their conviction.

The vote revealed that a vast majority of the colored electors supported candidates endorsed by the Non-Partisan Voters League and bolters of the Voters and Veterans Association healed by the Rev. E. L. McCann and Miss Annie B. McGrue. The Rev. Mr. McCann war former second vice president and Miss McGrue executive secretary of the organization which successfully sponsored the Mobile Boswell amendment case.

The Rev. Mr. McCann said they and their followers "looked with suspician" on what seemed to be an effort in the Voters and Veterans Association to compel the Negro people vote for candidates "who did not represent the best interests" of the colored group.

The Non-Partisan League and the McCann-McGrue faction of the Voters and Veterans organization list Negro policemen, additional playgrounds, a sanitary sewerage system in Negro residential areas where not now provided, removal of the city dump from border of Negro neighborhoods and better streets, among the improvements wanted by the colored people.

Negro Leader Predicts Mass Registration Drive By His Race

BY REX THOMAS

MONTGOMERY, Ala., Sept 24—(AP)—A Negro leader predicted Saturday that thousands of members of his race throughout Alabama will try to vote in next year's Democratic primaries.

And a white supremacy spokesman, disappointed at the Legislature's failure to pass a substitute for the outlawed Boswell amendment, replied, "I am not surprised."

E. D. Nixon, president of the Alabama branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, says he is "almost sure" the N. A. A. C. P. will sponsor a statewide campaign aimed at mass Negro registration this Winter and next Spring.

* * *

THE FIRST DEMOCRATIC primary will be in May and the runoff the next month.

Nixon said his organization hasn't taken definite action toward a mass registration drive yet, but probably will at its annual conference in Tuskegee in November.

That brought this comment from State Democratic Chairman Gessner T. McCorvey, of Mobile:

"I am not surprised. For a number of years I have done everything it was possible for one man to do to prevent mass registration of those who were unable or unwilling to cast an intelligent ballot."

McCorvey, one of Alabama's 11 presidential electors who refused to vote for President Truman because of his civil rights stand, was a leader in the campaign for ratification of the Boswell amendment in 1946.

When it was declared unconstitutional by the U. S. Supreme Court, the Mobile attorney helped write a substitute proposal which died in a Senate filibuster on the last day of the 1949 session.

That left Alabama with the same voter requirements it had before the Boswell amendment was adopted, namely:

Anyone over 21 years of age can register to vote if he can read and write any article of the U. S. Constitution, or if he or his wife owns $300 worth of property. Idiots, insane persons and criminals, of course, are ineligible.

Even the staunchest white supremacy advocates admit that a big majority of Negroes can meet those qualifiactions now. There's still the matter of the poll tax, but persons over 45 and veterans of both world wars are exempt from that.

* * *

McCORVEY, DISCUSSING the N. A. A. C. P. president's statement, said Alabama is in "serious" danger of losing the "intelligent electorate" with which it "has been blessed," and added:

"It is not improbably that those who have been fighting us will finally wake up to the seriousness of the situation now developing."

The N. A. A. C. P. isn't the only organization advocating mass registrations, either. A Negro Voters and Veterans Association in Mobile has already started its campaign.

It was the Mobile association that started the successful court suit against the Boswell amendment, and since that time it claims to have registered more than 2,000 Negroes in Mobile County alone.

The movement has spread to other cities, too, and a similar campaign by the N. A. A. C. P. will give double impetus to the mass registration drive.

All of which gives added importance to the white supremacy question as a probable issue in next year's campaign.

The contest for seats on the State Democratic Executive Committee already promises to be fought out along the line, and any large-scale Negro registration could easily cause it to spread to other races.

Take the gubernatorial campaign, for example:

Although it usually develops into a test of personalities, the racial issue has already been injected into the 1950 race, and an attempt at mass Negro voting would certainly intensify that.

'Uncle Tom' Charges Irk 2 Fighting Ala. Politicians

MOBILE, Ala.—The ugly political issue of the Boswell Amendment to thwart colored citizens from voting has boiled down to a fight between two warring factions in the municipal election—the local NAACP, and the local association of Voters and Veterans League. Heading the local NAACP is its executive secretary, John LeFlore. Spearheading the movement of the Voters and Veterans League is a team of fighters in local politics—J. J. Thomas and Alex Herman, veteran colored politicians.

Last week a newspaper article charged Mobile politics and "Uncle Toms" with fearing the power of the local vote in the municipal election.

Thursday last was a gay day for Jeannette, sister of the late Amendment, has refuted the state-ment that he has accepted a bribe of several thousand dollars to help get the colored vote for the candidates for the Sept. 12 election.

Thomas asserted:

"For 25 years I have slaved for my race. I have been shot at over 20 times by angry white enemies.

I've been hit by bullets seven times. The last time I was shot at, the stray bullet hit a man standing six inches from me. He was killed. If this be 'uncle-toming" make the most of it."

Herman Speaks Out

Alex Herman, just back from Elks' Convention in Los Angeles, fired back;

"We are not trying to split the vote, we are trying our best to unite our people so that they can appear at the polls and prove to the white man that we want, and intend to get our rights as American citizens.

"When we were trying to get our people to register, Snell of the local board of registrars, did all that he could to keep us from voting. Where were the cheap politicians then?

"Now they want to promise you the moon on a platter if you will just elect them to the fat job of a member on the Board of City Commissions. We will not endorse such candidates," he said.

Over 200 veterans and voters attended the meeting of the Voters and Veterans League.

Masses Of Alabama Negroes To Seek Vote, Leader Predicts

Advertiser June 9-18-49

By REX THOMAS
Associated Press Writer

A Negro leader predicted yesterday that thousands of members of his race throughout Alabama will try to vote in next year's Democratic primaries.

And a white supremacy spokesman, disappointed at the legislature's failure to pass a substitute for the outlawed Boswell amendment, replied, "I am not surprised."

E. D. Nixon, president of the Alabama Branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, says he is "almost sure" the NAACP will sponsor a statewide campaign aimed at mass Negro registration this winter and next spring.

The first Democratic primary will be in May and the runoff the next month.

Not Surprised

Nixon said his organization hasn't taken definite action toward a mass registration drive yet, but probably will at its annual conference in Tuskegee in November.

That brought this comment from State Democratic Chairman Gessner T. McCorvey of Mobile:

"I am not surprised. For a number of years I have done everything it was possible for one man to do to prevent mass registration of those who were unable or unwilling to cast an intelligent ballot."

McCorvey, one of Alabama's 11 presidential electors who refused to vote for President Truman because of his civil rights stand, was a leader in the campaign for ratification of the Boswell amendment in 1946.

When it was declared unconstitutional by the U. S. Supreme Court, the Mobile attorney helped write a substitute proposal which died in a Senate filibuster on the last day of the 1949 session.

That left Alabama with the same voter requirements it had before the Boswell amendment was adopted, namely:

Idots Ineligible

Anyone over 21 years of age can register to vote if he can read and write any article of the U. S. Constitution, or if he or his wife owns $300 worth of property. Idiots, insane persons and criminals, of course, are ineligible.

Even the staunchest white supremacy advocates admit that a majority of Negroes can meet those qualifications now. There's still the matter of the poll tax, but persons over 45 and veterans of both world wars are exempt from that.

McCorvey, discussing the NAACP president's statement, said Alabama is in "serious" danger of losing the "intelligent electorate" with which it "has been blessed," and added:

"It is not improbable that those who have been fighting us will finally wake up to the seriousness of the situation now developing."

The NAACP isn't the only organization advocating mass registrations, either. A Negro Voters and Veterans Association in Mobile has already started its campaign.

Registers 2,000

It was the Mobile association that started the successful court suit against the Boswell amendment, and since that time it claims to have registered more than 2,000 Negroes in Mobile County alone.

The movement has spread to other cities, too, and a similar campaign by the NAACP will give double impetus to the mass registration drive.

All of which gives added importance to the white supremacy question as a probable issue in next year's campaign.

The contest for seats on the State Democratic Executive Committee already promises to be fought out along the line, and any large-scale Negro registration could easily cause it to spread to other races.

Take the gubernatorial campaign, for example:

Although it usually develops into a test of personalities, the racial issue has already been injected into the 1950 race, and an attempt at mass Negro voting would certainly intensify that.

Bless This Filibuster!

Ala. Senators Save Negroes' Right to Vote

Courier Sat. 9-17-49

MONTGOMERY, Ala.—A twenty-three-hour filibuster carried on by six supporters of Gov. James E. Folsom, Friday night, blocked enactment by the State Senate of an amendment to a voter-qualification law for the State of Alabama.

The filibuster was a day and night battle against a Dixiecrat substitute bill for the Boswell Amendment, ruled unconstitutional by the U. S. Supreme Court, which would have deprived Negroes by the wholesale of the right to vote.

The substitute bill had, weeks earlier, been passed by the lower house, 77-6, and would have gotten through the Senate with a huge majority if the filibuster had failed.

Taking part in the talkathon with the blessings of Governor Folsom were Senators Tom Blake, Calhoun; Rankin Fite, Marion County; Joe Langwn, Mobile County; Broughton Lambreth, Tallaloosa County; G. B. Harvey, Blount County, and Fuller Kimbrell, Fayette County.

LEADERS HAIL VICTORY

In Mobile, J. J. Thomas, president of the Negro Voters and Veterans League, wired congratulations to the successful Senators as did Dr. P. S. Moton and other leaders.

The new voter qualification law would have required prospective voters to show that they are of "good moral character" and "understand and embrace" the obligations of good citizenship. The catch in this, of course, was that judges of qualification and good moral character would have been solely the county boards of registrars who could have disqualified anyone whom they so desired.

In the State of Georgia a similar law is in effect and was used to purge the registrations lists earlier in the year.

All-Out Fight Is Anticipated On Voter Curb

Advertiser June 8-14-49

...t Is, If 67-Senator ... Fails To Receive ...oval Of Senate

...olsom's Pet Idea

Montgomery Ala.

Administration Leaders Ready For Showdown With Black Belt Group

By REX THOMAS
Associated Press Writer

(Other legislative stories on Page one, Section B.)

You can look for a noggin-bustin' over the new "Boswell Amendment" if the 67- senator bill fails to get through the State Senate.

That's what the administration boys are saying as showdown time draws near on Gov. James E. Folsom's pet reapportionment scheme. If they get beat on that they're determined to gang up on the voter qualification measure.

Folsom's floor leader, Senator Broughton Lamberth, Tallapoosa County, put it this way:

"I'll filibuster or anything else to kill the Boswell amendment if they beat us on the 67-senator bill."

Two other administration senators promised to help. Scrappy Rankin Fite, of Marion County and Fuller Kimbrell, LaFayette said they, too, would fight the new voter proposal as long as their lungs hold out.

Aimed At Black Belt

They're aiming their threats at the Boswell amendment substitute because of the Black-Belter who want it most are the same ones leading the fight against the senator-for-every-county proposal.

The voter qualification bill, already approved by the House was written as a replacement for the famed Boswell amendment outlawed by the U. S. Supreme Court.

It would require prospective voters to be of "good character;" to "embrace the duties and obligations of citizenship under the Constitution;" to fill out a written questionnaire, and to take a non-Communist oath.

Those provisions aren't quite as strong as the Boswell amendment, which required new voters to be able to "understand and explain" the federal Constitution and which was admittedly aimed at Negro voting.

High On Calendar

The new proposal, a constitutional amendment, is near the top of the Senate calendar and almost sure to come up for a vote this session unless opponents filibuster it.

But it's behind the 67-senator amendment and appropriation bills to run the state government and the schools, and won't come up until those are settled.

The reapportionment bill is the only major part of Folsom's platform still on the calendar. Once it's out of the way and the appropriation bills are passed, administration leaders can spend the rest of the session on the Boswell substitute if they want to.

Alabama's No-Vote Law Goes the Way of Others

The Courier-Journal
Louisville, Ky.

BACK in 1944 the Supreme Court ruled in a Texas case that any election, primary or general, that is recognized in law, must be open to everybody. This sent many white Southerners, still determined to deny the Negro his constitutional right to vote, into a flurry of hopeful activity. Constitutions were amended, primary laws revised, all with the advertised intent of keeping the Negro in his voteless place, regardless of right, reason, or federal law.

One by one, these wilful attempts to sabotage Constitutional guarantees have fallen before the irrefutable decisions of the nation's highest tribunal. Georgia learned in 1946 that the Negro did indeed have the right to vote in its so-called "white primary." Mississippi, in 1947, discovered that Negroes also had a clear right to serve on juries, "or indictments and verdicts returned against them . . . cannot stand." And South Carolina, after elaborate and costly legislative maneuvers to support its claim that a primary election could be a private gentlemen's-club arrangement from which anybody (meaning Negroes, of course) might be excluded, found in 1948 that the Supreme Court could only outlaw its obviously evasive scheme. Wed. 3-30-49

There have been other highly educational decisions coming down from the Court, but none more urgently needed than the current ruling that the Alabama constitutional amendment requiring Negroes to pass a so-called "white supremacy" intelligence test in order to vote was null and void. The bald purpose of the amendment admittedly was but another design to keep the Negro voteless, and the Supreme Court threw it out by an eight-to-one decision.

The same fate, of course, awaits Georgia's imitation of the Alabama amendment, a law rammed hastily through the legislature by Governor HERMAN TALMADGE, and all other wistful strategems to deny the Negro the basic rights of citizenship. Some Southerners are loath to admit it, and they persist in in the tactics of delay, but public opinion and the Supreme Court are speeding the day when the principle of equal freedoms and equal rights will be at least as real in the South as in other sections of the country. The wonder is that the process should take such time, even with the most obdurate Southerner, when the lesson has been expounded so clearly and so often.

The Right To Vote

To the Editor:

In The News of Jan. 29, Gessner McCorvey is reported to have said: "Registration of a vast horde totally unfit to cast an intelligent ballot faces Alabama unless our registration laws are amended."

It is not for Mr. McCorvey nor any other politician to say who is fit or not fit to cast an intelligent ballot. There are all degrees of intelligence among the people of Alabama, just as there is in all other states, and no one person is qualified to say what degree of intelligence makes a person fit to cast a ballot. Mon. 2-7-49

In the opinion of the writer, every law-abiding citizen should have the right to vote without any restrictions on account of class, creed or color. We all have a stake in the country. We all have rights to be safeguarded. And the ballot is the only means by which we can protect our rights.

Birmingham Ala.

Mr. McCorvey belongs to the clique of South Alabama politicians who for 40 years have thwarted all efforts to revise the State Constitution as required by law, thus flouting the law in order to keep the lawmaking power in the hands of the ruling class of South Alabama.

Being a party to this nefarious evasion of the constitutional requirement for revision of the constitution ill fits him to set himself up as a judge of who is fit to vote.

The political thinking of these Bourbon-minded politicians is colored by ante bellum ideas that are out of harmony with the progressive tendency of the times.

Before I came to make my home in Alabama 42 years ago I had lived and voted in states where the only qualification required for voting is that the voter be duly registered. In those states the fact that a person is a citizen entitles him to the right to vote, and I dare assert that those states (Michigan and Illinois) with no restrictions on the ballot are as well governed as is Alabama.

In view of the fact that our national government is striving to impose democracy with freedom of the ballot on people of distant lands who have never had either, even thrusting the ballot into the hands of illiterate Japanese women who didn't want it, it seems to me rather anomalous that here, in free America, anybody should wish to restrict the right of the people to vote.

S. KLEINDIENST.

Women Voters Hit Change In Vote Laws

The Constitution
Atlanta, Ga.

The Georgia League of Women Voters charged yesterday that legislation proposed by Gov. Talmadge to revise Georgia election laws would bring about "a controllable elective process." Sat.

Miss Johnnie Hilbun, of Augusta, State President, issued the following statement on the proposed legislation: 1-15-49

"For more than a quarter of a century the League of Women Voters in Georgia has worked to perfect the machinery through which the citizens of this state exercise their democratic right of self-government. During these years we have seen many such safeguards enacted into law.

"It is with deep concern and alarm that we now witness the introduction of legislation into the Georgia Legislature which would in effect largely wipe out these gains and bring about a controllable elective process.

"We urge the public and our members throughout the State to be on the alert to understand fully the implications of legislation affecting Georgia's election machinery now pending in the Georgia Legislature." 1-15-49

Mobile Negro Vote Idea May Expand

Birmingham News

MOBILE, Ala., Feb. 11 —(AP)— The Mobile County plan for qualifying Negroes for voting will be extended to Alabama's other 66 counties next month, a Negro leader said today.

J. J. Thomas, president of the Negro Voters and Veterans Association here, said units in the other counties would begin classes on the U. S. Constitution next month. Tue 2-11-49

"As soon as we believe they are ready for it, we will begin registering them," he said.

* * *

MORE THAN 1,000 Mobile County Negroes were registered for voting in the 24-day period after Alabama's voter qualification law, the Boswell amendment, was ruled unconstitutional by a three-judge Federal court Jan. 7.

Birmingham Ala.

The amendment required prospective registrants for voting to be able to "understand and explain" the U. S. Constitution. The ruling has been appealed to the U. S. Supreme Court.

The Voters and Veterans Association, which now claims a membership of 5,000 in Mobile County, held classes on the constitution more than a year.

"Our objective is to develop a dependable high-type group of voters who understand their duties as citizens," Thomas said. "We're not going to stand for any racketeering or vote buying."

Negroes Set Statewide Plan For Registration

Montgomery Advertiser

MOBILE, ALA., Feb. 10—(AP)—A statewide program for qualifying Negroes for voting will be started next month on the basis of a Mobile plan, a Negro leader said today.

Since Alabama's voter qualification law, the Boswell Amendment, was ruled unconstitutional Jan. 7, more than 1,000 Mobile County Negroes have been registered for voting.

The Negro Voters and Veterans Association, which sponsored the court test and registration, prepared Negroes for registration by holding classes on the U. S. Constitution more than a year.

J. J. Thomas, president of the association, said units in many of the other 66 counties would start holding such classes about March 1.

"As soon as we believe they are ready for it, we will begin registering them," he said.

Supreme Court Bars Alabama Vote Procedure

New York Herald Tribune

Requirement to 'Explain' Constitution at Polls Is Found Aimed at Negroes

New York, New York

WASHINGTON, March 28 (AP).—The Supreme Court knocked down today an amendment to the Alabama Constitution found to be aimed at keeping Negroes from voting.

The amendment, adopted in 1846, required applicants for registration as voters to be able to "understand and explain" the United States Constitution." The explanation had to be satisfactory to the Board of Registrars."

A special three-judge District Court ruled Jan. 7 that the intent of the amendment, and its effect in practice, was aimed at "discriminating against applicants for the franchise on the basis of race."

The Supreme Court upheld this ruling in a brief, unsigned opinion. It said only that "the judgment is affirmed." Tue. 3-29-49

Associate Justice Stanley F. Reed dissented on a point of procedure, but not from the decision itself. Justice Reed noted that since the constitutional provision of a state was involved he felt the court should have heard arguments on its legality. The court acted without hearing argument.

The court has been asked by the Board of Election Registrars of Mobile County to review and reverse the District Court finding. The board's appeal was filed by the State Attorney General, A. A. Carmichael.

Negroes Start Voter Drive

Montgomery Ala.

MOBILE, ALA., March 29—A move to increase registration of Negroes for voting on a statewide basis will be launched here Sunday. Montgomery Advertiser

Following up on a U.S. Supreme Court decision holding Alabama's Boswell Amendment invalid, a Negro leader today called a mass meeting of qualified Negro voters here for Sunday to discuss the matter. Wed. 3-30-49

J. J. Thomas, president of the Negro Voters and Veterans Association which sopnsored the court test, said the meeting was called to extend a registration program started here.

Since a three-judge federal court ruled out the Boswell Amendment here last Jan. 7, approximately 1,200 Negroes have been registered for voting in Mobile County. There has been little change in other counties.

Thomas said his organization was interested in registering "intelligent" voters and that the group planned to conduct classes to train Negroes in citizenship and the U.S. Constitution.

Screaming Women Boost Georgia Vote Bill

Montgomery Advertiser

ATLANTA, Feb. 2—(AP)—Two women recently were screaming against Talmadge and Ku Kluxers" today virtually assured passage of Georgia's proposed re-registration bill in the legislature.

An anti-Talmadge senator snarled afterwards, "This is all they need to nail it down."

The bill, aimed at preventing bloc voting by Negroes, would require Georgia's 1,200,000 voters to re-qualify every four years. Secretary of State Ben Fortson has estimated action would cut the list to 650,000.

By their action the women, who identified themselves as Protestant Party members (Wallace) broke up a public hearing on the bill before the State of the Republic Committee.

Later, the committee angrily voted to recommend passage of the measure, supported by the administration of Gov. Herman Talmadge.

The shouts of the women almost overshadowed a moving plea by Negro leaders, supported by the League of Women Voters, for the committee to kill the bill.

So eloquent were the Negroes' plea that many of the white women in the audience were in

tears. Thur - 1-5-49

Committee Chairman Howard T. Overby said afterwards, "It is my opinion this whole thing was pre-arranged."

Both women began shouting and arm waving simultaneously as William Stafford, secretary of the Progressive Party, started speaking.

One of the women, who identified herself as Leah Young, was asked by reporters if she belonged to the Communist Party. She answered, "This is a free country, ain't it?" She paused to answer the question quietly, then turned her back on reporters and began screaming again.

The other woman, who called herself Annie Mae Leathers, paused in the midst of her yelling when asked the same question. She glanced at reporters briefly, turned her back and took up the cry "My heart is bleeding for the Ku Klux."

An Old Question Renewed

Gessner T. McCorvey, chairman of the State Democratic Executive Committee, has placed before its members some of his ideas concerning qualifications for voters in Alabama in view of the recent court decision invalidating the Boswell Amendment. While his committee is by no means the final authority on the subject, the Legislature and the voters themselves taking precedence, his ideas carry weight, and deserve consideration. Tues 2-1-49

Mr. McCorvey points out that the invalidation of the Boswell amendment leaves no restrictions on Alabama voter qualification, other than those relating to age, residence, citizenship and criminal record, except that the applicant must be able to read and write or, as an alternative, own $300 worth of taxable property. These latter two restrictions are not enough, Mr. McCorvey contends, to protect the state against a flood of voters "totally unfitted to cast an intelligent ballot."

The questions Mr. McCorvey raises have been before the states in some form or other since the nation's beginning. In the early years, the states imposed high property qualifications. For the most part these requirements have been eliminated under the attack that they created an aristocracy of wealth. Some states now, Minnesota for example, prohibit a property requirement.

Birmingham Ala.

In place of property, certain literacy requirements have been widely substituted. These have persisted, and are now applied in most states. Most states today require, as a minimum, that a person be able to read and write before qualifying as a voter. The practice is upheld on the grounds that intelligent action by a democracy demands at least that voters have first-hand access to sources of information.

The trouble with literacy tests, however, has not been with their theory but with their actual administration. It has been difficult to devise literacy tests that could be fairly and impartially applied. The basic fault of the Boswell amendment was in its failure to protect would-be voters against arbitrary and discriminatory action by registrars.

The next session of the Legislature no doubt will consider another effort at a literacy test for Alabama voters. The lawmakers would do well to remember that the problem lies largely in protecting such a test against unfair and prejudicial application. Let them surround whatever test they authorize with safeguards to assure justice for all.

Tues 2-1-49

Other states have devised such safeguards. New York, for example, provides a series of questions designed for the fifth-grade level of information. The questions are drawn up by educators, the answers are written, and are graded impartially. There is little opportunity for such arbitrary decisions as marked the enforcement of the Boswell amendment in some counties of Alabama.

This paper stands with Mr. McCorvey in thinking further legislation on voter qualifications is necessary. But let the legislation be in such form that it can be honestly and justly applied to all persons regardless of race or color. Only such legislation can stand the tests of constitutionality and of conscience.

Voters League Pushing Nine-Point Program

Courier Sat. 8-6-49

MOBILE, Ala.—Fifteen hundred Negro votes may decide the Mobile City Commission race on Sept. 12—an election in which the colored people will have important stakes—if they will not be duped into voting against their best interests.

The three top leaders of the Non-Partisan Voters League here, Maj. E. Madison, W. L. Bolden and Dr. E. B. Goode, told The Courier Saturday that they and their associates would "go down the line" for candidates who have pledged the Negro people rightful participation in city government and their share of community improvements.

The three leaders said that the league, hoping to forestall the calamity of Negro voters being misled, had launched an educational campaign to acquaint the Mobile colored electorate with the records and pledges of the fourteen candidates for the three positions on the city commission.

At the same time the group announced a nine-point program as a yardstick for Negroes to prudently decide which candidates they should support and vote for in the September election.

In a statement to the public, the Non-Partisan League admonished Negro voters of the city to use their ballots "wisely and intelligently" in the city commission election next month that their votes may count for more than "a mess of pottage for two or three Negro political racketeers."

The organization has asked the Negro voters to support only those candidates who pledge to provide Negro neighborhoods with improve streets and an adequate number of playgrounds, to employ Negro policemen and to open better jobs in the city government for properly qualified Negroes, to operate the incinerators (for burning garbage) not now in use, to reduce disease hazards from the city dump that stretches for one mile along the border of Negro homes in the northern part of the city, to install public toilet facilities for colored men and women in the downtown shopping section as are available for whites to extend the city's sewer system to include Negro residential sections now without sanitary toilets, to improve the city bus service and to establish a new Negro fire company in the Negro area, to be manned by Negro personnel.

In addition to Madison, Bolden and Dr. Goode, the Non-Partisan Voters League governing committee includes: Nubie Hurb, Herbert Epting, Philip Tyus, Bennie L. Turner, David Mack, Frank Jones, Ernest Singleton, Conrad Deane, Stephen J. McCan, A. S. Crishon, Lionel Alexander, Perez Isom, A. B. Davis, Bennie Gordon, Richard Dockery, Vance E. Gray, Alfonso Jackson, Ivey W. Spencer, John F. Gray, Mack Coates, Nathaniel Days and Clarence H. Montgomery.

The women's division of the league lists Mrs. Effie M. Goode, Miss Ollie M. Ross and Mrs. Lucille S. Busby as its directors.

Negro Vote Potent In Mobile Election

Advertiser

MOBILE, ALA., Sept. 9—(AP)—Negro voters may have an important voice in electing the officers of a large Southern city for the second time in a week here Monday. Sat. 9-10-49

Mobile votes then on three City Commission posts after a sizzling campaign in which 14 candidates, including two incumbents, are taking part.

About 2,000 Negroes, a record number, are qualified electors. J. J. Thomas, president of the Negro Voters and Veterans Association, estimates most of them will cast their ballots.

Voting for the first time in Atlanta's Democratic primary this week, Negroes held the balance of power. Their support gave incumbent Mayor William B. Hartsfield a narrow victory over three opponents.

Thomas estimated that not more than 600 Negroes had been eligible to participate in any previous election.

Mayor Ernest Megginson and Charles Baumhauer, from the present City Commission, are seeking reelection.

Only 1,800 B'ham Negroes Registered

Pittsburgh Courier
Sat 4-9-49

BIRMINGHAM, Ala. — (ANP) — Several candidates for public offices in the May elections are pleading for the Negro vote, but only 1,800 are registered according to the city clerk's office. The city's total number registered has been estimated at 54,000.

Pittsburgh, Pa.

However, direct appeals for the Negro vote are being offered at an unprecedented rate in this big Dixie industrial center. Bennett T. Waites Jr., son of a clergyman and a young lawyer, has declared openly that if elected he will "represent all citizens of Birmingham, regardless of race, creed or color."

SEVERAL SEEK VOTES

His opponent, incumbent Commissioner President Green, is basing his plea on what he says has been improvements in schools, parks and playgrounds for Negroes.

Marston Muir, former city detective and candidate for an associate commission post, has taken an indirect slap at Public Safety Commissioner Conner, who ordered the arrest of Senator Glenn Taylor last May when the Progressive party vice presidential candidate attempted to participate in a non-segregated panel of the Southern Negro Youth Congress in a Negro church.

Vote Barrier Ban Fought By Alabama

Chicago Defender

WASHINGTON, D. C. — The Boswell Amendment of Alabama, which permits only those persons to register who can "understand and explain" the federal Constitution is likely to fall under the eye of the United States Supreme Court, it was revealed this week.

The high court has been asked to rule on the Constitutionality of the law which is primarily aimed to prevent Alabama Negro citizens from voting.

The appeal was made from a special three-judge federal court in the southern district of Alabama and was filed with the Supreme Court by the Board of Election Registrars of Mobile County, Ala.

Jan-2-20-47

Negro Plaintiffs Win

The three-judge federal court ruled the amendment unconstitutional "both in its object and the manner of its administration" and granted the plaintiffs, 10 Negro citizens of the country, an injunction against administration of the law.

However, only the Mobile county board was enjoined from enforcing the registration ruling, while the board of the state's other 66 counties are still required to use the Boswell Amendment to determine qualifications of those who apply for registration as voters, according to A. A. Carmichael, state attorney general, in the jurisdictional statement filed with the Supreme Court

No other state has a law similar to the Boswell amendment. Should the Supreme Court rule that it is constitutional, most of the other southern states are expected to pattern their registration laws upon it.

Mobile Negroes Register for Next Election

Norfolk
New York Times

MOBILE, Ala. — A civic right to vote committee of the N.A.A.C.P. here which played the major role in the registration of 1,035 Negroes during the three weeks following the federal court decision against the Boswell Amendment is stepping up their fight for a fuller break through on this front.

This 28-man N.A.A.C.P. committee headed by two young veterans, Major E. Madison and Alfonzo Jackson, accounted for 825 of the 1,035 registrants in a campaign that was organized almost like a military operation. However, even this organizational work could not have succeeded but for the tremendous upsurge of the people. Throughout the registration period, Jan. 7 to Feb. 1, a line of from 25 to 100 Negroes was in place before the board of registrars.

There is a history to this militant fight of Negroes in Mobile for the right to vote. In January, 1946, after the first victory over the white primary a similar upsurge of the people took place. Mr. J. L. LeSlore, a state vice president of the N.A.A.C.P. and a member of the present committee, estimates that as many Negroes swamped the board of registrars as showed up during the present drive, however only a small number were registered

Mr. Milton Snell, chairman of the Mobile registrars then and now, personally handled all the Negro applicants. Through a slowdown process he registered only 14 a day. Mr. LeFlore and other militant Negro leaders forced him to increase to 21 a day. Angered, the chairman had anti-Hatch Act charges brought against Mr. LeSlore who is a postal employee, and police started using terror against the Negro people. Still the lines continued. And the Negro people remembered.

Jan 2-27-49

MOBILE'S NAACP VOTE REGISTRATION COMMITTEE. Seated front row, left to right: Alfonzo Jackson, Perez J. Isom, Maj. E. Madison, the Rev. A. C. L. Arbour, Alfred L. Kenner, Clinton J. Davis and N. L. Adams. Second row standing, left to right: Ivan W. Spencer, Frances Carey Wright, Jesse O. Jones, traveling supervisor of the Atlanta Life Insurance Company; Johnnye G. Clark, Elvira Flemings, A. S. Crishon, Velma Anita Davis and J. L. LeFlore. Third row standing, left to right: Vel Smith Jr., S. Rushing and Mack Coates.

Vote Registrars Work Overtime In Mobile

Adviser

MOBILE, ALA., Aug. 15—(AP) —The heaviest voter registration turnout in several years kept the Mobile County Board of Registrars working overtime today.

Approximately 250 persons were registered during the day. About 100 of these were Negroes.

The Sept. 12 municipal election with three hotly-contested city commissioner races was credited with bringing out the large crowd.

Chic. 8-16-49

On the first registration day this month, Aug. 11, the board registered 20[illegible] persons. Eighty-six of this number were Negroes.

Mobile Voters Seek Jobs In City Government As Election Nears

Chicago Defender Sat. Aug. 6-1949

MOBILE, Ala. — Fifteen hundred Negro votes may decide the Mobile City Commission race on September 12—an election in which the colored people will have important stakes if they will not be swayed into voting against their best interests.

The three top leaders of the Non-Partisan Voters League here, Major E. Madison, W. L. Bolden and Dr. E. B. Goode, told the Defender Saturday that they and their associates would "go down the line" for candidates who have pledged the Negro people rightful participation in city government and their share of community improvements.

The three leaders said the League, hoping to forestall the calamity of Negro voters being misled, had launched an educational campaign to acquaint the electorate with records and pledges of the 14 candidates for the three positions on the city commission.

9-Point Program

At the same time, the group announced a nine-point program as a yardstick for Negroes to decide which candidates they should support in the September election.

Among the 14 candidates for the three positions are two of the three incumbents.

The Non-Partisan Voters League is headed by Madison, a World War II veteran, who is chairman of the Mobile NAACP voter registration committee which to date has put more than 950 persons on the qualified electors' list since last October.

Records of the committee show that about 850 of the number were qualified as voters after the Boswell disfranchisement amendment was outlawed by a federal court last January 7.

Bolden is co-chairman of the group and Dr. Goode heads its committeemen.

Proposals Listed

In a statement to the public, the Non-Partisan League admonished Negro voters of the city to use their ballots "wisely and intelligently."

The organization has asked the Negro voters to support only those candidates who pledge to provide Negro neighborhoods with improved streets and an adequate number of playgrounds, to employ Negro policemen and to open better jobs in the city government for properly qualified Negroes, to operate the incinerators (for burning garbage) not now in use to reduce disease hazards from the city dump that stretches for one mile along the border of Negro homes in the northern part of the city, to install public toilet facilities for colored men and women in the downtown shopping section as are available for whites, to extend the city's sewer system to include Negro residential sections now without sanitary toilets, to improve the city bus service and to establish a new Negro fire company in the Negro area, to be manned by Negro personnel.

Ask Slum Clearance

Spokesmen for the body said the League is also working toward having another low-rent slum clearance project considered for Negroes in Mobile. They pointed out that numerous hovels in many Negro neighborhoods are breeding places for disease, crime and vice.

Madison said the League's "Fair-Deal-for-Negroes" campaign calls for the election of progressive and fair-minded men to the city commission who are willing to give us more than we have received in the past."

In addition to Madison, Bolden and Dr. Goode, the Non-Partisan Voters League governing committee includes: Nubie Hurb, Herbert Epting, Philip Tyus, Bennie L. Turner, David Mack, Frank Jones, Ernest Singleton, Conrad Deane, Stephen J. McCan, A. S. Crishon, Lionel Alexander, Perez Isom, A. B. Davis, Bennie Gordon, Richard Dockery, Vance E. Gray, Alfonso Jackson, Ivey W. Spencer, John E. Gray, Mack Coates, Nathaniel Days and Clarence H. Montgomery.

The women's division of the League lists Mrs. Effie M. Goode, Miss Ollie M. Ross and Mrs. Lucille S. Busby as its directors.

2 Negroes Fined In Polls Fight

Courier

MOBILE, ALA., Oct. 10—(AP)—A fight at the polls during the recent city commission election resulted today in levying of $250 fines against the two Negro participants.

Inferior Court Judge Tisdale J. Touart imposed the fines against Major E. Madison and Howard Jenkins.

Jenkins said Madison tried to shove a slip of paper into his hands telling him how to vote. He said they got into an argument and started fighting.

Madison said Jenkins assaulted him and that the only blows struck were by Jenkins.

The city commission elections saw Mobile Negroes voting in large numbers for the first time.

Negro Voting Watched—Political leaders today are studying two city elections—in Atlanta and Mobile—with the idea of proving or disproving that Negroes cast a bloc vote.

Reports from Mobile indicate the Negroes split their ballots rather evenly.

In Atlanta, William B. Hartsfield's re-election as Mayor came as the result of a hairbreadth majority. Ballot tabulation in precincts of predominantly Negro residents were in his favor.

At Nashville, where Negroes have voted in great numbers for many years, political observers agree that the color line has never been drawn politically.

Memphis Squares Off—One of the South's famous old political machines seems destined for a battle to the death in its own back yard. Memphis informants report that Boss E. H. Crump, while defeated in the State politica arena last Summer, remains a local power. Staunch anti-Crump opposition developed openly in Memphis this week, however, with the formation of "The People's Political Movement." Expressed objective of the new organization: Defeat of "the one-man machine" in Shelby County.

EDICT HITS GEORGIA VOTERS; VOTES SWAY FLORIDA TOWN.

Mobile, Ala.-A Negro vote of 1,600 which forced a runoff for two of the three Mobile city commission posts in last week's balloting, may be a deciding factor in the final election to be held next Monday.

Two of the present office holders, Mayor Ernest T. Megginson and City Commissioner Charles T. Baumhauer, sought re-election on Monday, September 12. Competing in the third race were five new candidates because the incumbent, Commissioner Robin C. Herndon, did not seek to be returned to office.

The Negro vote, said to be the largest here in the past 50 years turned the tide that resulted in runoff races for two of the commission offices. With a total of 13,409 city voters going to the polls, establishing a new Mobile record, Baumhauer was returned to the Commission for post No. 1 with a clear majority of 213 votes over his fice opponents.

However, Megginson did not fare as well and must face County Commissioner Charles F. Hackmeyer for city commission post No. 2 Monday. For the third post Atty. Paul W. Brunson will vie with County Commissioner Joseph R. Mitternight.

The vote revealed that a vast majority of the colored electors supported candidates endorsed by the Non-partisan Voters and Veterans Association headed by Rev. E.L. McCann and Miss Annie B. McGrue.

The Non-Partisan League and the McCann-McGrue factiob of the Voters and Veterans organization list Negro policemen, additional playgrounds, a sanitary sewerage system in Negro residential areas where not now provided, removal of the city dump from border of Negro neighborhoods, and better Negro neighborhoods, and better streets, among the improvements wanted by the colored people.

Defender
Sat. 9-24-49
Chicago, Ill.

34e 1949

Alabama

Alabama Vote Bill Defeated

Filibuster Sounds Death Of Measure As Senate Adjourns

BIRMINGHAM, Ala.—The effort to restrict Negro voting in Alabama took a hard setback in the inability of the State Senate to pass a bill designed to substitute the Boswell Amendment before adjourning midnight Friday.

Strenuous attempt to enact the bill, backed by the Senate majority, came to naught at the feet of a 23-hour filibuster, from which Senators emerged groggy, but still talking as the session ended. Four Senators bore the larger part of the filibuster load with stalling tactics, while the bill's supporters sought vainly to obtain a vote on the measure.

The Boswell Amendment, admittedly aimed to restrict Negro voting, was declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court.

Backers of the new bill denied it was aimed at trimming the Negro vote in Alabama. The bill's opponents, however, directly charged that was the bill's intent.

The substitute voter measure would have required prospective voters in Alabama to sign non-Communist affidavits, show they are of good character, and demonstrate they understand and embrace the duties and obligations of citizenship.

Colored Precincts Involved

MOBILE, Ala. — Political double-dealing and extensive vote selling were charged in Mobile's City Commission run-off election last week which returned Commissioner (then Mayor) Ernest M. Megginson to office in place No. 2 and put Joseph R. Mitternight on that body in vacant place No. 3.

Megginson relinquished the Mayoralty to Commissioner Charles H. Baumhauer Saturday. Baumnauer was re-elected to the commission on Sept. 12 without the necessity of a run off. He became Mayor under the rotating system of the commission.

Losing candidates last Monday were Charles F. Hackmeyer, a member of the county commission, who was defeated by Megginson, 7,764 to 5,365, and Paul W. Brunson, an attorney, who bowed to Joseph R. Mitternight, also a member of the county commission, by a vote of 4,707 to 8,425.

NAACP ACTIVE

For the first time in the recent history of Mobile, Negro political organizations, at the insistence of the NAACP, questioned candidates on their positions toward a nine-point "Fair-deal to Negroes" program drawn up by the organization.

Hackmeyer, Brunson and Mitternight had pledged colored voters that they would support the program, which listed Negro policemen, modern additional playgrounds, improved or paved streets in Negro neighborhoods, operation of incinerators or some other satisfactory method to do away with the obnoxious city dump, which stretches for a mile along the border of Negro homes, and improved city bus service, as some of the needs of the colored community.

Hackmeyer and Brunson frankly pledged themselves to the program in speaking engagements to Negroes, which reacted against them in a number of white wards.

VOTE-BUYING CHARGED

A powerful machine was said to have spent an estimated $10,000 in Ward Seven, where Negro voters predominate, to defeat Hackmeyer there 457 to 409. However, Brunson won in the ward, 543 to 311.

Many Negro voters, confused and misled by rumors of double-dealing in certain organizations supposedly supporting candidates pledged to the "Fair Deal" program, cast their ballots against Hackmeyer.

In other instances, there were reports of numerous Negro voters, including a sprinkling of school teachers, selling their votes.

Rigid Absentee Voting Law Effective In Alabama Today

A new law which seeks to do away with abuse of the absentee ballot goes into effect in Alabama today.

Passed by the Legislature last Summer, it was signed by Gov. James E. Folsom more than two months ago.

Absentee voters, except members of the armed forces, must vote in person at least five days prior to any election from now on.

Formerly they could send in ballots by registered mail.

Members of the armed forces can still vote by mail. A provision was written in by the Senate to allow it. However, they must also send along an affidavit by their commanding officer that he witnessed the voting.

Under the new law those who know they can't be around election day are permitted to fill out absentee ballots before the register in chancery not more than 20 nor less than five days before an election.

This applies in all general primary, municipal or special elections.

Another new feature is that ballots must be filled out in duplicate. One is sealed and sent in to the Secretary of State.

The other is kept by the register and turned over to election officials on the day of the election.

The register serves as absentee voting manager unless he is a candidate for office himself. In that event, the presiding circuit judge appoints someone to serve for him.

Formerly members of the armed forces could apply for and mail in absentee ballots up to 40 days before an election. Their ballot had to be postmarked at least five days before the election.

There is no specific time limit under the new law as long as ballots arrive by the time they are turned over to election officials and counted.

A number of legislators had a part in writing the new absentee voting law.

Those listed as authors are Reps. Flournoy Lovelace of Escambia County, Frank Head of Shelby, Carl Mooring and T. Herman Vann, of Madison.

Morring and Vann offered a bill to abolish absentee voting entirely. The measure which finally got through was a compromise agreed on by all interested lawmakers.

Registrars Here Warned Against Discrimination

Folsom Aid Declares 124 Out Of 130 Negroes Denied Vote

MONTGOMERY, Ala., Nov. 19—(AP) — Jefferson County registrars were warned by the governor's legal adviser Saturday against discrimination in registering Negro voters.

Ira B. Thompson, adviser to Gov James E. Folsom, pointed out the legal penalties for such action in a letter to J. G. Hosey, chairman of the Jefferson Board of Registrars

He said information received by the governor's office indicates the rejection rate of Negro applicants has been substantially higher than for whites during the past four months.

This information, he said, shows 1,207 white applicants were registered between July and October with only 10 rejections, while 130 Negro applicants were registered and 124 rejected.

* * *

"IT IS RATHER difficult to believe," he said, "such a vast discrepancy exists and it could have indications there was a conspiracy or a conspiracy existed by the board to reject such applicants."

Thompson, who is Crenshaw County's representative in the State Legislature, said the board is subject to these legal actions:

A civil suit for damages by the person or applicant so refused registration.

Criminal prosecution by the federal government for violation of statutes against a conspiracy to deprive a person or persons of their constitutional rights.

Or removal from office by the appointing board at any time, with or without cause.

Thompson noted that a civil suit brought against the Board of Registrars in Macon County some time ago was sustained by the courts.

The suit later was dismissed after the disclosure the Negro applicant had previously been registered but never notified of it.

Folsom Praises Vote Ban Defeat

MONTGOMERY, Ala.—On the eve of his departure for a vacation last week Gov. James E. Folsom said the most important achievement of the 1947-49 state legislature was the defeat of the new voter qualification disfranchisement measure.

The governor, whose liberal views on the race question are suspected of having played a part in the strong opposition he met from the Dixiecrat bloc in the legislature, lauded the six senators who filibustered the Boswell amendment substitute to death three weeks ago.

Conspiracy Is Hinted In Jefferson Denials Of Negro Registrants

GOVERNOR'S Legal Adviser Ira B. Thompson hinted yesterday that Jefferson (Birmingham) County registrars may have conspired to reject Negro applicants.

In a letter to J. G. Hosey, chairman of the Jefferson Board of Registrars, he warned of the legal penalties for discrimination against prospective voters.

The governor's office, he said has information showing 1,207 white applicants were rigstered between July and October with only 10 rejections while almost half of 254 Negro applicants were turned down.

"It is rather difficult to believe," he added, "that such a vast discrepancy exists and it would have indications that there was a conspiracy . . . to reject such applicants."

Thompson is a member of the State House of Representatives from Crenshaw County.

He pointed out if sufficient grounds for discrimination exist, the board is subject to these legal actions:

A civil damage suit by the person or applicant refused registration.

Criminal prosecution by the federal government under statutes against conspiracy to deprive a person or persons of their constitutional rights.

Or removal from office by the state appointing board at any time, with or without cause.

Registrars Start Work In Macon

The News Birmingham, Ala.

TUSKEGEE, Ala., Jan. 3—(AP)—Macon County's Board of Registrars went into session for the first time in eight months here today.

As the board went to work, a crowd of about 35 Negroes gathered in front of the courthouse, many of them ready to seek registration for the first time. Mon. 1-3-49

Negroes outnumber white people about four to one in the county.

Chairman W. H. Bentley said the board had some unfinished business from its last meeting to consider before it begins registering applicants. Birmingham, Ala.

Bentley said there is some doubt the board will actually get around to registering anyone before this afternoon. The News

Bentley said he didn't know whether the board will require applicants to take an educational test authorized under Alabama's controversial Boswell amendment. If so, he said, it will be applied equally to both races. Mon. 1-3-49

Macon County Board Of Registrars Ready To Function Shortly

The News Birmingham, Ala. Sun. 1-2-49

TUSKEGEE, Ala., Jan. 1 — (AP) — Voter registration machinery in Macon County, broken down for eight months, has been assured of a quick repair job.

Newly appointed Chairman W. H. Bentley said yesterday the Board of Registrars will start functioning again next week and "anyone who can qualify will be registered."

Macon County's population is 80 per cent Negro and members of that race have complained repeatedly that they are denied the right to vote. The News

"You'll not have any more trouble with this board," Bentley promised. "I'm going to meet with Mr. Rogers (J. J. Rogers), another registrar Monday and this board will function, I'll guarantee that."

State law fixes the first and third Mondays of each month as voter registration dates, but the Tuskegee board hasn't met since April, when Chairman Charles S. Parker resigned and left only two members to serve. Birmingham, Ala.

One of them, W. D. Tommie, of Notasulga, has been unable to attend meetings, he says, because of his aged mother's illness. Rogers has said he was willing to meet but "couldn't do it by myself." At least two members are necessary to transact business. Ala.

Tommie said yesterday, however, he plans to be on hand for Monday's session. Sun. 1-2-49

Voter registration has been a touchy subject in Macon County since Negro William P. Mitchell sued two former registrars for $5,000 damages in 1945. He charged he was denied the right to vote because of his race, but it later developed he had been registered and not notified of it, so the suit was dropped.

Macon Board Delays Action On Voters List

Registrars Claim 1948 Applications Block Operation At Present

By REX THOMAS

TUSKEGEE, ALA., Jan. 3.—(AP)—Legal machinery for registering voters, stalled for eight months, started up again here today but Negroes who lined up to get their names on the list went away disappointed. The board wound up its meeting without accepting any new applications, but did act on 21 left over from its last meeting on April 18 last year.

Members told a group of about 50 Negroes which gathered to seek registration to come back in two weeks and their applications would be received then. The next meeting was set for Jan. 17.

Seven Negroes Approved

Of the old applications, the board approved registration of seven Negroes and withheld action on six other Negro applicants.

Four white persons were registered and approval withheld in four other white cases.

A member explained that action was delayed on some of the applications because the papers were not filled out properly. In one instance there was no signature on the application, the board said.

When applications are received, however, the board promised to treat all alike, regardless of race. The registrars said every applicant will be required to meet the provisions of the Boswell Amendment, and "anyone who can qualify will be registered."

The Boswell Amendment says prospective voters must be able to "understand and explain" the U. S. Constitution to the satisfaction of the registrars. It is under attack before a three-judge federal court in Mobile, Ala.

Registrars Qualified

All three members of the board here said they are qualified to say whether applicants understand the Constitution. J. J. Rogers, of Tuskegee, pointed out that he is a graduate of Washington and Lee and of Oxford University in England and taught history in school for several years.

Board chairman, W. H. Bentley, of nearby Notasulga, an employe of the State Department of Education assigned to veterans-on-the-job training, said he has made a lifetime study of the Federal Constitution "and I think I know as much about it as the average person." The third member, W. L. Tommie, of Notasulga, is a pharmacist, presently inactive.

Negroes, who tried to register today, were disappointed but left the Macon County Courthouse quietly when Bentley told them there wasn't much chance to act during the day. Later, he said the board hoped to complete its unfinished business and take up "two or three" new applications.

A crowd of about 40 Negroes was waiting at the courthouse when the registrars went into session. If there were any white applicants, they did not make their presence known.

Only 20 per cent of Macon County's population is white and Negro leaders have complained repeatedly that members of their race were denied the right to vote solely because of their color. At one time prior to last January, no Board of Registrars existed in the county for 18 months.

Spokesmen for both races said residents were reluctant to serve on the board because of fear of lawsuits. Negro William P. Mitchell sued two former registrars for $5,000 in 1945 on the ground he was denied registration because of his race.

The suit was thrown out of court when it developed that Mitchell was registered, but never notified of it. Negro leaders made it plain there might be others.

A new board was appointed a year ago, but ceased to function in April when Chairman Charles S. Parker resigned. One of the remaining members, Tommie, said he was unable to attend to board duties because of the illness of his aged mother, leaving only Parker available.

It takes a majority, or two members, however, to transact business and the board was inactive until Bentley was named chairman last month.

Today's session was the first of two meetings scheduled this month, the other on Jan. 17, as provided by law.

Bentley said the board can meet for another 10-day period during the month if the county governing body says so, but no such meeting has been called yet.

Registrars To Conduct First Session In 8 Months

TUSKEGEE, ALA., Jan. 16.—(AP)—The first general registration of voters in more than eight months is scheduled at a meeting of the Macon County Board of Registrars Monday.

Chairman W. H. Bentley said the session will begin about 10 a.m., at the courthouse.

The board held its first meeting since April 18, 1948, two weeks ago, but did not accept new applications. It did act on 21 old ones, registering seven Negro and four white applicants.

A group of about 50 Negroes gathered to seek registration but were told by the board members to come back two weeks later.

Negroes outnumber white people about four to one in Macon County. Tuskegee Institute, Negro college, is located here.

'To Treat All Alike'

At the board's last session, members said they would treat all applicants alike, regardless of race.

They indicated they would require all to meet provisions of the Boswell Amendment which was held unconstitutional by a three-judge federal court at Mobile recently.

Bentley said in view of the court ruling the board probably would dispense with Boswell Amendment requirements.

The amendment, which its supporters said was aimed at restricting Negro voting, provided that prospective voters be able to "understand and explain" the U. S. Constitution.

There was no indication as to the probable number of Negroes who will apply for registration Monday.

Charles G. Gomillion, chairman of the All Negro Tuskegee Civic Association political action committee, said he expected at least as many applicants as showed up at the previous meeting.

MACON NEGROES COMPLAIN VOTE PROCESS SLOW

Registration Slated Today In Tuskegee

By Rex Thomas

Tuskegee, Ala., Jan. 17-(AP)- Negores finally got a chance to sign up a as voters here today but found the process too slow to suit them.

One hundred or more showed up for a meeting of the Macon County Board of Registrars, but only 23 got in. The others, complaining they had to get back to their jobs, tried to speed up the registration procedure, but failed.

Board members explained they could interview only two applicants at a time, and that that took 15 minutes or longer. Those who did get their applications filled out were not told, either, whether they can vote. Those accepted for registration will be notified by mail.

First Meeting

It was the first time in nine months that anyone was allowed to apply for the right to vote. The Board of Registrars went eight and one-half months without meeting. When it did get together, two weeks ago, no new applications were accepted.

Negroes who signed up today said the registrars did not ask them about the Constitution but required them to merely fill out application papers and present witnesses to vouch for their identity.

The registrars had said all applicants, Negro or white, would be asked to explain the Constitution, but that was before the Boswell amendment was thrown out.

Wait All Day

Many of the Negroes who showed up at the courthouse waited almost all day. They complained about the slowness of the registration machinery but got nowhere.

Said M. C. Crutcher, a beauty shop operator: "The rate they're going it'll take us years to get registered."

She asked the board to let the waiting applicants fill out their papers ahead of time, but Registrar W. D. Tommie said it couldn't be done.

The Negroes also tried to get an extra 10-day board session to catch up on the many applications, but the county Board of Revenue turned them down.

The Baord of Revenue chairman, Floyd Foreman, said there's no need for an extra session this month because no election is scheduled until next year and there will be plenty of time to register before then.

Negro voting has been a ticklish subject for years in Macon County, where members of that race outnumber white residents four to one. At one time no board of registrars existed for 18 months.

A board was appointed in January, 1948, but functioned only three months. From April 19 until two weeks ago it didn't meet.

100 Applicants Appea Before Board Members But Only 23 Signed

Macon Registrars To Meet Today

TUSKEGEE, ALA., Jan. 2 — (AP)— Voter registration machinery in heavily Negro populated Macon County is scheduled to be back in operation Monday after an eight-month breakdown.

The newly appointed chairman, W. H. Bentley, has announced that the county's board of registrars will go into session this week as required by law and register "anyone who can qualify."

Bentley said he would meet with J. J. Rogers, another board member, Monday morning and "this board will function, I'll guarantee that."

Complaints were sent to Gov. Folsom recently from Negro leaders here charging that no one has been able to register in the county for eight months because the board wouldn't perform its duties.

The county's population is 80 per cent Negro. Members of that race have complained repeatedly that they are denied the right to vote.

Macon Board Will Register Voters Monday

Negro Leaders Claim Unit Has Failed To Function

TUSKEGEE, ALA., Dec. 31 (AP)—Prospective voters in Macon County, where the population is 80 per cent Negro, were promised today that voter registration machinery will function again next week and "anyone who can qualify will be registered."

W. H. Bentley, newly appointed chairman, said the board of registrars "will function . . . at the times we're supposed to." Under the law that will be Monday.

"I'm going to meet with Mr. Rogers (J. J. Rogers, another registrar) Monday morning," Bentley added, "and this board will function, I'll guarantee that. You'll not have any more trouble with this board."

Negro leaders complained recently that no one has been able to register in Macon County for eight months because the board not functioned. At that time there were only two members, Rogers and W. D. Tommie, and both of them admitted no registration meetings had been held in several months.

Then Charles S. Parker who resigned last April.

Tommie explained that illness of his aged mother prevented him from attending to board duties but that he hoped to resume his activity soon. Today he said he plans to attend the meeting Monday.

Bentley and Rogers first told

The Associated Press they were uncertain about next week's registration session because the new chairman "has not received his commission." A check with Gov. James E. Folsom's office, however, showed the commission was issued and mailed Dec. 21.

Advised that the commission had definitely been issued, Bentley then said the meeting will be held on schedule.

Monday's board meeting, if it occurs on schedule, probably will attract a large number of Negro applicants. Charles G. Gomillion, chairman of the political action committee of the All-Negro Tuskegee Civic Association, put it this way:

"Some citizens who have been denied the opportunity to register will apply for registration."

He did not say how many, but the Civic Association has long been active in trying to get Negroes on the voting lists and has conducted informal training periods for prospective applicants.

Rankin File

The Advertiser

The Life & Times And Views Of Horace Wilkinson

Montgomery, Ala.

Part I

By Allen Rankin

Daily In The Alabama Journal

BIRMINGHAM, Feb. 18

SOMETIME ago the moderator of a radio debate turned to Birmingham's Horace Wilkinson and asked him a direct question.

Wilkinson, perhaps the noblest Roman of them all in the matter of White Supremacy, was arguing points of the Boswell Amendment with Gessner McCorvey.

As Wilkinson puts it: "Gessner was saying, 'Let the good nigger vote' and I was saying 'Don't let any nigger vote'."

Sun. 2-20-49

"Mr. Wilkinson," asked the moderator, "if you were on the board of registrars and 1,000 Negroes presented themselves for registration, how many would you let vote?"

"I'd turn down at least 999 of 'em," said Wilkinson without hesitation. "Maybe . . . I might register the last one as a courtesy to my friend, Mr. McCorvey."

This sort of quip is known as a "Wilkinsonism." Of all outspoken champions of White Supremacy and states rights, there is no one "outspokener" than the stout, 61-year-old pillar of opposition to Negro suffrage named Horace Wilkinson.

"I think the constitution of this country ought to be changed," he told me this week, "and the Negro given to understand he will never be allowed to vote in this country."

"Not even Dr. F. D. Patterson, president of Tuskegee Institute?" I needled.

Wilkinson's eyes showed the splinters of fire, intensity, amusement and defiance that splash through them when he is erupting on such subjects.

"No, I do not think Patterson ought to vote," he said. "Not by a damned sight. I don't think Patterson's got a bit more character than any Negro farm laborer in Alabama."

"Then you don't think the Negro can be educated?"

"Educated, yes," said the White Supremacy champion. "But you can't educate a Negro to have character."

"At what point would you say the Negro would attain the character to vote?"

"I don't know," said Wilkinson, and smiled. "I just know that he hasn't attained it yet.

"But," he quickly added, "I don't want you to get the idea that I'm against the Negro or trying to hold him down, because I'm not. It's not necessary to give him a vote in order to treat him right. Fact is, I think you'd be injuring him in giving him a vote.

"A Negro's like a child," Wilkinson explained. "Sometimes you have to withhold from him some injurious things that he wants—and thinks would be beneficial."

The Advertiser Montgomery, Ala

He Says What He Means

Mr. Wilkinson graciously consented to be interviewed by me for about four hours in his office in the booming middle of town here. I told him I wanted to do a series of columns on him as a colorful Alabama figure and a loud-spoken champion of one point of view.

2-20-49 Sun

"No one has ever called me a trimmer," he said. "I say what I mean and mean what I say."

There can be no doubt of this. In all respects Mr. Wilkinson is the antithesis of a mouse. He is capable of lashing out with meat-axe bluntness at his enemies, whether they be ideas or persons. More than once he has backed up his arguments in court with flailing fists. He still has much of the physical force and power he used once to throw sheet-iron and lift 200-pound spike kegs in a hardware warehouse as a boy.

As he puts it:

"I refuse to confine my law practice to any particular class." He has been known to battle in court for Negroes as well as whites; for labor unions as well as corporations. Along with Jim Simpson and Roderick Beddow, he gets a lion's share of the state's law suits.

"Just remember this," he told a labor leader sometime ago. "There are two sides to every labor law. And if I'm not with you, by God, I'll probably be suing you."

Though his tilts with The Advertiser are traditional, he affably received this reporter in his camp. Cooperatively he helped dig out savory bits of biography. Over some highpoint, he often grinned.

The Advertiser

His Klan Was 'The Best'

"You were very strong in the Ku Klux Klan at one time," I suggested.

Montgomery, Ala.

"I wouldn't say that," said Wilkinson, "I'd say I was a member of the Klan and active in a small way."

"Are you a member now?"

Sun. 2-20-49

"I am not—and have not been for many years."

"You don't believe in the necessity of the Klan now?"

"I wouldn't say that," corrected Wilkinson. "But if I had anything to do with the Klan I'd insist that it operate within the law. If you violate the law you ought to be called to taw for it."

"Isn't the whole Klan activity against the law "

"It was not," said Wilkinson, "when I was in it."

He reminisced: "I thought the Klan chapter I belonged to—the Robert E. Lee Chapter at Wauhoma here—was one of the best I ever saw. A Jewish merchant furnished all paraphernalia for it free of charge. And the Knights of Columbus loaned us the money to build a hall."

"Did you ever resign from the Klan?"

"I didn't have to," said the White Supremacy champion. "It just dissolved and went to pieces. When the depression came about 1932 the members lost their jobs and couldn't pay their dues. The Klan had no revenues. The party who loaned 'em money had to foreclose the mortgage on the Klan building on First Avenue. I haven't been in the Klan since."

•

'I Never Wore A Mask Or A Sheet'

He continued: "If there was an obnoxious character in my neighborhood I wouldn't hesitate to tell him to get the hell out of there. But I wouldn't put on any mask to do it. I'd want them to know who was talking to them.

"I never wore a mask or a sheet in my life," he added. "Nor did I ever attempt to conceal my connection with the Klan."

"I have made the public statement many times," concluded Wilkinson on this subject, "that I would favor an organization of citizens who openly would announce that these things would not be tolerated . . . these communistic schemes to try to put the Negro on the same level with whites."

Wilkinson said he is convinced no Negro should vote because "political equality incontestably leads to social equality." And this, he says, leads to the "mongrelization" of both races.

"If you've got a quart of white milk here and put three drops of ink in it," he concluded, "you ruin the milk and you ruin the ink."

"What per cent of the people of the state do you think share your views, Mr. Wilkinson?" I asked.

"I don't know," he said. "I haven't had time to talk to many people. But I'm sure if I had time to explain these things to them, most of them would share them."

HORACE WILKINSON

★ *Tomorrow's Journal: Wilkinson's poll-tax scheme. Tomorrow's Advertiser: Wilkinson's opinion of the Advertiser.—Ed.*

Leaders of Voters' League Confer With Fla. Governor

Discuss Prblems With Attorney General, State Superintendent of Schools Also

TALLAHASSEE, Fla.—A group of colored leaders representing the Progressive Voters' League of Florida and the State Conference of NAACP Branches held an important conference on the welfare of colored citizens with Gov. Fuller Warren at the State Capitol, on Nov. 7.

They also held long conferences with Attorney General Richard W. Ervin and State Superintendent of Schools Thomas D. Bailey.

The conferences were arranged by Harry T. Moore, of Mims, executive secretary of the Progressive Voters League and the State Conference of NAACP branches.

Committee Members Named

Other members of the committee were:

Milton P. Rooks of Clearwater, president Progressive Voters League; Edward D. Davis of Ocala, chairman of the State-wide Committee for Registration of Colored Voters;

L. C. Jenkins, president of the Tallahanssee Voters League; A. C. McKinney, president of the Tallahassee branch NAACP; Edwin F. Norwood, secretary of that branch; and the Rev. A. J. Richardson, AME minister of Clearwater.

Committee members and the Governor discussed police brutality, protection for voters in certain counties where intimidation has been ruled, job opportunities, representation on State commissions and policy making boards and the operation of Florida A. and M. College and other State institutions.

Educational Needs Aired

Similar matters were discussed with the Attorney General and the State Superintendent of Schools, who was urged to throw the full weight of his office behind an effort to relieve the overcrowded conditions in colored schools.

The committee also discussed the urgent need of library books and other facilities essential to the successful operation of the schools.

The salary situation was emphasized, it being pointed out that in some counties there are still great differences between the salaries paid white and colored teachers with the same training and experience.

Atmosphere of Talks Good

The Governor and his cabinet members received the leaders cordially; and the problems raised were discussed in an atmosphere of frankness and mutual understanding.

These State officials expressed a desire to co-operate with the leaders in every effort to help solve the many problems facing their people.

Not since the days of Reconstruction have colored people representing a State-wide political organization in Florida been able to sit down and talk with high State officials as full-fledged voting citizens.

Indications are that much good will come from these conferences and similar ones which are to be held in the future, the Progressive Voters League's secretary reported.

Negroes Turn Tide In Avon Park, Fla.

AVON PARK, Fla.—The Negro vote put a 21-year-old grocer in the mayor's seat in this little citrus town. In the biennial municipal election that swept out office holders seeking re-election, 225 of the total 297 Negro votes were cast for Wiley Sauls, Jr., who worked with his father in the grocery business.

Campaign slogans, "Vote or Don't Gripe," failed to bring all eligible Negro voters out, however. There are 317 qualified and 1935 whites. Of the whites, 1250 voted.

One of the councilmen also owed his overwhelming majority to a heavy Negro vote.

The new administration will take office in October.

Curiously enough, Avon Park was founded at this site because of its "freedom from malaria, mosquitoes and Negroes."

He's Florida's Oldest Registered Voter

Simpson Barber, who at 107, was registered last week at Bradeton, Fla., thus becoming Florida's oldest registered voter. He's shown here with Election Supervisor L. Sharer Barber, born at Winnsbro, S.C., attributes his health and long life to the Florida climate He tends a few chickens on his daughter's farm.

Amendment Provides Pro Rata Vote

Says Two-Party System Threatened By Lodge-Gossett Bill

Memphis, Tenn.

WASHINGTON, D. C. — (NNPA) —Representative Clifford P. Case Republican, of New Jersey, disclosed Saturday that he intends to offer an amendment to the Lodge-Gossett resolution proposing a constitutional amendment to change the method of election of the President and Vice President.

The amendment he said he would provide for the reduction of representatives in those states where colored electors are disfranchised in large number.

Mr. Case revealed his intention to offer such an amendment as he disclosed that he was filing as a member of the House Judiciary Committee a statement of minority views in oppositio nto the Lodge-Gossett resolution.

Pan. 7-12-49

The Lodge-Gossett resolution, among other things, would abolish the electoral college but retain the present allotment of electoral votes to the states, provide for a direct vote for presidential and vice-presidential candidates, provide for the proportional division of electoral votes for the election of the President and Vice President by a simple plurality of electoral votes instead of the majority now required.

The resolution is sponsored by Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr., Republican, of Massachusetts, and Representative Ed Gossett, Democrat, of Texas.

DISPUTES ARGUMENT

In the statement of minority views which Mr. Case said he was filing, the Jersey Congressman disputed one of the arguments advanced by supporters of the resolution that it would eliminate the allegedly disproportionate power of minority groups in the so-called pivotal states.

The validity of this objective, he said, "depends upon whether, in fact, minority groups in pivotal states now have an undue voice in presidential elections." He asserted that they do not and that the proposed amendment would involve grave dangers to the two-party system.

Mr. Case pointed out that Congress has never exercised its power, under the 14th Amendment, to reduce the representation of a state in the House of Representatives because of disfranchisement o fits citizens. "There is no prospect that it will ever do so," he said.

The Lodge-Gossett resolution, he said, would impose no reduction in representation upon any state, no matter how many citizens were prevented from voting in presidential elections, by law or practice.

Mr. Case said the amendment he will offer on the floor will provide than in any particular election each state's electoral votes for President and Vice President would be reduced in the proportion that the number of persons actually voting is less than the total number of persons of voting age in that state.

REFORM OVERDUE

"This change is desirable in itself, and a reform long overdue," Mr. Case said. "It is an essential change if the proportional division of electoral votes proposed by the Lodge-Gossett resolution should be adopted, in order to counter the inevitable tendency which would result from that resolution to restrict further the franchise in the 'sale' or 'solid' states."

Memphis, Tenn.

Mr. Case recognized that his proposed amendment would make more difficult the adoption of the Lodge-Gossett resolution and might prevent ratification of the proposed constitutional amendment by the required three-fourths of the states. "But it would be far better that the resolution should fail than it should be adopted without that amendment," he said.

Discussing the influence of minority groups on elections in pivotal states, Mr. Case said:

"Minority groups in pivotal states do not now have an undue influence in presidential elections or on national policy. Under the Lodge-Gossett proposal for proportional division of each state's electoral votes the major parties would tend to give less attention to the legitimate interests of minority groups and a dangerous weakening of the two-party ssytem would result.

June 12-49

"The necessity, under present electoral procedures, for both major parties to consider the legitimate interests of minority groups contributes importantly to the strength of the two-party system and to national unity.

RECOGNITION NEEDED

"It is true, of course, that minority groups, whether in the pivotal states or not, should not have an undue influence on national policy. It is equally true that the legitimate interests of such groups should be fairly recognized both as a matter of simple justice and in order that such groups may effectively be incorporated into the national community.

"The importance of minority groups in the pivotal states now makes it necessary for both major parties to recognize the legitimate interests of such groups. Since this is so, most members of such groups feel no need to form special interest blocs or parties for their own protection and their radical elements are forced to moderate their more extreme demands."

General

Move Boosts Negro Vote In Southland

Post 9-3-49

Chicago, Ill.

By CARTER HARDING

WASHINGTON, D. C. — The political reconstruction of the South began last Wednesday. With one dramatic stroke the vote of the Negro millions in Dixie has become a major factor in the political life of America.

Last Wednesday the Southern foes of President Truman's civil rights program who organized the Dixiecrat opposition in 1948 were swept out of the Democratic Party.

The Democratic National Committee voted unanimously to oust committee members from Alabama, South Carolina, Louisiana and Mississippi. Voicing approval of this action, President Truman welcomed Southerners into the Democratic Party on the condition that they accept and work for the enactment of the civil rights program.

The crackdown on the anti-Negro extremists in the Democratic Party gave the green-light to Negro leaders in the South who have long fought for full recognition in the Democratic fold.

The plight of the Dixiecrats who were caught out on a political limb is well illustrated by their bitter reactions to the news of the ouster proceedings in Washington.

Senator James Eastland of Mississippi told reporters that the action of the committee was "illegal" and declared: "If we Mississippians are a free people we can select our own officers."

Gov. Fielding L. Wright of Mississippi, Dixiecrat Vice Presidential candidate, stated that the committee was guilty of a "ridiculous piece of gangsterism."

In a lead editorial titled "Why Not Join the Republicans?" the Atlanta Constitution stated last Friday: "The inevitable question arises—Why don't these men and women, and the thousands like them in the South, go ahead and join the Republican Party? They think Republican and are Republican in all save name."

Many important Southern leaders, however, praised the action taken by the Democratic National Committee. Governor Folsom of Alabama, who fought the Dixiecrat machine, sent a wire to the committee stating: "Congratulations to the new chairman and the committee for action taken relative to the party's situation in Alabama."

Governor Scott of North Carolina indicated his agreement with the Democratic chieftain. He told newsmen: "I don't see how these people (the Dixiecrats) could expect to eat out of two troughs."

The ouster of the Dixiecrats strengthened the hand of loyal Southern Democrats who were severely criticized by anti-Negro extremists for going along with the civil rights plank in the party's platform. With the Dixiecrats on the outside an alliance between liberal whites and Negroes in the Democratic Party seems inevitable.

Such a combination would seal the doom of the Ku Klux Klan power in Southern politics. The Democratic Party stands to gain a million new Negro voters who, heretofore, have been uncertain about their status as Democrats in some sections. The Negro vote could still keep the South solid for the Democrats despite the loss of the disgruntled white racists.

It has been noted that Negro voters in some Southern states helped keep those states from President Truman despite the desperate tactics of the States Rights crowd in 1948.

Be Concerned Wtih Politics, Pastors Urged

"We are not going to get any ust and fair political action until ve get men and women with a religious basis interested in politics," Dr. Marshall Shepard declared yesterday.

Post 11-11-49

Dr. Shepard, Recorder of Deeds for the District, is pastor of a Philadelphia Baptist Church and served three terms in the Pennsylvania legislature. He spoke at the final session of the thirty-third annual convocation of the School of Religion of Howard University.

He called for people in politics who look upon political parties as instruments for accomplishing things which they consider right, fair and just.

Post 11-11-49

Every minister, Dr. Shepard said, ought to be concerned with politics because of the great influence political action has upon the lift of his people.

At the morning session Leslie Perry, national representative of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, spoke on "Legislative Action and the Christian Church," and Dr. Buell G. Gallagher, Federal Security Agency Consultant, spoke on "The Meaning of Moral Choice."

Atlanta, Ga. Daily Herald, Thurs. 9-8-49

LAST MINUTE RUSH — A small segment of the last minute voters are shown as they crowded the 3-B precinct at E. R. Carter school to cast their ballots in the Wednesday city primary. — (Perry Photo).

Georgia High Court Upholds Law to Curb Negroes' Voting

Atlanta, Sept. 16 (AP).—Georgia's voter reregistration law—a new wrinkle in Southern efforts to curb Negro voting—was upheld unanimously today by the State Supreme Court. Post

The measure was Gov. Herman Talmadge's pet bill of the 1949 legislature.

It wiped out the State's record-breaking old list of 1,200,000 registered voters, including 120,000 Negroes. It ordered a completely new registration under stiffened qualifications. Post 9-17-49

"Bloc Voting" Assailed

Talmadge said this fulfilled his loudly shouted campaign pledge to halt "the evils of bloc voting." By this, he explained, he meant lining up of Negroes to vote en masse in a controlled bloc.

Talmadge said if he couldn't have an all-white election, he wanted one "just as white as we can get it."

The Governor's forces shaped Georgia law carefully. They were aware of a long series of court decisions striking down all previous efforts by Southern States to deny Negroes a ballot.

In many places they used the exact language of these decisions to define powers of registrars and establish qualifications for voting.

Talmadge charged that many unqualified Negroes had been permitted to register on the old voting list.

Provisions of Law

To tighten the State's voting requirements, the law says a citizen first must satisfy registrars that he can read any section of the Constitution "intelligently" and write any section "legibly."

Failing this test, the prospective voter was given a list of 30 simple questions on government — the name of the President, name of the Governor, etc. Correct answers to any 10 of these 30 questions qualified a citizen to vote.

Registrars were given complete power to decide whether an applicant could meet these tests.

The questions:

1. Who is the President of the United States?
2. What is the term of the office of the President of the United States?
3. May the President of the United States be legally elected for a second term?
4. If the President of the United States dies in office, who succeeds him?
5. How many groups compose the Congress of the United States?
6. How many United States Senators are there from Georgia?
7. What is the term of office of a United States Senator?
8. Who are the United States Senators from Georgia?
9. Who is the Governor of Georgia?
10. Who is the lieutenant governor of eGorgia?
11. Who is the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Georgia?
12. Who is the Chief Judge of the Court of Appeals of Georgia?
13. Into what two groups is the General Assembly of Georgia divided?
14. Does each Georgia county have at least one representative in the Georgia House of Representatives?
15. Do all Georgia counties have the same number of representatives in the Georgia House of Representatives?
16. In what city are the laws of the United States made?
17. How old do you have to be to vote in Georgia?
18. What city is the capital of the United States?
19. How many States are there in the United States?
20. Who is the commander-in-chief of the United States Army?
21. In what congressional district do you live?
22. Who represents your congressional district in the national House of Representatives?
23. In what State senatorial district do you live?
24. Who is the State Senator that represents your senatorial district?
25. In what county do you live?
26. Who represents your county in the House of Representatives of Georgia? If there are more than one representative, name them.
27. What is the name of the county seat of your county?
28. Who is the ordinary of your county?
29. Who is the judge of the Superior Court of your circuit? If there is more than one, name one additional judge.
30. Who is the solicitor general of your circuit?

Georgia Voters Law Is Upheld

ATLANTA, Sept. 16—(AP)—Georgia's voter re-registration law—a new wrinkle in Southern efforts to curb Negro voting — was upheld unanimously today by the State Supreme Court.

The measure was Gov. Herman Talmadge's pet bill of the 1949 Legislature.

It wiped out the state's record-breaking old list 1,200,000 registered voters, including 120,000 Negroes. It ordered a completely new registration under stiffened qualifications. News

TALMADGE SAID this fulfilled his loudly shouted campaign pledge to halt "the evils of bloc voting." By this, he explained, he meant lining up of Negroes to vote en masse in a controlled bloc.

To tighten the state's voting requirements, the law says a citizen first must satisfy registrars that he can read any section of the constitution "intelligently" and write any section "legibly."

Failing this test, the prospective voter was given a list of 30 simple questions on government — the name of the president, name of the governor, etc. Correct answers to any 10 of these 30 questions qualified a citizen to vote.

Registrars were given complete power to decide whether an applicant could meet these tests.

26 in Augusta Seek Posts Today; Two Negroes

Constitution State News Service

AUGUSTA—A slate of 26 candidates, including two Negroes, will face Augusta voters today in their race for nine vacancies in City Council. Constitution

One is assured of election—Hugh O. Busbia in the First Ward, who has new Cracker backing, is the sole contender. His opponent, T. A. Reeder, withdrew Monday.

The most contested race will be in the Third Ward, where three white men and two Negroes are seeking a single seat. This is the first time in the history of Augusta that Negroes have qualified to make a race.

In the Third Ward, the Negroes registered to vote number 1,499 against the white voters of 763. Political observers point to these figures as evidence that Augusta will likely elect a Negro councilman today.

Leader Deplores Lack Of Interest In New Vote Law

Chief Registrar Howard Mashburn declared Tuesday that the registration of voters in Fulton county has been "far from satisfying." Daily Herald

The Fulton registrar's statement was in accord with similar statements made by Fulton commissioners that the new registration act is failing to produce a "representative registration" in keeping with a county population of 600,000.

Registrar Mashburn reported that only 28,499 persons had registered under the Talmadge-sponsored voters re-registration law. He said that the old list totaled 130,000 voters of which approximately 30,000 were Negroes. Of the present 28,499 re-registered voters, approximately 3,364 are Negroes. Atlanta

After viewing the registration trend under the new voters measure, Mashburn said he is hoping that the re-registration law will be repealed at the next session of the Georgia Legislature.

The re-registration drive was started July 5, 1949, and must be completed by May 1, 1950.

Political observers in Fulton county see little hope for the new registration list to equal or compare favorably with the old list.

4,965 Negroes Registered For Vote In Agusta

Augusta, Ga. (ANP)—According to the eligible voters list for the December City Council election which was delivered to City Officials last week ,there were 4,865 colored voters out of the 16,196 listed. The list was prepared by Richmond county officials of registration after the books were closed.

Today Is Election Day---Vote!

There is a city election today.

The Democratic nominees have no opposition.

Therefore, following an old custom, most persons will not go out to vote.

That is bad business. It would be simple, in any year when there is no opposition, for a determined group, working quietly and with long preparation, to write in a candidate of their own choosing and elect him because the public is so apathetic.

All of which reminds us, now that the Negro votes in the primaries, there no longer is any need for a primary. Let's abolish it for the future and simply have an election.

Mr. Hartsfield's Election Victory

Mayor William B. Hartsfield is re-elected Mayor of the City of Atlanta with a majority over his nearest opponent of almost 3,000 and majority over all three opponents of more than 100.

That was the result of the Committee's official tabulation of the votes Thursday afternoon. Only minor discrepencies were found in the unofficial count.

On the whole, it was a well-handled election, free from any major errors. A few errors are inevitable in handling so large a number of totals under the worst sort of conditions. There always is noise, crowding, pushing and a slight atmosphere of hysteria around the fringes of a polling place where the votes are being counted.

We heard of no scandals, no disorder and no more than petty violations at the polls. The election seems to have been handled better than most.

The protest filed by Charlie Brown who trailed the winner by almost 3,000 votes, seemed to us, ill advised, although admittedly Mr. Brown had a perfect right to file one. As far as we could determine no evidence accompanied the accusations. One, that a policeman had handed out cards, asserted this "must have influenced a few hundred votes." This is theory. Actually, when a person arrives at the polls, the mind of that person is pretty well made up. If the policeman did so he should be disciplined according to law and department regulations. But, we do not believe he changed the election . . . even if the charges be true. The committee gave the protest a thorough hearing and dismissed it. This we believe the proper disposal. It was a protest based on hearsay, of which there always is a great supply at any election time.

It should be recalled that under our system a victory by one vote is as much a victory, insofar as the decision is concerned, as a victory of many thousands of votes. The fact a majority is small means only that it was a very close election. In the first rugged campaign of his career Charlie Brown made a magnificent showing.

The election was hard fought. One of the worst features of it was supplied by persons not connected with either candidate. These consisted of false instruction cards and, in the school board races, scurrilous and false pamphlets which injected, in an inflammatory manner, the racial issue.

Negro citizens voted. According to the best evidence at hand, a majority of them favored the winner. But each candidate got Negro votes and there was no evidence of bloc voting. The administration had apparently persuaded the voters. There was no indication of coercion.

That the people approved the administration also is demonstrated by the fact that a great majority of Council was returned to office. After all, it is Council which is the real government, and the re-election of almost all members is significant. It is too early to draw conclusions, but one at least is obvious. Councilman John White campaigned on his record of slum clearance and public housing. His opponent stood against both. Here the issue was clear. In rent control it was not. All four mayorality candidates favored its continuance. On his clear-cut, slum-clearance platform Councilman White led the entire ticket, polling a tremendous majority. That, too, should not be overlooked by his fellow councilmen or the people. There is an inescapable conclusion a substantial majority favored the winner and that his margin over all three was legitimate and valid.

We congratulate the candidates, all of them, the losers included. The fact they participated in a campaign indicates they are men desirous of entering public services. Defeat is neither pleasant nor comforting. But, it was, insofar as the candidates were concerned, by and large a clean race. We on The Atlanta Constitution tried to do a public service by presenting fairly and adequately all the issues on the air and in the newspaper. We think Atlanta turned out well, and that the election officials handled the affair properly.

It was a fine tribute to the democratic system—of choosing the persons we want to govern us.

Atlanta Citizens Fail to Register

ATLANTA, Ga.—Atlanta's citizens are not registering under the Talmadge Administration's new law.

Mayor William B. Hartsfield pointed out last week that in all of Fulton County, only 31,667, of which 28,311 white and 3,356 colored, had reregistered. The Mayor was apprehensive lest the lethargy, even under the inconvenience and some talk of repeal of the law, catch the citizens off base.

Under the old law more than 125,000 were qualified to vote in Fulton County, some 24,000 being Negroes.

Georgia Hits Back At Negro Vote Power

ATLANTA, Ga.—Negro citizens said here this week that they will test the validity of Gov. Herman Talmadge's voter re-registration law in the United States Supreme Court.

They have been contemplating such action for weeks pending the action of the Supreme Court of Georgia which upheld the Talmadge law last Thursday.

The act, Gov. Talmadge's first bill in the 1949 legislature, was obviously aimed against Negro voters although no mention is made of races or discrimination.

The measure wiped out the state's old list of 1,200,000 registered voters including 120,000 Negroes.

It provides that citizens must satisfy registrars that they can read any section of the Constitution "intelligibly" and write any section "legibly" [illegible] to do either the [illegible] will be given 30 questions on government. The correct answers of any ten would qualify him to vote.

Court Upholds Voter Act; Must Re-Register

By M. L. ST. JOHN

Georgians are going to have to re-register to vote.

This was decided yesterday by the State Supreme Court, which unanimously upheld constitutionality of the Voter Registration Act of 1949.

The Court pointed out that no one claimed he was illegally prohibited from registering under the new law.

Atlanta Negro leaders have announced they plan Federal Court action when they find registrars discriminating against Negro voter applicants.

Without plainly commenting on the charges that the new law carries out Gov. Talmadge's campaign promise to eliminate "Negro bloc voting" and provide "as white a primary as we can get," the Supreme Court said that the purpose of the act, as a whole, is to require all persons who are qualified to vote under the Constitution to register before voting. If the Legislature had other or additional purposes, which, considered apart, it had no constitutional power to make effective, that would not have the result of making the Act invalid.

The Court, in an opinion written by Justice Bond Almand, said it found nothing in the Act that indicates the law denies any qualified voter the right to register on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude. The mere possibility that the registrars might act arbitrarily in administering the law and violate constitutional rights is not a ground for declaring the Act unconstitutional, the Court said.

In ruling on the constitutionality of the new law, the Supreme Court affirmed the Richmond Superior Court in ordering the Richmond County Commissioners to pay the new board of registrars authorized by the law. In Augusta, a source close to County Commissioner Chairman David Franklin felt that he would attempt to influence the Board to appeal the case to the U. S. Supreme Court.

Meanwhile Gov. Talmadge said that the Re-registration Act was designed to eliminate "bloc voting" in Georgia and was in keeping with his campaign pledge. He said the new act simply puts teeth into laws that existed prior to its passage and that the people have nothing to fear from it.

First effect of the Court ruling will be a rush by counties to set up registration offices and start registering voters. Only 30 counties had begun re-registering. Few of the 1,200,000 voters have re-registered.

Excerpts from the Supreme Court's decision follow:

"Though no contention is made that this act or any section thereof contravenes the provisions of the Constitution relative to the qualification of voters, reference to those provisions indicate that the legislative purpose is to provide the necessary machinery to carry out these provisions.

(The provisions cited state that every citizen shall be entitled to register and vote who is not disqualified under certain Constitutional provisions and who is of good character and understands the duties and obligations of citizenship under a republican form of Government, or all persons who can correctly read and write correctly in the English language any paragraph of the Federal or State Constitutions).

"The right of suffrage is a political right, as compared with a property or civil right. . . . The right to vote is not granted to a citizen by the Constitution of the United States. Nor is it a privilege of the United States under the 14th Amendment. Nor does the 15th Amendment abridge a State's power over suffrage, but only denies to the State any action which discriminates against citizens of the United States to disqualify or vote by reason of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

"Though the State Constitution guarantees the right of suffrage to those who meet its qualifications, and they are entitled to register, and this right cannot be absolutely denied or taken away by legislative enactment, the Legislature has the right to prescribe reasonable regulations as to how these qualifications shall be determined. The fact that a citizen who meets one of several tests provided by the Constitution had to register or re-register does not deprive him of his Constitutional right of suffrage; but is only a reasonable regulation under which the right may be exercised.

"The Legislature has a wide latitude in determining how the qualifications required by the Constitution may be determined, provided it does not deny the right of franchise by making the exercise of such right so difficult or inconvenient as to amount to a denial of the right to vote. Registration statutes have for their purpose the regulation of the exercise of the right of suffrage, not to qualify or restrict the right to vote.

"Such registration laws must be impartial, uniform, and reasonable. . . . Every presumption favors constitutionality of a regularly enacted statute. Only where it manifestly impinges upon the Constitution or violates rights of citizens will it be declared unconstitutional. The alleged conflict with the Constitution must be plain.

"We know of no constitutional right possessed by a registered voter which prevents the Legislature from requiring him to qualify as a voter in future election. Counsel for the defendant have cited no authority, and we have found none, to support the contention that a voter who was on the registration list of qualified voters at the time of the passage of this Act has a vested right to stay on the list.

"The main purpose of the Voters Registration Act is to require all persons who are qualified to vote under the Constitution to register before voting. (Here, a Federal court decision was cited which stated: 'If the Legislature had other or additional purposes, which, considered apart, it had no constitutional power to make effective, that would not have the result of making the Act invalid.')

"We are therefore of the opinion that the Voters Registration Act of 1949 is not invalid in every part for the reasons asserted by the defendant as being violative of specified provisions of the State Constitution.

"The defendant says the Act denies (a) person's liberty without due process or law, and (b) a citizens equal protection of law, because it sets up a board to censor the right of a citizen to vote—but it is not pointed out how and in what manner the Act denies him due process of law a right or liberty which is granted under the 14th Amendment does not confer upon a Amendment. . . . The 14th Amendment does not confer upon a citizen the right to vote.

" . . . There is no assertion that the defendant or anyone else who is qualified under the Constitution to vote has sought to register and been unlawfully denied the right to register. Nor does he point out how or in what manner the Act empowers the board of registras to discriminate against his right or any other citizen.

We can find nothing in the Act that indicates the law has the effect of denying to any qualified voter the right to register on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude that would form the basis for the defendant to challenge the statute as violating the 15th Amendment.

(While the defendant cited Federal cases, the State Supreme Court observed that in each of these case, the person challenging the statute in question was 'a member of a class that the court held the statute proposed to discriminate against.').

"No contention is made here that the Act as a whole discriminates against the class of which the defant is a member.

(The defendant in this case is chairman of the Richmond County Commissioners, and is a white citizen).

"The mere possibility that the Board of Registrars may under this statute act arbitrarily or recklessly in administering the law and thereby violate consititutional rights is not a ground for declaring the Act as a whole unconstitutional."

4,865 To Cast Votes In Georgia Town

AUGUSTA, Ga.—According to the eligible voters' list for the December City Council election which was delivered to city officials last week, there are 4,865 Negro voters out of the 16,696 listed. The list was prepared by Richmond county registration officials after the books were closed.

NEGROES REGISTERED FOR VOTE IN AUGUSTA

AUGUSTA, Ga. (ANP) — According to the eligible voters' list for the December City Council election which was delivered to city officials last week, there are 4,865 Negro voters out of the 16,696 listed. The list was prepared by Richmond county registration officials after books were closed.

The 4,865 Negro voters are by wards:

	Negro	White
1st Ward	180	1,775
2nd Ward	786	619
4th Ward	1,717	1,864
5th Ward	62	2,779
6th Ward	150	2,964
7th Ward	471	4,067

Voting and 'Civil Rights'

Editor Constitution: We noted in a recent issue of The Atlantic Monthly from the pen of a local journalist an article in which the writer stated that the right of suffrage was a basic civil right; in fact, the most important civil right of all. Our minds immediately reverted to various decisions by our high courts, written by our ablest jurist, in which an exactly opposite view was taken on this question. Am quoting below a decision made a few months since in which the opinion was written by an exceedingly able and impartial jurist who possesses a wonderful legal mind. The opinion follows:

"Not from any angle or viewpoint, either constitutional, legal or otherwise, can the right of suffrage be deemed in any manner a civil right. It is primarily and essentially a political right granted by the respective States by authority of the Federal and State Constitutions. This right to be governed by such regulations and restrictions deemed proper by the general assemblies of the respective States. No man or woman, of any age or color, comes into the world with an inherent right to cast a ballot. This privilege is extended by the State when the individual reaches the legal age and meets the requirement of the State."

This decision seems to cover the ground thoroughly to the satisfaction of any open mind. It really seems that it was entirely unnecessary for this to reach a court. It appears that any individual of average intelligence could be able to construe or interpret the law and Constitution in this connection.

In this matter, as others confronting us, it seems to be a matter of regret that some of our present-day journalists were not present to aid James Madison and his associates in formulating the Federal Constitution and later to have been in Georgia in 1877 and lent their invaluable aid to Charles J. Jenkins, Robert Toombs and the other statesmen in compiling our State Constitution. No doubt a much better document would have been the result.

Maybe so; we cannot tell at this distance.

Chamblee. W. T. SIMS.

4,865 Registered for Vote in Augusta

AUGUSTA, Ga. (ANP) — According to the eligible voters' list for the December City Council election which was delivered to city officials last week, there are 4,865 colored voters out of the 16,696 listed. The list was prepared by Richmond county registration officials after books were closed.

The 4,865 voters by wards are: first, 180; second, 786; fourth, 1,717; fifth, 62; sixth, 150; seventh, 417. White voters by wards are: first, 1,775; second, 619; fourth, 1,864; fifth, 2,779; sixth, 2,964, and seventh, 4,067.

Behind The Headlines

Georgia Politicos Abandon Ship On State's Voting Re-Registration Plan

By ALBERT L. HINTON

DON'T LOOK now, Governor Herman Talmadge of Georgia, but your bad judgment is showing. Recent developments seem to indicate that things political at the moment are not all peaches and cream in the Peach State. It hasn't been noised about, but the state's politicos are quietly abandoning ship as far as the so-called "Georgia Plan" of voting re-registration is concerned. And the ship is being scuttled, to all intents and purposes, on the theory that, after all, discretion is the the better part of valor. Rushed through the Talmadge-dominated Legislature early this year with the avowed purpose of curbing what was described as Negro "bloc voting," even after various devices concocted by other southern states had been slapped down hard by federal court decisions, the Georgia plan provided for a complete new voter registration list in the state.

MR. HINTON

BUT NOW, DESPITE a ruling by the Georgia Supreme Court that the law, taken as a whole, is constitutional, it has been all but scrapped as an important factor in next year's political battles. Moreover, leaders in the Talmadge administration have said they will ask the State Legislature in January to postpone the effective date of the new law, and it is being freely predicted in some quarters that the delay will be made permanent.

The new state registration law would have done away with the current registration list of about 1,200,000 qualified voters about 120,00 of whom are colored In addition, the state legislative big wigs who spearheaded Governor Talmadge's fight for the measure in the 1949 Legislature, recently announced they will seek an amendment in 1950 by which a new registration list would merely be added to the old one—instead of replacing it entirely.

Strangely enough, it was not indicated, just when they proposed to scrap the present registration list in favor of the new one, but said that it would be left up to the General Assembly. But informed sources were of the opinion that the old list will never be abandoned, and that an effort will be made to have new qualifications made applicable only to future applicants for the vote.

* * * *

THEN WHY THIS POLITICAL about face? The explanation is relatively simple.

When Governor Talmadge and his cohorts conceived the idea of the "Georgia Plan" they saw it only as the most effective way to curb the Negro vote in Georgia. Apparently they have now come to the realization that no matter how hard they tried, the suffrage-restrciting law could not be used effectively to hold down the Negro vote without at the same time, having the effect of reducing registration in the State's rural areas where Talmadge's real power lies thanks to the iniquitous county unit system which is peculiar to the Peach State.

Under the terms of the registration law an applicant would have to satisfy the registrars that he can read applicant would have to satisfy the resigtrars that he can read "melligently" and write "legibly" any section of the Constitution. Failing to do this he must answer from 10 to 30 questions about the governmental setup with the selection left entirely up to the registrar.

Add to this the fact that Georgia political big wigs have at last become acutely aware of the fact that federal district courts as well as the Supreme Court of the United States have outlawed similar vote-restricting subterfuges in both South Carolina and Alabama. and you can understand why Gov. Talmadge and his fellow politicos are beginning to be a bit gunshy.

On the other hand they may have decided to heed the advice of the Columbia, S. C. **Record** which in commenting recently on the apparent abandonment of Georgia's re-registration plan found a moral for a legislative committee now engaged in a study of South Carolina's election laws.

Said the Record:

"When it (the committee) comes to suggest new election laws for South Carolina—and they are overdue—it should propose nothing that cannot be impartially and fairly enforced for all races. South Carolina only penalizes itself by its unreasoning fear of the Negro voter."

Frank Summerfield Runs Second In Council Race

BY WILLIAM GORDON

AUGUSTA, Ga. — (SNS) — The almost 1,500 qualified registered Negro voters in the Third Ward here failed to exhibit their real political strength through use of the ballot, when citizens went to the polls on Wednesday to elect nine new members to serve on the City Council in this Georgia city of more than 100,000 persons.

Soft-spoken and energetic Frank N. Summerfield, first Negro in Georgia since Reconstruction Days to qualify as a candidate to run for public office, lost to Jerry Scully 574 to [illegible] that has been called one of the most momentous political contests in the history of the South. George E. Ross, another Negro, who qualified only a few days before election, proved to be totally out of the race as a threat by polling only 18 votes.

CRACKER PARTY IN POWER

In an election where less than half of the qualified registered voters in the Third Ward were white Negroes lost to a faction of the Cracker party when Frank Summerfield trailed his opponent with a margin of 166 votes.

The Cracker Party, which has controlled Augusta's political activities for more than 30 years, took a recess only for a short period in 1946 when the Independent Party came into power to fade into defeat two years following its entrance. The Independents won only one prominent spot in the Wednesday election when two of their men, Samuel Waller and W. Edgar Raines won council seats from the Seventh Ward.

In a statement following the results of the election, Mr. Summerfield said, "Despite what people may have said elsewhere, the election in Augusta was handled purely on a political basis. I want the people of Georgia to know that. The racial angle never entered into the picture." Mr. Summerfield continued by saying, "We found that a lot of white people in this community feel that we are entitled to representation in this community."

LACK OF ORGANIZATION

The election, destined to make political history in Georgia was hampered by a lack of voter interest, rainy skies and improper ward organization, official sources disclosed. Despite the fact that the tempo of Negro voting in the Third Ward was stepped up slightly during the afternoon, one of the most important chances ever granted a segment of voters was fumbled through irregularities at the polls the lack of proper voter information and the importance of the issue at hand during the election, local leaders revealed.

Third Ward political leaders also blamed Mr. Summerfield's defeat on confused information passed on to voters prior to election time and the lack of proper organizational procedure, misleading to voters in regard to the issues involved. It was indicated that ward leaders failed to carry out the proper instructions and get over the real significance of going to the polls and voting. A large segment of voters, confronted by ward leaders a few hours prior to polling time indicated they knew nothing about the election and would have voted if they had been properly informed.

WHITE CANDIDATES WITHDREW

Shortly after the polls opened Wednesday morning, two of the white candidates from the Third Ward withdrew, leaving only one white man in the race to compete with the two Negro candidates. Mr. Ross and Mr. Summerfield. The withdrawals were John Chavous and Tom H. Preskitt. The remaining candidate was Jerry Scully, who went on to take the lead and become the offical councilman for the Third Ward, which holds a large Negro vote.

Voting on the ward basis preferable to that of the city-wide, gave Negroes the greatest opportunity since Reconstruction days to place a member of their race in public office. Conforming to the ward basis for municipal elections, with the Third Ward having the largest number of qualified Negro voters, leaders had predicted a substantial support from voters to place a Negro in office. Being the most popular of the two, officials predicted that Mr. Summerfield would be the winner.

NEGROES IN VOTING BOOTHS

For the first time in the history of Augusta, Negro election officials served and directed the voting and counting activities during the election. They served in the capacity as managers and clerks, maintaining the same official status, as whites working in opposite booths.

This group of election officials was chosen at the suggestion to Mayor W. D. Jennings, prior to the election on Wednesday at which time a list was submitted containing the names of qualified persons desiring to serve. Out of the number submitted, five managers and four clerks were chosen to serve at the polls.

PRAISED FOR EFFORTS

A small faction of political leaders and the committee working closely with Mr. Summerfield before and after the election won the praise of both white and Negro citizens for their efforts in the campaign. This faction included the Citizens Voters League, the Third Ward Voters Club and various civic, church and fraternal organizations working in the interest of electing a Negro to the City Council.

RALPH McGILL

Looking Back at The Mayor's Race

William B. Hartsfield, who is by way of becoming one of the nation's famous Mayors, is political to his finger tips, but has most of his political trouble because he likes to argue. Time after time he will receive delegations making requests and engage in a give-and-take argument in which he may pound the table, emphasize the weak spots in their presentation, and otherwise chivvy and harass the seeking citizens until they sit there hoping and trusting the Lord will smite him. He usually ends up by giving the committee what they want, but the recipients never appreciate it. Instead of going away glowing with gratitude, they trudge away burning like neons, their jowls quivering with indignation. It is important, of course, that all requests be sifted and analyzed, but the Mayor's technique is to votes what DDT is to bees.

He makes a lot of unnecessary enemies. When placed alongside the natural enemies, whose enmity is one of his greatest assets, they add up to a sizable total. It was a common saying around our town that the Mayor had "made too many persons mad" to be re-elected.

It is, of course, important that Atlanta be enlarged. The cost of coming in would not be much. The benefits would, within a short time, be more than enough to offset the small extra cost. But, here again, this directness of the Hartsfield approach played into the hands of his enemies. He accused a certain element in the suburb to the north of being greedy and of fighting annexation because they would have to pay a small city license tax. This was, insofar as the most vocal of his critics was concerned, the exact truth. But it allowed them to charge him with being irascible, hot-tempered, and it did focus attention on the extra costs. Now, I suggest to the Buckhead boys that they demand to come into the city. The only way they are going to defeat Bill Hartsfield is to come in so they can vote against him. The long-distance effort failed.

Cons. Const.

Sat. 9-10-49

Accomplishments That is one side of it. On the other are major accomplishments. What the opposition of the past has never been able to get around, is that Atlanta has been a well-managed city, everything being relative and political management never as efficient as private.

It also is true the Mayor of Atlanta has little power. It is Council, and only Council, which can initiate action. Yet it is also true that when a citizen is upset about some real or fancied failure of his city, he never so much as thinks of Council—he swears about the Mayor.

The Mayor does have administrative influence and a veto. Atlanta has a good financial balance. It was argued that during the war all cities did well and may have surpluses. The point is that those cities which had corrupt Mayors have neither a surplus nor anything to show for their money. The cities which had inefficient Mayors are in the same condition. Mayor Hartsfield has been a good administrator.

He represents the city well. He speaks with great skill, possesses a fine sense of humor, and is a good ambassador. It was this record of accomplishment which brought him through. He is a very solid person.

Negroes Mayor Hartsfield received, apparently, about two-thirds of the Negro vote, which all candidates sought. This, too, reflected his administration and a political development in Hartsfield himself. While it is not well received by some, the Negro citizen, who is qualified, is going to participate in elections in increasing numbers. All voters, regardless of race, in all States and in all elections, vote for the candidate who seems to offer an administration which will best meet their needs. Under the Mayor, Atlanta has made much progress in Negro schools, though admittedly there is a great deal yet to be done. There has been a start at Negro parks. Negro police have been added and have done a satisfactory job. There is a request for a fire department in the Negro section. Other Southern cities have had Negro fire stations in regions where Negro population is heavy for a good many years. Nashville, Tenn., for example, established a Negro fire station at least 30 years ago. It makes sense that a combination precinct fire and police station would not merely be right in keeping with the policy of segregation, but would make sense as well. To put a Negro fire station in a Negro community to put out fires in Negro houses violates no Southern tradition, but rather fulfills them. At any rate, the election produced no bloc vote. Many Negroes preferred Mayor Hartsfield's opponent.

Loser Charlie Brown, who ran a good second, is one of the city's finest young men. Had he won the city would still have been in good hands. Politics is not an exact science. But the suspicion will always remain that Charlie Brown had some bad advice. He had a fine product to sell, and a product which had had wide acceptance—namely, Charlie Brown. His political advsers persuaded him to quit selling Charlie Brown and engage in a sniping attack on the Mayor. The first choice of the Plaza Park, was vulnerable. Bringing in the Winecoff fire and the Margaret Mitchell death was not in the best of taste. Other charges followed. It was like flinging a handful of shot. Charlie Brown's last speech—on election night—seemed to me the only effective one, and it was too late. Like last-minute charges, last-minute speeches mean little. By the time election day is at hand, minds are made up. This may not be an accurate analysis. That is the way it seemed to me. I hope Charlie Brown will stay in politics. His kind improves the breed.

ALL-VOTERS MEET SET MONDAY AT BIG BETHEL

BY C. W. GREENLEA

Negro voters of Atlanta's populous westside community were rewarded with all the thrills of a heated campaign Friday night, when candidates in the September 7th primary clashed in violent word battles for the support of the voters.

At the open air political rally, held on the Booker Washington High Football field, nearly 3,000 voters cheered and jeered, applauded and "booed", as candidates pleaded or boasted, in an effort to impress the voters.

Sat. 9-3-49

Bill Todd, one of the three candidates seeking to unseat Mayor William B. Hartsfield, came out with a campaign poem that started a round of excitement. The mayoralty candidate, who looks strikingly like the late Senator Bilbo, paraphrased a poem that Candidate Charlie Brown has been using and added a word of his own. He said:

"Brown is too bleary,
Salem is too light,
Hartsfield is weary,
Bill Todd is just right — and white!"

Ga.

The audience immediately burst into loud jeers. Todd then went on to say something incoherent about "n————rs", and created such an uproar that Co-chairman A. T. Walden began to take the microphone away from him. Then he blared into the mike: "I challenge the right of John Wesley Dobbs to participate in a Democratic primary."

JOE WALLACE

Attorney Walden then took the mike from Todd, and after the disturbance had subsided, he said: "We have invited this candidate out to speak, but we don't appreciate his bringing up the issue." Earlier, Walden had urged the audience, just before introducing Joe Wallace, "We have invited all of these candidates to our house, and when we have guests in our house we are always courteous to them." Wallace has been regarded by some as the ring leader in westside housing disturbances.

Attorney Walden interrupted the speech-making to introduce Traffic Court Judge Luke Arnold who was present as spectator. Judge Arnold told the voters that he had always tried to treat everybody alike in his court. He joked: "Most of the time you appear before me; tonight I'm before you."

Mayor Hartsfield, after listing several accomplishments of his administration, and citing several things that had been done for Negroes in particular, took Todd to task for bringing in the Republican issue.

Dobbs said that Negroes had to defeat a couple of bond issues to get Washington High School, and we know that these men would not be here tonight if we did not have what they want .... 21,000 votes!"

Prompted by Rev. M. L. King, who was seated directly behind him, Dobbs told the audience that the Voters League didn't like the idea of any white newspapers playing up the race issue that has been injected into the political campaign. He reminded that in 1921 a local paper had become hostile to Negroes and "over-night 6,000 people stopped taking the paper." Rev. King chimed in, "and we'll do it again."

LAUDS WORLD

Dobbs also lauded the Atlanta Daily World as starting a drive back in 1936 to get registered voters. The total grew from 500 to 21,000.

Candidate Joe Salem was the first mayoralty candidate to speak. He chided Hartsfield and Brown for "telling half-truths." He said they tell white audiences one thing and Negro audiences another about issues which concern Negroes, such as the fire station.

FIRE STATION

Welborn Ellis, who is Brown's campaign manager, said that Brown "will see that you get the fire station when the public sentiment is right."

Hartsfield, pointing to his record on the Negro police, on Freedom Train, the whiteway lights, the Hunter Street Library, and the housing program, said "You know what I'll do when the fire station matter comes before me. All stations must be approved by the board of fire masters, based on need. When that is done, and council passes it, I'll sign it!"

Hartsfield declared that the "ex-county commissioner's campaign is falling apart and he is getting desperate."

He read a poem of eulogy for the death of Brown on September 7:

"Here lies the body of Charlie Brown,
He thought he was up, but now he's down!"

Among the several uproars that were created as the candidates for city council spoke, the loudest came when Franklin Rodgers charged that Alderman Lee Evans was a Klansman. He asked Dobbs to read a sentence from the book, UNDERCOVER, and nother from a column written by Drew Pearson in 1946, which said Evans was a member of the Klan.

LEE EVANS

Evans in referring to Rodgers, said "this 'snooper' has been running around digging up dirt! I know you won't be influenced by that sort of trash. After September 7, he'll be back buying bug tickets."

Evans then pointed to his fine record of fairness to Negroes. He said he headed the drive to get the new Pittman Park. He declared that the future would see one in the Auburn-Butler area. He said he voted for Negro police and to unmask the Klan, and caused the power company to run trackless trolleys all the way out Hunter Street.

Mass meetings are scheduled for Monday night at Big Bethel A. M. E. Church and Tuesday at Ebenezer and South Atlanta Methodist.

The Basic Issues

The Atlanta Negro Voters League has carried on a magnificent job of screening the several candidates who are seeking election at the hands of the voters in the September 7 City Primary election. Candidates have been requested to give their views on additional Negro police in the city. They have been asked to state their position on increased housing facilities for Negroes. They have been called upon to state their position on a fire station on Atlanta's Westside, manned by Negroes and they have been questioned as to their stand on better job opportunities and better school facilities.

Atlanta, Ga. Daily World

As the campaign draws to a close the interest and intensity increase also. And that is as it should be— a healthy state of democracy—when all prospective candidates are required to appear before the voters and state, in their own words, what if elected, they can be depended upon to do about the basic problems which concern citizenship rights and needs.

Sun. 9-2-49

These remaining days between now and September 7 should witness more meetings of this nature. Another will be conducted tonight at the Booker T. Washington High School and another meeting will be held Monday night at the Big Bethel AME church. Every voter should make it a point to be present and to share in these meetings, since the candidates have shown a wholesome and throughly open-minded attitude and disposition to face up frankly to the issues raised.

There is one danger, however, which must again be pointed out in this column. The race issue ought not be brought into this campaign. There are no real issues in this campaign, so far as the Negro voters are concerned, save those basic needs which they have put to each of the candidates who appeared at their meetings. They are not racial issues. Instead, they are human needs which they have a right to expect candidates for political office to approve.

That is why we regret and deplore the injection of that racial angle in connection with the Park Plaza. As far as Negroes are concerned, this is not an issue and no amount of eloquence and oratory will dim their vision, nor divert their thinking. They want more Negro police—many more of them. They want a fire station on Westside manned by Negroes. They want Negroes in jobs other than menial tasks in the various departments of municipal government. They want better schools and school facilities. And they want better housing. These and only these are the issues.

Hartsfield Barely Escapes His Own Law

Atlanta, Ga. Daily World
Thurs. 9-8-49

BY ROBERT E. JOHNSON

A voting measure introduced 16 years ago by incumbent Mayor William B. Hartsfield Wednesday had almost proved to be a boome rang that kept him from being swept back into the top executive office of the city as he had almost failed to pile up a majority of votes in the mayorality campaign.

In 1933, Mayor Hartsfield introduced a measure which made it mandatory that a candidate must receive a majority rather than a plurality vote to win an election in the Atlanta City Primary.

An unofficial tabulation at 10 p. m. Wednesday night gave Mayor Hartsfield a clear majority of 47 votes, enough to squeeze by his chief opponent, Charlie Brown, former Fulton County Commissioner.

With all 41 precincts heard from at 10 p. m., the mayoralty vote stood: Hartsfield, 20,074; Brown, 17-253; Bill Todd, 1,617; Joe Salem, 26 year old contender had received 1,111.

9-8-49

Wednesday's election climaxed one of the most heated campaigns in the history of city elections, revolving around the issue of Negro policemen and a Negro fire station in the heavily-populated Negro westside. Hartsfield's slogan was "Facts speak louder than political promises." In the last few days of the political battle he hammered on Brown personally for attempting a mud-slinging campaign.

A historical aspect of the city primary was that of Negroes voting for the first time. In the last city primary on September 5, 1945, four thousand registered Negro voters were denied the right to share in deciding the fate of the city office seekers.

It was in this election that Mayor Hartsfield amassed 10,153 votes in the all-white primary to defeat former Mayor Roy LeCraw, who tallied 6,894. Only 17,047 of the then 36,000 registered white voters turned out to ballot for candidates in the lily-white primary.

As the polling places opened at 7 a. m. Wednesday, Negroes, voting in their first city primary, began trickling to designated voting precincts. They cast their ballots at three predominantly Negro voting stations — Walker Street School, third ward; E. R. Carter School, third ward, and Howard High School, fifth ward.

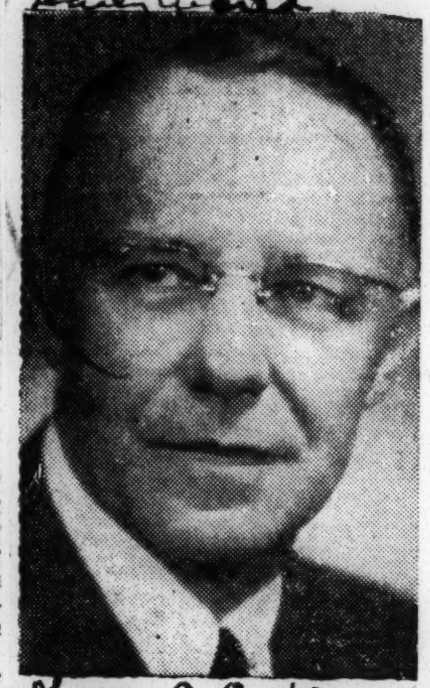
Officials said 1,468 Negroes were registered and eligible to ballot for candidates at the Walker Street School, approximately 6,435 at E. R. Carter and 3,300 at Howard High School.

Negro policemen assigned duty at these three precincts said that voting had been orderly. Only one incident was reported. A Negro patrolman, on duty at E. R. Carter School, said that he had to place a call to the police headquarters to keep a few white men from soliciting votes near the school. He said there was an attempt on the part of these men to influence voters by passing out political cards and vote-soliciting match folders.

Inclement weather threatened throughout the voting hours, but intermittent showers did not appear to be effective in dampening the spirit of the voters who treked to the polls.

The Winner

Atlanta, Ga. Daily World



Thurs. 9-8-49

MAYOR Wm. B. HARTSFIELD
Nosed out Brown in "photo finish" of 47 votes for reelection. The mayor has served 12 years; now goes in for term of four more years.

The Runner-Up

CHARLIE BROWN
Former Fulton County Commissioner ran a close second in race for mayor.

Atlanta Mayor Re-elected by Minority Group Votes

Afro-American Sept. 9-17-49

Ekes Out Opponents by Margin of 102 in First 'Open' City Democratic Primary

ATLANTA — (NNPA) — Mayor William B. Hartsfield, completing a 12-year tenure as mayor of the South's "Gate City," Wednesday, was re-elected to a new four-year term, largely through the blessings of colored voters.

The campaign was unprecedented in several ways. It was the first city Democratic primary election in which colored voters have participated, although they have taken the active part in State and county elections. It was the first city primary held since the Federal court outlawed the "white primary" in 1945.

More significant was the coming out of white candidates to colored political mass meetings to appeal openly for votes. Heretofore, they have ventured only into closed sessions with colored leaders for favor, depending on them to deliver the "bloc" vote.

Demanded Specific Pledges

This time, colored leaders looked around among the field of some 20 candidates for council positions and looked at the four mayoralty aspirants, and, finding so few rabid race-baiters, demanded that all candidates appear before the colored voters in open meetings.

The mayor, who by southern standards is considered a liberal, edged out his nearest opponent, mop-factory owner and former Fulton County Commissioner, Charlie Brown, along with two other challengers, by a slim majority of 102 votes.

The Atlanta primary law makes it mandatory that the winner must receive more votes than the combined total of all his opponents or face a runover with the highest bidder. Brown polled 17,258 to Hartsfield's 20,092, with the minor contenders, Joe Salem and Bill Todd, getting 1109 and 1623, respectively.

Although colored votes were scattered throughout the 41 precincts of the city, the heavily populated colored sections registered a clear index of the colored vote. At precinct 3B located at the E. R. Carter School on the densely settled westside, Mayor Hartsfield received 2,152 votes to a total 86 for his three opponents.

Hartsfield, whose chief line in his speeches to colored audiences, was to point out his stand against segregation when the Freedom Train came to Atlanta, has promised a colored-manned fire station.

He also has promised jobs higher than janitors in the city government and that he will add to the number of colored policemen, dispense with the jim-crow precinct in the YMCA and supply $10,000,000 in low cost housing projects.

Georgia

3 Voter Mass Meets Called

Atlanta, Ga. Daily World

Sun. 9-18-49

League Drives For Turnout In Run-Off

BY. C. W. GREENLEA

All voters have been alerted by the Atlanta Negro Voters League to return to the polls next Wednesday. Officials of the organization expressed the hope that every one who voted in the primary last September 7, will return to the polls to complete the job of filling the city council seats.

A. T. Walden and J. W. Dobbs, joint chairmen of the League, announced that three informative mass meetings have been scheduled for Monday and Tuesday nights.

Two meetings have been called for Monday at Allen Temple AME Church on Fraser Street, S. E., and at Mount Moriah Baptist Church on the corner of Ashby St., S. W. and Fair Street, S. W. Both meetings will begin at 7:30 o'clock.

Tuesday, a night-before-election mass meeting will be held at the Wheat Street Baptist Church starting at 8 p. m.

COUNCIL IMPORTANT

Attorney Walden, in calling the meetings emphasized: "The real governing body of the city is the council. Voters must be sure to put the best men in city council in order to have a progressive group of men who will pass laws that will improve the welfare of all the people. Five council seats are at stake in the September 7 runover and there are ten men seeking the offices. At our mass meetings we will discuss the qualifications of all of these men in order to be intelligent in our selections on next Wednesday."

Candidates in the Runoff Primary are: Alderman, First Ward, Roscoe C. Allor (Incumbent) and R. H. McCutcheon; Councilman, First Ward, Robert S. Dennis and J. M. Gregory; Councilman, Second Ward, Joe Allen (Incumbent) and W. C. Campbell; Councilman, Fourth Ward, John T. Marler (Incumbent) and E. E. Cooper; Councilman, Fourth Ward, Roy Bell (Incumbent) and Douglas Wood.

Printed ballots, requiring voters to strike out the names of candidates being voted against, will be used instead of voting machines. The process will be simplified however inasmuch as there are only two candidates for each position.

LIVELY DISCUSSIONS

There will be no candidates attending the mass meetings but lively discussions on the merits of the men seeking councilmanic posts are promised. League leaders are urging voters to go back to the polls Wednesday and help to complete the job of electing city officials. All precinct, Census Tract and block workers are requested to contact their ward leaders for information concerning plans for participating in the election.

At its meeting Friday afternoon the General Committee of the Atlanta Negro Voters' League voted to hold a reception for all workers Friday evening, September 23 at 8:00 o'clock in the Butler Street YMCA, at which time reports of the Executive Secretary, J. H. Calhoun, will be made, and refreshments will be served. All active workers are to be extended special invitations for the affair.

34e

Timely Advice

Atlanta Negro leaders have combined their forces to make their votes count in a tangible way during the forthcoming City Primary elections. At a mass-meeting here Friday night, Attorney A. T. Walden, Associate Chairman of the newly formed Voters' League, stressed the importance of Negroes getting out and voting for the candidates of their choice. As the campaign progresses and all the candidates for the various offices are heard, the voters of course will draw their own conclusions as to who is the most deserving of his or her support and vote.

Neverthless, there is one nugget of friendly warning and wisdom which came out of Friday night's meeting and which should not be overlooked or underestimated by any Negro voter. John Wesley Dobbs called upon the Negro voters to shun, as they would a plague, any candidate who is a member of the Ku Klux Klan or the Columbians.

This paper heartily endorses the position taken by Mr. Dobbs and goes a step further by warning Negroes not to cast a ballot for a candidate who is a Klan sympathizer, of whom we have too many among us. Already, the smear campaign has begun. Not much, to be sure, will be heard on the radio or in public addresses against the Negro. But rest assured that vicious, underground campaign of hate and fear be-
d. Some do not want Negro policemen and are pledg-
t them off the force if they are elected. Others are
ng on the plight and misery of Negro housing ten-
d are promising to keep Negroes in their places, if
Let no Negro voter underestimate this Klan influ-
real!

Vote Un Local Levels, Answer To Broader Rights, Says Kendrix

Atlanta, Ga. Daily World

Sun. 1-31-49

WASHINGTON, D. C.— (SNS) — "Increased political activity by Negroes at the local level is the most direct avenue to the extension of fuller civil rights," Moss H. Hendrix told his Washington radio audience, last Sunday night, in the final of eighteen broadcasts that he has done for local station WWDC under the title, "Civil Rights Inventory."

In a commentary summarizing his civil rights series, the youthful commentator and newsman pointed to recent political action by Negroes in the south as testimony of the fact that "votes count most where injustice exists." Mr. Kendrix made specific reference to recent city elections in Atlanta, Georgia, where the incumbent mayor won by a plurality of 107 votes.

"More than 20,000 Negroe voters were registered for the Atlanta primary," noted the WWDC commentator. "Candidates for office came to these voters, spent hundreds,may-be thousands, of dollars for advertising in the local Negro press, and,"

said he, "politicans do not advertise where there is no market." Mr. Kendrix ventured that "things should be better for Atlanta Negroes."

During the four months of "Civil Rights Inventory," Mr. Kendrix interviewed leading personalities in ten principal cities including Washington, Atlanta, Columbus (O), Pittsburgh, Detroit, Chicago, St. Louis, Hollywood, San Francisco, and Boston. His programs were heard by delayed broadcast in Washington.

"Civil Right Inventory" followed a two part format. Mr. Kendrix questioned his guests for nine minutes and then gave them three and a half minutes to state their opinians on how they felt civil rights may be achieved.

The first three broadcasts of the series were with members of Congress and performed from Capitol Hill in Washington. In these interviews, Mr. Kendrix questioned Senator Hubert H. Humphrey, Congressman Brooks Hays, and Senator Henry Cabot Lodge on the role of the Federal Government in the extension and preservation of civil rights.

Journ. 9-27-49

Other broadcasts in the series included discussions on the role of the press, magazines, the movie industry and radio in curbing religious and racial intolerance, and the activity of local bodies to assure fair treatment of minorities.

Among other guests appearing with Mr. Kendrix were Ralph McGill, Atlanta Constitution; Don E. Weaver, Columbus (Ohio) Citizen; Art Arthur, Motion Picture Industry Council; George Schemer, Mayor's Interracial Committee of Detroit and others.

At the close of last Sunday's broadcast, Mr. Kendrix announced that he was leaving the air for an indefinite period. He had done the Sunday evening commentary at WWDC since February, 1949. Prior to his institution of "Civil Rights Inventory," as a summer replacement, he had done a general commentary on domestic and international affairs.

Two Basic Questions

Throughout the series of personal appearances which the several candidates have made before interested groups of Negro voters in behalf of their election on September 7, two questions, above all others, stood out with characteristic clearness.

The first was, "Did you vote for Negro police" assuming that the candidate is an incumbent, and second, "Are you or have you ever been a member of the Ku Klux Klan?" There were other important questions, to be sure, but the unanimity with which these two questions were put to the candidates is striking evidence of the intense interest Negro voters have in adequate protection of life and limb and the great contempt they hold for the Ku Klux Klan or those who uphold its ideals and objectives by affiliation with it.

It seems to us that these are perfectly natural questions, which dwarf other more vital questions in the background because of the all-inclusive nature of them. If a candidate has any reason for not supporting the cause of Negro police he ought to have courage enough to stand up and defend his position, whatever that may be. To say that I frankly did not believe Negro police would be a good thing for Atlanta is a sad admission. It reflects a trend of thinking dangerous to the general cause of Negro progress and advancement.

Journ. 8-28-49

The Negro and the Klan do not speak the same language. And there is little need of any man or group of men trying to explain away their affiliation with that notorious organization.

Increasingly then, as the campaign draws near one is likely to hear much about the issue of Negro police for Atlanta and where do the candidates stand on the Klan. Another issue which seems also to be gaining in the thinking of the voters is the question of housing. What have the incumbents done to help allay fears and tensions in the troubled areas of Atlanta?

Have they led the move to put down rabble-rousers and demagogues during these troubled years of housing shortage or have they felt safely secure in the midst of suffering and humiliation Negroes have had to endure?

Candidates who are inclined to be fair will very well understand the interest of voters in these matters and will seek in every way possible to give satisfying answers to them.

Candidate Raising Race Issue Beaten

Atlanta, Ga. Daily World

34 e. 9-25

BY C. W. GREENLEA

Atlanta voters Wednesday, displaying great reluctance towards making a second trip to the polls to complete a city primary election, turned out about 15,000 strong to give Mayor Hartsfield's administration an overwhelming endorsement.

Conclusive, but unofficial reports gave the five city council candidates who were favored by the mayor, the majorities over their opponents. The apparent winners were: Alderman R. C. Ailor, Councilmen R. S. Dennis. Joe Allen. John T. Marler. and Douglas Wood. The tabulations were from 35 out of 41 precincts, with the remaining 6 precincts not expected to cause any radical changes in the results.

Journ. 9-22-49

McCUTCHEON LOSES

Negro voters expressed their distaste for a candidate who leaders of the Atlanta Negro Voters League charge had "brought in the race issue." They voted heavily for first ward Alderman R. C. Ailor against Bob McCutcheon. In 3-B votes were Ailor 602, McCutcheon 73.

Negro voters, like their white neighbors, proved apathetic in exercising their privilege of voting. An estimation placed the Negro turnout at approximately 2,500 voters.

In the original election held two weeks ago, 40,000 of Atlanta's 94,700 eligible voters went to the polls. About 9,000 of these were Negroes, who furnished Hartsfield with a majority which saved him from defeat, or in the least from having a runover with his strongest opponent, Charlie Brown.

They also at that time gave overwhelming support to Hartsfield's favorites for city council positions. But in five of the contested council seats, no single candidate had received a majority of the votes, hence it was mandatory to hold the Wednesday runover election between the ten highest contenders.

NEGRO VOTES

Tabulations at the predominantly Negro populated precincts 3-B located at E. R. Carter School on Ashby Street, and 5-H located at David T. Howard High School were as follows: (3B) R. C. Ailor 602, Bob McCutcheon 73; Robert S. Dennis 506, J. M. Gregory 126; Joe Allen 533, W. C. Campbell 165; E. E. Cooper 253, John T. Marler 430; Roy Bell 215, Douglas Wood 450.

At precinct 5-H, R. C. Ailor 322, Bob McCutcheon 50; Robert S. Dennis 286, J. M. Gregory 50; Joe Allen 314, W. C. Campbell 81; E. E. Cooper 138, John T. Marler 236; Roy Bell 93, Douglas Wood 268.

KNOW YOUR COUNCILMAN

Atlanta, Ga.

Atlanta's city council, as a result of the two elections held within the two week period, now has a few new faces, but overwhelmingly, a pro-Hartsfield council, with perhaps a very small minority voice to oppose administration sponsored legislation, will govern the city after next January 1, when the new council takes office.

Daily World

The new city government will be composed of the following: Mayor, William B. Hartsfield; Alderman first ward, R. C. Ailor; Alderman Second Ward, Ed. A. Gilliam; Alderman third ward, L. O. Moseley; Alderman fourth ward, Lee Evans; Alderman fifth ward, Dowse Donaldson; Alderman sixth ward, Raliegh Drennon; Councilmen first ward, Robert S. Dennis and James E. Jackson; Councilmen second ward, Robert E. Lee Field, and Joe Allen; Councilmen third ward, Archie Lindsey and William T. Knight, Councilmen fourth ward, John T. Marler and Douglas Wood; Councilmen fifth ward, John A. White and Jimmy Vickers; Councilmen sixth ward, T. Wayne Blanchard and Ralph Huie.

Journ. 9-22-49

NEGRO DESIRES

During the entire campaign for election in the original primary as well as in the runover, Negro leaders had based their support of candidates on pledges that the favored ones would work in unprejudiced manner for the welfare of all citizens of the community. They asked candidates for council as well as the mayor, how they stood on certain issues important to Negroes particularly. In every case they were given favorable answers on the following proposals: Increase in number of Negro police, a Negro-manned fire station on the west side, continuance of rent controls, upgrading in city jobs and appointment to others higher than janitorial, fair share of the public housing projects, Negroes appointed to policy-making boards in city affairs, and extension of the city limits.

Registration, The Next Step

The Georgia Supreme Court, in a unanimous decision Friday upheld the constitutionality of the state's recently enacted Voter Reregistration law, which in the words of its chief sponsor, Governor Talmadge, will prevent "bloc-voting" by Negroes.

"We can find nothing in the act," reads the opinion, "that indicates the law has the effect of denying to any qualified voter the right to register on account of race and color."

This means that all Georgians, colored and white alike, must reregister in order to be eligible to vote in future state and local elections. But in a stricter sense, it means that white voters will encounter little or no difficulty to reregister if the spirit of its chief sponsor, is followed out. For he said, even months before he was elected that about 90 per cent of the white people should be allowed to vote, which should include many unintelligent white people who cannot perhaps read and write, but who nevertheless, are large property owners; while only 10 or 15 per cent of the Negro voters should be permitted to vote.

Accordingly, Negroes who apply for reregistration, will be required to demonstrate, to the satisfaction of the Registrars, that they can read any section of the Constitution of the United States "intelligibly" or write it "legibly". Failing to do either of these to the Registrars satisfaction then prospective voters must answer 10 of 30 questions on government written into law.

Of course, the law as well as its intent, is reprehensible to Negroes. For they know that it was designed to reduce and restrict their voting. But, until a test case can be established, there is nothing they can do but begin now to reregister. That all of us must lose no time in doing. And unless we get reregistered we shall have no chance to establish a case against the Registrars.

In its very conception, the law is diabolical. It cannot stand any sort of reasonable Supreme Court test. The Boswell Law in Alabama could not pass such a test and any law, which seeks to deny or abridge the right of Negroes to vote is going to meet the same fate. Hence Negroes should, take increased hope that all that remains now to be done is for each of them to sense his or her civic duty and get reregistered at once. This goes, not alone for the Negro voters of Atlanta and Fulton county, but more particular, the Negroes throughout the state and in the small rural counties of the state.

Atlanta Negro Voters League To Keep Organization Intact

BY C. W. GREENLEA

The Atlanta Negro Voters League will remain intact and "keep an eye on the doings of the city government."

That statement by League co-chairman J. W. Dobbs, summed up the opinions of nearly 100 League officials and members during a reception at the Butler Street YMCA Friday.

The Voters League had originally been organized as a temporary coalition of local civic and political groups, but as the campaign to interest voters in the September city primary progressed, and the League had immediately gained prestige as "the representative, of Atlanta Negroes," the organization leaders more and more began to consider the idea of permanency.

During the reception, which was termed by some League boosters as a "victory celebration," Dobbs explained that "someone must watch what goes on in local affairs and see that the promises of the various candidates are carried out."

In both the original primary election, and in the runover for candidates who failed to get clear majorities in the original effort, the candidates who had been endorsed by the League had won almost without exception.

As Warren R. Cochrane, League secretary commented, "We almost made a clean sweep!" Negroes have generally been given credit for giving Mayor Hartsfield his victory.

Several speakers pointed out the need for strong leadership and a state-wide organization to conduct a reregistration campaign, noting that all of Georgia's present voters will be wiped off the books on January 1. It was pointed out that the need was not only essential for Atlanta but for the entire state. They urged the League leaders to accept the responsibility.

The League workers heard a comprehensive report of all activities from John H. Calhoun, executive secretary for the organization. Calhoun reported that over 500 volunteer workers had been active in the drive to "get out the vote". He complimented many block and precinct workers who had done "fine jobs of organizing their communities."

Calhoun's report showed that over $2,000 had been contributed by Negro citizens and organizations, to make the work of the organization successful.

Attorney A. T. Walden, presiding at the reception, added that the group had refused to accept money or contributions from candidates. "We did not choose to be obligated to anyone," Walden declared. "Now our hands are clean, and we are in position to demand that promises made to our people be carried out!"

The Voters League adopted four resolutions, at the celebration: (1) That the organization be continued (2) That Fulton County Commissioners be contacted in behalf of some two-hundred Negro veterans who have been stymied in their efforts to build a private housing project in the West Lake-Simpson section, because the County has refused to sell the land it owns there. (3) To help the residents of the Bush Mountain section develop a better community. The section, represented by C. J. Jackson in the League organization, has a city school with no indoor toilets or water; there are no paved streets, street lights, or city water. (4) To begin a reregistration drive in the near future.

Among League workers who spoke during the reception-celebration were: J. W. Dobbs, A. T. Walden, G. L. Chandler, W. S. Holloman, J. P. Whittaker, C. A. Scott, C. A. Bacote, W. R. Cochrane, Mrs. J. P. Sherwood, Rev. W. W. Weatherspool, C. J. Jackson, and Miss Rebecca Dickerson.

Ga.'s High Court Upholds Vote Ban

ATLANTA — Another effort to curtail the power of Georgia's Negro voters reached the pinnacle of success here last week when the State Supreme Court upheld a law calling for the reregistration of Georgia's 1,200,000 voters, including approximately 120,000 Negroes.

The legislation, thoroughly backed by Gov. Talmadge, orders new registration under stiffened qualifications. Talmadge has publicly stated that he wants an election "as white as we can get it." The bill had also received his support during the 1949 session of the State Legislature.

Georgians Start Right

The Negro vote was the pivot upon which Atlanta's mayorality race hung last week, and the solidarity of black citizens who voted in the Democratic primary was successful in giving Mayor William B. Harrisfield a 102-vote lead.

All Georgia Negroes need to do is keep sawing wood. The hulabaloo about not letting Negroes vote, staged by the Talmadge gang, is just so much hog-wash. It is instances similar to the Atlanta vote last week that will convince southern Democrats as to the value of the Negro vote. The same baseless argument was made twenty-five years ago when Negroes started voting in Oklahoma. A few unthinking, visionless Democrats stated publicly they did not want the Negro vote, but it would be extremely difficult to get any man running for office in Oklahoma to make such a statement in 1949.

What the Georgia Negroes need to do is to prove their solidarity to the extent that they can put candidates in or out of office and that will settle the whole thing. This can be accomplished now better than later, for it will be discovered the more sophisticated the voter becomes the less opportunity to effect solidarity. This has been the Oklahoma experience. Oklahoma now has a flock of would-be leaders, which was not the case in the earlier years.

The main effort of any minority group should be to secure entry into the political organization that controls the local or state environment. The power of a minority group can be best expressed in the primary election. This is what the Negroes in Georgia did last week, where nomination in the Democratic party is equivalent to election.

Georgia can also take another leaf from the book of Oklahoma. Stick to the Democratic party organization and do not let a few blacks hungry for power lure them off into a blind alley in any other way.

In Oklahoma the Negro Democratic Association for the past fifteen years has been meeting on the same day as the Democratic State Convention, and while vital policies are being formed in downtown Oklahoma City, having to do with education, taxes, health, public roads and a score of other matters important to the general welfare, the Negroes listen to idle gossip from a handful who when the election

ly over ask for nothing more than a personal hand-out. What Oklahoma and Georgia Negroes need do is to get into the Democratic organization and help fashion a forward program of living for the masses.

Through all of the fight Negroes have recently made in Oklahoma for equality in education the Negro Democratic Association has not voiced a single pro or con. The reason why rests in the fact its leaders were afraid to offend the powers that be. But if the Negro becomes an integral and vital part of the Democratic organization the tables will be turned. The Democratic office holder will fear he may offend the organized Negro vote. That's the healthy and proper relationship that should exist as between office holders and the public, and political parties and their membership.

Well, we started out talking about Georgia and ended up on Oklahoma. The point we actually wish to make is that Georgia Negroes have started right. They should not allow any scatter-brained idiot to talk to them about the Republican party down there in a section where Republicans are just as scarce as hen's teeth. When a Georgia Negro goes to Iowa he should of course join the Republican party, for after all, with your vote you attempt to secure ideal government, and you have to work through the dominant political party for the things desired. But irrespective of what happens, Georgia blacks should never allow a few designing blacks to lead them off into a futile, senseless jim crow political organization.

SOUTHERN PROGRESS SIGN:

Crusade for Equality at Polls Under Way

afro-American

ATLANTA—Southern white church women of all denominations are being urged to begin a new crusade—that of helping to get equality at the voting polls.

By a unanimous vote members of the Southern Regional Council last week pledged to canvass the 12 Southern States for thousands of signatures to petitions stating that as a matter of religious conviction there must be fulfillment of equal justice under the law.

Church women are to be asked to accompany their employees to voters' registration centers to insure their getting equal and courteous treatment there.

The women also are asked to support the liberal ministers in their respective communities, and to give domestic employees time off so that they may vote to defeat political schemes used to deny them civil rights.

Unsegregated Sessions

Some 150 key church workers, including 12 colored persons, attended the unsegregated sessions. Delegates included clergymen, business leaders, professional men, labor leaders and newspaper editors. It was a two-day meeting.

Mrs. M. E. Tilly, field secretary of the council and a member of President Truman's Committee on Civil Rights, presided. She declared:

Post 9-17-49

"When we get those signatures, we will make up maps and charts so that we will know in every county in the South where there is a woman who will work for democracy and know how to strike back at its enemies."

Warns of Obstacles

Dr. W. J. Faulkner, dean of Fisk University, warned the delegation of the obstacles the crusade would encounter. He asserted, "With every item of social progress there is a price to pay, a sacrifice to be made."

As another means of aiding their program, the delegation suggested that church groups commend public officials and local newspapers for courage and initiative in the matter.

It was agreed that the church women visit the courts, examine public records, study functions of police departments, take complaints of civil rights violations to local and Federal judges and to grand juries.

Paul Williams of Richmond, president of the council, termed the problems of the South as a part of a world-wide sickness.

Mayor Cites Need Of Ballot To Stone Mountain Negroes

Daily World Sun. 11-13-49

STONE MOUNTAIN, Ga. — "It takes a ballot to get along in this world," Mayor James R. Venerable told a meeting of Negro citizens here recently.

Atlanta, Ga.

Speaking at a meeting arranged by Ben Franklin Hurt, a representative of the Negro Voters League the forthright Stone Mountain Mayor told the group to "get out and register."

"If you don't vote, you have nobody to blame but yourself," Venerable said. "It is your duty as a citizen to register and vote," he continued. "Come on down to the city hall and I'll see that you get registered."

The youthful Atlanta and Stone Mountain Attorney lashed out against the Talmadge reregistration law. He commented:

"It's a bad law and I hope it is repealed. But it is on the books and we must obey it. You should reregister now. Your school teachers and preachers should coach you in the law so that everyone will be able to register."

The meeting, which was held in a church, was modeled after the Atlanta political meetings which were successful last summer.

Ben Franklin Hurt, Atlanta realtor, presided over the meeting and introduced Mayor Venerable. According to late reports from Mayor Venerable more Negroes have registered in Stone Mountain than ever before in the history of the town.

Mayor Venerable who is up for reelection December 7 also reviewed the accomplishments of his administration. He promised the voters improvements in roads, cemeteries and recreational facilities.

Unity Note Sounded In Reregistration Plan To Cover State

Daily World

In an unprecedented action on a state-wide basis Thursday, leaders of both political factions and some of their followers met and abolished the Georgia Civic and Political League and formed the Georgia Negro Voters League.

In commenting on the formation of the new organization Mr. Dobbs said he was glad to have Atty. Walden join him in the effort to give Negroes non-partisan political leadership. Atty Walden agreed that the move was desirable in non-partisan matters but the Georgia Association of Citizens Democratic Clubs, a partisan group, would remain in tact to give leadership in Democratic politic. This is to hold true with the local Democratic groups he added. Mr. Dobbs also said the various Republican groups would remain as such.

Daily World 11-18-49

The occasion was the Fall meeting of the Civic-Political League and occurred at Shady Dale located in Jasper county about fifty miles southwest of Atlanta. After hearing spirited addresses by President John Wesley Dobbs, and Atty A. T. Walden, both of Atlanta, in which the importance of unity was the keynote in order to meet the challenge of the voters reregistration law, the assembled group took the following principal action.

In the interest of greater unity it abolished its name and adopted the new name of The Georgia Negro Voters League.

Urged the formation of Negro Voters League in every county in the state.

Called for a Spring meeting at Ft. Valley.

Joint officers were elected. J. W. Dobbs and Atty. A. T. Walden, joint presidents; C. A. Scott of Atlanta and Rev. J. F. Mann of Brunswick, joint vice-presidents; W. R. Cochrane of Atlanta and H. E. Bryant of Ft. Valley, joint secretaries; W. S. Hollomon of Atlanta was re-elected treasurer.

Waymon Taylor, local fraternal and civic leader headed a group which acted as host to the meeting which was held at the Greenwood Baptist church pastored by Rev. L. G. Aiken. Mr. Taylor presided over a brief program prior to turning the meeting over to President Dobbs. Music was rendered by the school chorus. Rev. A. G. Becker delivered the invocation and Miss Ruby Dooley, school supervisor, gave the welcome talk in which she praised the spirit of cooperation and progress among the citizens of the community. Prof. J. P. Godfrey, principal of the school, also addressed the meeting and invited the visitors to see the new modern school which is under construction near the church.

Daily World

Others who briefly addressed the meeting included: W. R. Cochrane, C. A. Scott, J. H. Calhoun, of Atlanta, Rev. J. J. Lester of Telfair county; P. W. Williams of Bleckley county and Prof. Glover. Rev. C. C. Stanford gave the benediction.

11-18-49

The importance of reregistration and unity of action to improve the condition of the Negro citizens of the state was mentioned by most of those who spoke. They said also Negroes should seek the best possible relations with their white neighbors without compromising on "their fundamental and Constitutional right to register and vote." The fact that the Shady Dale white school officials had named the new school now under construction in honor of Mrs. Carrie L. Taylor, the wife of Waymon Taylor, drew praise from one of the visiting speakers.

F. A. McLendon of Washington, Waymon Taylor of Jasper and J. H. Calhoun of Fulton comprised the resolution committee.

At the close of the business session the entire group representing over 125 persons from thirteen counties gathered at the AME church and enjoyed barbecue, brunswick stew and all kinds of delicacies. The visitors expressed great appreciation for the courtesies extended them.

J. H. Hollinshead of Pelham and Joe Benjamin of Kelly joined the long list of subscribers to the Atlanta Daily World by giving Editor Scott their subscrpitions.

Mayoralty Aspirants Hurl Charges On Eve of Heated City Election

Constitution Thurs. 9-8-49 Atlanta, Ga.

The 52 candidates for the 21 contested positions in tomorrow's city primary continued last night to din their respective merits into the ears of the 94,744 voters with the following developments:

1. The four candidates for nomination for a four-year term as Mayor tangled in something of a round-robin of charges and counter charges.

2. A. T. Walden, Cochairman of the Atlanta Negro Voters' League, announced that future sessions of the group will be closed to candi-

By HERMAN HANCOCK

dates and the public in an effort to avoid "tension."

3. Mayor Hartsfield, seeking renomination; Charlie Brown and Joe Salem, two other mayoralty candidates, made radio appeals, and Bill Todd, fourth entry in the four-cornered race for the post, issued a statement criticizing the City Democratic Executive Committee for allowing "Republicans" to vote in the primary.

4. Hartsfield and Brown were engaged in a heated controversy about administration of the Municipal Airport with Brown attacking and Hartsfield defending operations there.

Negroes will vote for the first time in an Atlanta city primary tomorrow and voting machines will be used for the first time.

Of the 94,744 qualified to cast ballots, 22,405 are Negroes.

Final-hour radio appeals were made by candidates and their representatives last night with only one more day of campaigning left. They extolled their respective virtues, their records, and lashed out at their opponents. Although radio audiences were limited because thousands of Atlantans were out of town for the Labor Day holiday, the radios buzzed with campaign oratory.

Brown, Hartsfield and Salem filled the air waves with bids for preference when the battle of ballots begins tomorrow morning. Ballots will be cast in 41 precincts and on 210 voting machines. Polls open at 7 a. m. and close at 7 p. m.

Walden announced during the day that the invitation extended to all candidates to speak before the Negro Voters League had been cancelled.

"Because of developments the other night (when Bill Todd challenged the right of J. W. Dobbs, also a co-chairman of the Negro Voters League, to vote in the primary 'because he is a Republican'), we have decided to have just our own people," Walden said. "Future meetings will be confined to Negro voters. We have tried to conduct the meetings so as to avoid tension. Developments the other night might be a forerunner of unpleasantness."

Brown challenged Hartsfield's administration of the Municipal Airport with a statement that "no denial by Hartsfield nor any of his hired employees can refute the Council resolution . . . authorizing and directing the Mayor and Council to execute contracts to sell Jack Gray (Airport Manager) a six-room frame house, which cost the city thousands of dollars, for just $100."

Atlanta, Ga.

He called on Hartsfield to have Council rescind the action at its meeting today, and called for a grand jury investigation of the alleged fact that the Aviation Committee of Council never meets, why no minutes of meetings are kept, why contracts have been awarded without bids, and other charges.

Gray said he never took possession of the house because he could not afford to pay $7,800 to have it moved and set up. The original owner still lives there and pays no rent, Gray added.

"I do not blame Mr. Hartsfield for keeping these Airport deals quiet," Brown said. "I wouldn't tell anybody about them either, but everybody at the Airport knows about them."

Todd said he does not intend to "challenge at the polls the right of Republicans" to vote in the primary, but said he is "by no means in accord with the announced intention of the committee" to permit them to vote.

T. Elton Drake, Chairman of the Committee, said Todd could challenge the vote of any person attempting to vote illegally and that the matter would be considered by the committee. He said that was the legal way to contest a vote. The Drake statement came after Todd demanded that the Committee bar Dobbs from voting. Drake further explained that party regularity had never been demanded in local elections.

"I think that it is a clear-cut and flagrant violation of the oath of office which the City Democratic Committee has taken," Todd said, "to permit Republicans to vote in the Democratic primaries. I will abide by Mr. Drake's decision, but I am thinking that the people will remember the Committee's action when they cast their votes."

Heavy Balloting In First Primary Done By Negroes

Atlanta, Ga.

Daily Herald Thurs. 9-8-49

Heated Campaign Leaves Several Run-Offs In Field

BY C. W. GREENLEA

Mayor William B. Hartsfield nosed out a field of three challengers, to win renomination in the Atlanta Democratic primary by a bare majority of 47 votes. Nomination in the primary is tantamount to election.

Hartsfield polled 20,074 votes from the 41 precincts located over the city, and his toughest opponent, Charlie Brown, former Fulton county commissioner, counted 17,253. Joe Salem, young attorney attracted 1,111 votes while Bill Todd siphoned off 1,617. Hartsfield's total was 47 more than the 51 per cent of the votes cast, giving him the clear majority by unofficial tabulations. The official results will be announced after the city Democratic Committee meets at noon today.

The largest number of voters in the history of Atlanta participated in the election. Approximately 40,000 citizens cast votes for their favorite candidates. Of the 94,000 odd total registration, with 22,400 Negro voters included, about 10,000 colored people are estimated to have gone to the polls. This number, however, was easily one of the factors in the Hartsfield re-election.

3-B AND 5-H

In precincts 3-B at Carter School on Ashby Street, and 5-H at David T. Howard High School on Houston Street, the combined results tallied: Hartsfield, 3,253; Brown 587; Salem 45; and Todd 58.

Several city council positions were still in doubt at press time and run-offs in certain races appeared inevitable. T. Wayne Blanchard, challenger from the sixth ward apparently had replaced the veteran councilman Howard Haire. A run-off race was certain in the first ward where Robert E. Dennis held a substantial lead over "old man" J. M. Gregory, with A. C. Hopkins running a poor third; and in the fourth ward where John T. Marler held a lead over Rev. E. E. Cooper and Neal Ponder, with Joe Wallace running a pitiful fourth. At press time Marler had 12,284 votes, Cooper 7,152, Ponder 4,937, and Wallace 1,667. Also in the other fourth ward council bracket, a run-off was evident between Roy Bell and Douglas Wood, the two highest bidders in the race of three that included Dr. Robert K. Glass.

In the second ward race, incumbent councilman Joe Allen, who amused his audience during the campaign by alluding that he "had been on a vacation," apparently was in for a runover with W. C. (Bill) Campbell.

BOARD OF EDUCATION

In the board of education races, John T. Cason held a slight lead over incumbent D. M. Therrill at press time. Therrill had 7,204 and Cason 7,382. J. Austin Dilbeck, incumbent board member, however, held a substantial lead over his opponent T. Hoynes Backus, 8,595 to 6,089.

In the hotly contested mayoralty race, the incumbent Mayor William B. Hartsfield had been endorsed by the Atlanta Negro Voters League. Late Tuesday night an attempt had been made to thwart the League's plans by circulating false cards that contained the name of Charlie Brown instead of Hartsfield. The alleged "fake" cards were an exact duplicate of the League's card, even to containing the names of J. W. Dobbs and A. T. Walden, co-chairmen.

DOBBS HAPPY

Walden was in California Wednesday, and Dobbs issued a statement as follows: "We are happy that Mr. Hartsfield has won the race; he is a fine man. We are proud that Negro voters were a factor in his election."

The mayoralty race had been a dramatic race even to the counting of the ballots. With 40 of the 41 precincts reported, Hartsfield needed 137 votes to have a clear majority over his opponents. Only the Kirkwood precinct remained to be counted, second ward precinct F in the DeKalb portion of Atlanta. When it finally came in, the mayor had his narrow lead of 47. Actually the mayor received 20,074 to his opponents combined total of 19,981.

The September 7 election has been marked by the participation of Negro voters for the first time in a city primary. But even more significant, in the Negro Community, the election was unprecedented with the coming of candidates to Negro mass meetings to appeal openly for Negro votes. Practically every candidate in every bracket asked Negro voters for support.

Church Women Blast State's New Voters Law

Daily Herald Sat 9-10-49 Atlanta Ga

By Lerone Bennett, Jr.

Blasting the Georgia reregistration law as a "threat to the security of all the voters of Georgia," Church women from twelve Southern States ended a two-day meeting at Wesley Memorial Church Friday afternoon.

The women, organized as the Southern Church Women, an interracial organization, adjourned after a Friday morning meeting. Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt had addressed the conference Thursday night.

A town-to-town civil rights program was adopted by the group of prominent Negro and white women from such diverse states as Florida, Mississippi and Texas.

Common consent was given to a resolution urging the women to find and accompany qualified Negroes to the polls as an assurance that these Negroes would be properly registered.

The Church women, a unit of the Southern Regional Council, also approved a resolution binding them to work for the appointment of Negro policemen in their respective communities.

Also adopted at the Friday session was a statement which took cognizance of the fact that many people do not share constituional freedoms. The statement read:

"I am concerned that our constitutional freedoms are not shared by all our people; my religion convinces me that they must be and gives me courage to study, work, and lead others to the fulfillment of equal justice under the law."

In the area of public opinion the group agreed to read and show their local editors a Southern Regional Council publication, "Race in the News." This booklet, among other things, was highly critical of white newspapers which do not designate Negro women by titles and that persist in referring to people in the news by racial titles.

Ealier in the conference, William Fowlkes, managing editor of The Atlanta Daily World, had pointed out that the dominant press refuses to give Negroes a square deal in reporting Negro-white incidents.

Among other resolutions which the conference accepted were several which urged the women to support and encourage liberal pastors: organize an institute on race relations; and to "affirm in my personal relations and in my religious and civic work, my convictions of the dignity of all humans and the ideal of equal justice."

In addition to Mrs. Roosevelt, those active in the work of the two-day conference were: Mrs. M. E. Tilly, a member of the President's Committee on Civil Rights; Paul Williams, president, Southern Regional Council; Dr. W. J. Faulkner, dean of the chapel, Fisk University; Ralph McGill, editor, Atlanta Constitution; and Mrs. Grace Towns Hamilton, executive secretary of the Atlanta Urban League.

Vote Law Is Upheld

The Georgia Supreme Court has upheld the reregistration law.

The decision was unanimous. But the case is sure to go to the U. S. Supreme Court. The issue is far from settled.

Administration forces carefully drafted the reregistration law in an attempt to comply with court decisions affirming the right of Negroes to vote. Particular attention was paid to the decision outlawing the so-called Boswell Amendment in Alabama, which, the court said, was invalid because under it registrars in each county were able to determine, without a firm criterion, who was qualified to vote.

With the Boswell decision in mind, the Georgia law provides for a literacy test and, if the applicant fails that, an oral test comprising 30 simple questions which are written into the law.

Registrars determine whether the applicant passes the tests, but appeals from their decision may be taken to court.

Opponents of the law charge that registrars are given arbitrary power to "take away the liberties of voters of the State of Georgia without due process of law."

On this point the Georgia Supreme Court declared: "The mere possibility that the Board of Registrars may under this statute act arbitrarily and recklessly in administering the law and thereby violate constitutional rights is not a ground for declaring the act as a whole unconstitutional.

"We can find nothing in the act that indicates the law has the effect of denying to any qualified voter the right to register on account of race, color. . . ."

The Court went further to point out that the complaining party did not claim that he or anyone else had been denied the right to register under the law. That appears to have been the key to the decision.

Actually, the percentage of Negroes to whites registering under the new act runs higher than was qualified under the old law. About 13½ percent on the old voters' lists are Negroes. In a recent State-wide survey, the Macon News found about 15 percent of new registrations were by Negroes.

Because of doubt as to the validity of the new law only 44 Georgia counties have made any effort at reregistration, and only a trickle of registrants has greeted those efforts.

Effect of the new decision is to clear the air only to a degree, for this case or a similar one, likely will be taken direct to the U. S. Supreme Court. That can be done because a constitutional question is involved. That may mean a final decision will be many, many months way.

Atlanta Negroes Swing Vote in First Primary

Atlanta, Sept. 8 (AP).—Negroes voting for the first time in this city's Democratic primary proved today to have been the balance ofcial power in deciding the mayo'rs race.

Mayor William B. Hartsfield, who picked up thousands of votes yesterday in predominantly Negro precincts, was officially declared the winner by a 102-ballot majority over three opponents. His chief rival was Charlie Brown, former Fulton County commissioner.

The official count was Hartsfield 20,092, Brown 17,258. Two minor candidates—Bill Todd and Joe Salem—talled 2732 votes between them.

Of 94,744 persons eligible to vote, 22,405 were Negroes. In one of three precincts with preponderant Negro population the unofficial vote was Hartsfield 2152, Brown 417; in another, Hartsfield 713, Brown 335, and the third, Hartsfield 1101, Brown 170.

Negroes Opposed To Blank Check For More Taxes

Atlanta Daily World
Atlanta Ga.
Jan-4-7-49

Contrary to published reports in the press that the result of the referendum Tuesday would have a bearing on whether or not Negroes would go into federal courts regarding the differential in school teachers' pay and school opportunities, a review of the results at Negro polling precincts in Atlanta indicated that Negroes felt about the same as the white voters about giving virtually a blank check order for additional taxes which they were to share in paying.

Here are reports of the voting at some of the precincts where there is a substantial number of Negro voters.

	For	Against
First Ward, C	61	446
Third Ward, A	25	75
Third Ward, B	128	366
Fifth Ward, H	52	105

Voters over the state-at-large voted about 3 to 1 against additional taxes.

New Georgia Voting Plan A Waste Of Time

Montgomery Advertiser
Montgomery Ala.
Jan-1-23-49

THE General Assembly is wasting its time if it goes ahead with the proposal to bar Negroes from voting by the subterfuge of giving local registration boards the power to say whether or not an "explanation" of a section of the Constitution is satisfactory to them.

Any such law will be knocked out summarily upon presentation in due form to a Federal Court. Sat-1-23-49

That test was the pith and substance of the Boswell Amendment which a special federal tribunal last week declared null and void. We quote from the opinion written by District Judge Clarence Mullins of Birmingham and concurred in by Circuit Judge Leon McCord of Montgomery and District Judge John McDuffie of Mobile:

"To state it plainly, the sole test is: Has the applicant (for registration), by oral examination or otherwise, understood and explained the Constitution to the satisfaction of the particular board? To state it more plainly, the board has a right to reject one applicant and accept another, depending solely on whether it likes or dislikes the understanding and explanation offered. To state it even more plainly, the board, by use of the words 'understand and explain,' is given the arbitrary power to accept or reject any prospective elector that may apply, or, to use the language of Yick Wo vs. Hopkins, 118 U. S. 356,366. These words 'actually do confer, not a discretion to the exercised upon a consideration of the circumstances of each case, but a naked and arbitrary power to give or withhold consent' . . .

"It clearly appears that this amendment was intended to be, and is being used for the purpose of discriminating against applicants for the franchise of the basis of race or color. Therefore we are necessarily brought to the conclusion that this amendment, both in its object and the manner of its administration, is unconstitutional because it violates the fifteenth amendment."

They couldn't get away with it in Alabama. They will not be able to get away with it in Georgia. We all in the South will have to face the reality which Charleston-born and reared Judge J. Waites Waring stated in South Carolina: "No election machinery can be upheld if its purpose or effect is to deny to the Negro, on account of his race or color, an effective voice in the government of his country or the state or community in which he lives."

If he could get by with it—and we cannot—to give to local registrars the arbitrary power to say who are fitted to vote and who are not would be to imperil the franchise of any citizen, white or black, at the whim of those registrars. It is too dangerous a power to be handed over to a clique of politicians.

Is it not the wiser course for us to drop forever the determination to disfranchise Negroes because of color and instead seek to aid them, through precept and practice, to use their ballots wisely and well, rather than prolong this ancient and now hopeless strife?

Is it not the obligation of good citizenship and true Americanism to accept the law and obey it to the letter and in spirit?

Todd Terms Negro Leader GOP Chief, Asks Poll Ban

Atlanta, Ga. Constitution

By HERMAN HANCOCK

Bill Todd, mayoralty candidate, last night demanded that J. W. Dobbs, Co-chairman of the Atlanta Negro Voters' League, be barred from next Wednesday's city primary, charging that Dobbs is a "national Republican Committeeman from Georgia."

Todd filed his charge at a rally held at Washington High School athletic field. He called on the City Democratic Executive Committee to prevent Dobbs from participating in the primary, demanding party regularity.

The Todd statement was greeted by boos from an audience of 800 in the grandstands, and Todd was finally crowded from the microphone by Negro leaders presiding over the session. 9-3-49

Later Mayor Hartsfield, candidate for re-election, told the audience that the Atlanta primary has always been regarded as "nonpartisan," adding that if Republicans are barred, some of Atlanta's leading citizens will be unable to participate in primary elections.

Todd opened his address by saying he will represent the "little people" and then swung into his indictment against Dobbs.

"I challenge the right of J. W. Dobbs to participate in the Democratic primary because he is a Republican Committeeman," Todd said.

"I call on the City Democratic Executive Committee to bar him from voting in the primary. Dobbs is a Republican preaching Yankee imperialism."

As Todd spoke, A. T. Walden, also a co-chairman, Dobbs and the Rev. M. L. King, Pastor of the Ebenezer Baptist Church, crowded to the microphone and the booing became so loud that Todd could not be understood. He surrendered the loud speaker. Walden took over to say:

"No one has the right to pass on eligibility at this meeting," Walden said. I am sorry the gentleman brought up the issue."

Dobbs then demanded the right to speak saying he had been attacked. Atlanta Ga.

"The Federal courts have ruled all have a right to vote in elections," he asserted. Constitution

Just before the mayors started to speak, Dobbs made a short speech in which he told the group "you have something these gentlemen want—22,000 votes." He said Negroes have come a long way over the years. He praised Negro policemen, but urged a fire house in the Negro belt in which the rally was held, staffed by Negroes.

Joe Salem, four mayoralty aspirant, promised to be "Mayor to all the people, white and colored alike." Sat 9-3-49

Wellborn Ellis spoke in the absence of Brown, and Hartsfield, after saying "There is no party in local government in Atlanta, told the audience the 'Ex-commissioner (Brown) is dying'."

He pointed to a decorated float carrying Brown plastering and said "They have already erected the monument."

"The people will bury Brown next Wednesday and this will be the inscription on the monument:

"Here lies the body of Charlie Brown

"He thought he was up, but now he is down."

Practically all other candidates for the 21 contested positions in the primary appeared at the rally and made short speeches in which they asked for votes.

City Democratic Executive Committee members yesterday re-emphasized that the old registration list, carrying nearly 95,000 qualified voters, will be used in the primary. If a person was eligible to vote on any list prior to May 7, he can vote Wednesday, they asserted.

Loud Speakers To Take Care Of Overflow

Atlanta, Ga.

Candidates Cite Heavily Worded Records, Make Promises To Citizens

Sun 9-4-49

BY C. W. GREENLEA

Negro voters of Atlanta next Wednesday, September 7, will cast ballots for the first time in a local city primary election.

Since the Federal courts declared the "white primary" illegal in 1945, Atlantans have voted in state and county elections, but no city primary has been held.

With a registration of approximately 22,000 out of a total 94,000 voters who are qualified to vote, the Negro votes, if the majority of them are cast for identical candidates, are certain to be a big factor in deciding which men out of a total 68 candidates for public office, shall govern Atlanta for the next four years.

Unprecedented in Atlanta history, voters have witnessed practically every one of the public office -seekers openly solicit the support of Negro voters.

LIVELY MASS MEETINGS

In a lively series of public mass meetings sponsored by the Atlanta Negro Voters League in practically every section of the city where Negroes live, candidates for the mayor's office, city council, and board of education, have argued and debated their platforms and the campaign issues.

The primary election will be conducted on a city-wide basis, with voters of all ward casting ballots for candidates from all wards. Some 200 voting machines have been set up at the polling places to take care of the expected record turn-out.

Topping the week-long series of meetings, a turbulent session attended by over 2,000 voters was held in the Washington High School Stadium Friday night. Officials of the Voters League were making arrangements Saturday, to have loudspeakers extend to the basement and out-of-doors at Big Bethel AME Church on Auburn Avenue, to take care of the overflow crowd of voters expected to attend Monday night's meeting.

Most observers agree that the election has been the most spirited in recent years.

Topping the long list of offices at stake in the election, greatest interest has centered around the mayoralty position, in which Mayor William B. Hartsfield, seeking reelection is opposed by a spirited field of three; Charlie Brown, former Fulton Commissioner, Joe Salem, and Bill Todd.

Negro voters, rallying to the program of the Voters League, have set forth several issues, to whch they have asked the candidates to pledge themselves, if they would have the support of the majority of voters within the racial group.

ACTIVE CAMPAIGN

Negro supporters, however, have been actively working in the campaigns of Charlie Brown and William Hartsfield, and several candidates for council have colored

boosters.

The Voters League program calls for increasing the number of Negroes on the city police force, establishing a Negro-manned fire station in the populous third ward, hiring of Negroes in city jobs other than janitorial, continuance of rent control, a fair share of public housing, and several aims of lesser interest. The general committee of the Voters League will meet at the Butler St. YMCA at 1:30 p. m., today.

By week's end, the demands of the Negro voters for a fire station, apparently had moved up to the top of the list of all the issues of the campaign, and candidates who had been weak in their stands at first, became more definite in their promises.

The mass meetings have been marked by an extravagant display of verbal fireworks as candidates for mayor and council clashed with one another for favor of the voters.

Attorney A. T. Walden and John Wesley Dobbs, are co-chairmen of the Voters League. Dobbs, whose assignment at the meetings has been to set forth the demands of the Negro voters, has incurred the verbal wrath of two of the major candidates.

CONTROVERSY

Late Saturday, Candidate Charlie Brown announced that he "will not attend another meeting of voters in which Dobbs is allowed to participate.

Mayor Hartsfield has continually quoted his record of service to the city in general and to Negro voters in particular.

Negroes have made to secret of their intention to vote against incumbent members of the board of education because of discrimination in school facilities and teachers salaries.

Racial Issues Heat Campaign Speeches

Constitution Fri. 9-2-49

By HERMAN HANCOCK

The racial issue in the Sept. 7 City primary continued to boil last night as candidates appeared at two rallies.

J. W. Dobbs, co-chairman of a series of political rallies being held under the auspices of the Atlanta Negro Voters' League, told an audience at St. Mark AME Church "Negroes are going to vote from now on."

Dobbs interrupted a rally at which candidates were speaking, and just before the candidates for Mayor were invited to the platform, made his statement.

His address followed appearance of mayoralty and Sixth Ward candidates before the Northeast Atlanta Lions Club at which J. Austin Dilbeck, candidate for re-election to the Board of Education, read a bulletin issued by the Peoples Progressive Party of Georgia calling for "an end of segregation of the races in the schools."

Dilbeck asked the audience if it wanted that. Several answered "No."

The Dobbs speech was the feature of the meetings.

He began by explaining that the meetings are sponsored by various Negro organizations which have agreed that the welfare of the race is bigger than any one organization.

"We want candidates to work for the right thing for our people," he said. "We have not asked a single candidate for anything for these meetings and will not do so, I know some people—some preachers—are sponsoring some candidates. They have had money for doing that.

"Thank God the Federal Court has said we could vote, and we are going to vote from now on. We are interested in police, health, rent controls, education and other things. We want our children to have a better chance than we did. I do not apologize for being an American citizen. People of our race have died defending our country. I have been an American all my life. We want the candidates, especially for mayor, to tell us what they stand for. We want the Negro policemen made first class policemen.

"We want more Negro policemen. We want a fire station in the Negro belt of the Third Ward (where the meeting was held) and we want Negro firemen placed there. We want equal facilities and equal pay for Negro education.

"I am not pulling my punches. I am just calling a spade a spade."

Charlie Brown, Mayor Hartsfield, Joe Salem and Bill Todd, the mayoralty candidates, spoke immediately after Dobbs' address.

Brown turned poetic at the close of his appeal and delivered the following poem:

"Todd's too dreary—
"Salem's too light—
"Hartsfield's too weary—
"Brown's just right."

Rent controls, Negro police, the projected Negro fire station, housing and other issues of the campaign were discussed. All candidates expressed an interest in the Negro and said they would work toward equalization of facilities and opportunities.

The Negro meetings are providing the largest crowds offered generally at community rallies.

Another Negro meeting is set for 7:30 p. m. today at the Washington High School Athletic Field.

At the Lions Club meeting Brown said it "looks like I have another opponent in this race — John Wesley Dobbs." He said he thought he was running against three candidates, but it appeared there are four.

Hartsfield countered by exhibiting what he said was an appeal by some Negroes in behalf of the Brown candidacy. "It seems Mr. Brown has some of them working for him," Hartsfield added.

T. Elton Drake, Chairman of the City Democratic Executive Committee, yesterday emphasized that any person registered by last May 7 can vote in the primary whether he has reregistered or not.

"If his name was on the old list, he can vote," Drake asserted.

The racial issue was first injected into the campaign Wednesday when a statement by two Negroes —Ulyses and Marion Brooks—was circulated saying they were told by a policeman stationed at Plaza Park that they could not sit on the benches.

Hartsfield said last night the officer on duty said he knew nothing of the incident and Hartsfield expressed his belief that it did not occur.

Mayor Candidate Refuses To Attend Dodd Meeting

Constitution Sun. 9-4-49

Atlanta's city political tempets headed into its last four days today with the city's Negro voters receiving a lion's share of publicity from candidates.

The first city primary in which they have voted finds Negro citizens flocking to political rallies and showing their interest in politics.

But these very political rallies brought a charge last night from one mayoralty candidate.

Charlie Brown charged a "deliberate attempt is being made to stir up racial friction."

Brown announced in a formal statement he would attend no further meetings held by John Wesley Dobbs, co-chairman of the Atlanta Negro Voters League. A series of meetings have been sponsored in various Negro areas.

As Brown announced his boycott of the sessions, Bill Todd, who Friday night challenged Dobbs' right to vote in Wednesday's Democratic primary because he "is a Republican," and Joe Salem, also a candidate, issued statements regarding Brown's attitude. Candidate Hartsfield declined to comment.

"The only real effort made at the meetings is to fool the audience into going along with block voting for the candidate selected," Brown said, adding "I want to be on record as deploring this insidious plot."

Two other meetings have been set by the Negro voters—one at 7:30 p. m. tomorrow at Big Bethel Church and the other at the same time Tuesday at South Atlanta Methodist Church, 124 Thrilkield Ave., S. E.

Text of Brown's statement follows:

"I want to inform the Atlanta newspapers that a deliberate effort is being made to create an incident which will stir up racial friction. It want to be on record as deploring this insidious plot.

"The political meetings held under the sponsorship of John Wesley Dobbs are succeeding only in stirring up racial issues with front page newspaper stories.

"I have attended three of these meetings at their invitation. They are a farce. The candidate for mayor backed by Dobbs and a few so-called leaders, was picked months ago. The only real effort made at the meetings is to fool the audience into going along with voting for the candidate selected.

"I did not attend their meeting Friday night and I shall not attend any more of Dobbs meetings. I solicit the votes of the colored people of our community, but they should be allowed to select their own candidates and vote their convictions free from dictation. I shall not be a party to meetings that stir up racial friction."

Todd said he probably will attend the other meetings, but doubts if he will speak.

"Brown and Hartsfield tried to outpromise each other when we all appeared before the general committee of the Atlanta Negro Voters' League several days ago," Todd said. "While I appealed to them to stand on Americanism and promised them and all Atlanta a square deal, Hartsfield and Brown were doing everything possible to get the nod from Dobbs and his satellites.

"Brown's late effort to win the faith and vote of the white people is like the cry of a disappointed child about to be whipped. The only reason Brown was not at the meeting Friday night was that he was otherwise engaged. He had his trucks there. His workers distributed literature signed by Negroes indorsing his candidacy and a speaker appealed in his behalf. Hartsfield is the fair haired boy of Dobbs and his associates. The colored veterans and other Negroes who know me are my friends and many of them will vote for me."

Salem said he will attend all the meetings possible white or colored, in furtherance of his candidacy.

"Mr. Hartsfield and Mr. Brown both have held and attended meetings in the city with various groups in an effort to create trouble between the races," Salem asserted. "Both now realize they are defeated. I am unning for Mayor of all the people of Atlanta regardless of race, creed or color."

Georgia - (Atlanta Negro Voters League)

Urge Big Vote For Hartsfield

BY C. W. GREENLEA

Voter crowds at mass meetings of the Atlanta Negro Voters League Tuesday night, gave resounding cheers as speakers extolled the record of incumbent Mayor William B. Hartsfield, and asked their hearers to vote for him at the polls today.

At two capacity meetings, one at the Ebenezer Baptist Church on Auburn Avenue and the other at the South Atlanta Methodist Church on Thirkield Avenue, S. E., voters hailed speaker after speaker, as they came out for Atlanta's popular mayor.

Wed. 8-7-49

John Wesley Dobbs Tuesday night struck out at "last-minute efforts of opposition candidates to confuse the voters." Dobbs declared that "spurious tickets," containing forged names of himself and Attorney A. T. Walden were being circulated among Negro voters. He declared that the Voters League wants to make it plain that any list of candidates that is not headed by the name of William B. Hartsfield, is a "fake" list. The League not only has recommended the present mayor but also has offered suggestions to voters on the council positions and the board of education.

John H. Calhoun, executive secretary of the Voters League, said the League would make its recommendations public in a paid advertisement in the Atlanta Daily World this morning.

AD IN WORLD

Rev. M. L. King declared that the "fake" cards, distributed to the homes of Negro voters last night by workers of candidates opposed to Mayor Hartsfield, "is a pretty low trick, and shows to what extent some people will go, when they see that they are losing an election." He added that Negroes "cannot afford to vote for anyone but William B. Hartsfield!"

The "fake card" that the League officials referred to, was an exact duplication of a card that the Voters League issued to voters at its Monday night meeting at Big Bethel Church and also through its 700 block workers Tuesday.

The polls will open at 7 A. M. and close at 7 P. M. at 41 different precincts throughout the city. Over 22,000 Negroes are registered to vote, and a record turnout is expected.

NO INGRATES

At South Atlanta, John Wesley Dobbs, co-chairman of the Voters League told his hearers, "Hartsfield has taken a statesman-like stand on every issue that affects the welfare of our people .... we would be ingrates if we did not stick with him now!"

At Ebenezer Church, C. A. Scott, C. R. Yates, Rev. M. L. King, Prof. J. P. Whittaker, and Warren R. Cochrane, all spoke words of praise for Mayor Hartsfield to the cheering crowd.

The Voters League organization has packed thousands of citizens into meetings held in every section of town, and has had practically every candidate to appear before the voters. The final meetings Monday and Tuesday night were closed to all candidates after League officials were warned that a racial incident might be provoked by some persons who felt that any such disturbance might be deliberately started in an effort to embarrass Mayor Hartsfield.

PLAZA PARK

Hartsfield last week had urged Negro citizens to use the new downtown Plaza Park and Hurt Park just as other citizens use them.... "like the public sidewalks." Joe Wallace, council candidate from the West End section, speaking behind Hartsfield at the Allen Temple meeting, had said he was "sorry the mayor was trying to urge the good colored people to do that."

The League officials had been led indirectly to cancel invitations to the candidates when Mayoralty Bill Todd attacked John Wesley Dobbs before a voter crowd of some 2,000 Negroes last Friday at the Washington High Stadium.

Official figures set the total of registered voters at 94,000. Of this number, 22,000 Negroes are eligible.

Voters League officials have made arrangements for "cheap" rides to the polls today. All taxi-cab companies have agreed to special rates. Voters may call the cab nearest their homes.

20 Negroes Here Form Young Voters' Club

Courier-Journal
Louisville, Ky
June 5, 1949

William P. Lanier, first president, yesterday announced organization of a group of 20 Negroes into the Young People's Independent Voters Club.

Lanier, photographer for The Louisville Defender, said the object of the club is to encourage young voters to take a more active interest in politics. Another meeting is planned for 7 p.m. June 6 at 418 S. 5th.

Other officers are vice-president, James Rogers; treasurer, James Frye; secretary, Miss Bernita Lampkins; corresponding secretary, Miss Gwendolyn Williams, and sergeant at arms, William Sleets.

34e 1949

Reverting Aldermanic Government Upheld

Memphis Tenn. 10 aug

BY JAMES B. LaFOURCHE

NEW ORLEANS — (ANP) — The boldest stroke to disfranchise the Negro since the days of the nefarious "Grandfather Clause" act which had its origin in Oklahoma was effected here last week when the State Supreme court held as constitutional a legislative act of 1948, wherein the legislature enacted a measure which reverts the city to the aldermanic form of government.

The city, which has enjoyed a Commission Council form of government since 1912, will now be governed by seven aldermen, and will be divided into as many muncipal districts. The Negro vote totalling more than 17,389, according to the registrar's report forSeptember last has been irrecoverably scattered.

RECONSTRUCTION RELIC

The aldermanic form of government in New Orleans hearkens back to the "carpetbagger" days of Henry Clay Warmeth and his Negro lieutenant Gov. Oscar J. Dunn. The latter while presiding over the legislature in 1870, steam rollered Act 7, of 1870 over the opposition and joined together Algiers and New Orleans which have since remained inseparable.

A previous administration had enacted a measure which had separated the city from the remainder of the parish, and included only the "free" white citizens.

The territorial expansion of the City of New Orleans, creating a new municipal district, happened during the administration of William iPtt Kellog and his Negro Lt Gov. C. C. Antoine, Although there is little love for "carpetbegger" government here with its Negro accomplices New Orleans from all indications wasn't sold short on the science of government. Most of what they legislated has stood the test of time. Even the aldermanic form of government to which the city must presently return.

SCATTERED VOTE

Under the new setup, Negroes may vote in block for three candidates, the mayor, the district attorney and the criminal sheriff. As for the alderman, he can only vote for one, the candidate in the Municipal district in which the vote lives.

Some are of the opinion that this form of city government is best, but others insist that with only a small number of Negroes registered, the latter's vote is negligible.

The September registration showed that throughout the 17 wards of the city, only 17,389 Negroes were registered. Of course, this is a very small number, but it must be remembered that in 1934, Negro registration was barely above the 2,000 mark. It is only within the past two years that Negroes have manifested any great interest in registration, but they are now making steady headway.

To give you an idea how the vote has been scattered, here is the vote in the respective wards and muncipal districts as of September last.

First District, 2604 Negro votes as against 15,583 white; second district, 2005 Negro votes as against 20,165 white; Third District, 4124 Negro as against 41,108 white; Fourth District, 3930 Negro votes as against 10,753 white; Fifth District, 1459 votes as against 6689 white; Sixth District, 2235 Negro votes as against 29,193 white; and Seventh District, 1032 Negro votes as against 12,709 white.

Here we have a total of 17,389 Negro votes as against 136,903 white, making a grand total of 154,292 votes. Registration, however, will continue until the end of December. The books are closed one month prior to the January primary.

Louisiana

New Orleans Vote Rises Higher, Higher

Memphis Tenn.

By JAMES B. LaFOURCHE

NEW ORLEANS, La. — (ANP) — The Negro's political stock soared to a new high here last week when, a candidate for the mayoralty, Robert S. Maestri, openly bargained for the 20,000 or more votes that the Negro will cast next Jan. 24.

Maestri, who formerly served the city as mayor from 1936 to 1946, to date has outbidded two other mayoralty candidates, Charles S. Zatarain, and the incumbent deLesseps S. Morrison, who defeated Maestri in 1946.

Realizing that he is up against a brick wall in his all-out effort to defeat the man who previously downed him in the bitter campaign of 1946, Maestri has carefully scrutinized what the other candidates have offered and he goes them one better by making a direct appeal to the Negro voter. Says Maestri:

"If I am elected mayor, I promise to work out a plan giving the Negroes of our city a park of their own Lake Ponchartrain with bathing facilities equal to any. I propose also to set up a Negro playground commission, which will be composed of the leading Negroes of our community, and which will have entire supervision of Negro playgrounds. I propose, likewise, to creae a Negro department of labor by city ordinance to be administered by a Negro force which will not conflict with state law.

"It is time that our people face the issue which in fairness and honesty should be faced.

"If I am elected mayor, polic brutalities to both white and Negroes will cease. I will insist that all men and women be treated alike in the eyes of the law."

Politically, the plight of the Negro here is pathetic. For the first time in 52 years he is being openly sought for his politcal support, and like in times past he is not ready to intelligently assume the responsibility of statecraft.

The Negro, after 52 years of disfranchisement, has been suddenly transformed into a citizen again, just as he was after the close of the Civil War. Vote mad politicians, like the carpetbaggers of the '60s, realize how necessary it is to woo the Negro vote if they are to regain their lost power, and strategically they subtly register Negroes by the thousands. Yes, thousands of Negroes who, for the past eight years have been denied the privilege of registering, now sport registration certificates. That there is method in this madness, no one will doubt.

And, too, Negro political organizations have sprung up like morning glories. All claiming to be politocoes, but none exhibiting the primary qualifications against exploitation by political chamelons.

Propose La. Goal of 100,000 Negro Votes

The Worker N.Y., N.Y.

NEW ORLEANS, La. – Mobilization and registration of the potential Negro vote in the state of Louisiana can serve as a basis to guarantee the defeat of the filibusters and Dixiecrats misrepresenting the people here. The potential Negro vote in Louisiana in 1948 was in excess of 473 562. The number of Negroes of voting age in 1948 exceeded the total number of votes casts in the state for all candidates for President in that year by 57,226.

Sixty-eight thousand Negro votes could have kept the Louisiana electoral votes out of the Dixicrat column in the recent presidential elections. The registration of the maximum number of eligible Negro voters could have the effect of changing the entire political picture of Louisiana.

The struggle for full suffrage rights on the part of the Negro citizens of Louisiana which started with renewed vigor in the late thirties and merged with the militant demands for full democratic freedom during the years of World War II, began to show signs of the first real results in the mid-forties.

In 1940 there 2,000 registered Negroes in the state, however by the end of 1948 the number had increased to 25,000. Thirteen thousand of this later number were in the city of New Orleans. As promising as this growth in registration is, no comfort can be placed in it until it has been multiplied many times.

Negro registration in Louisiana has not kept pace with other southern states. Georgia, Florida, the Carolinas and Texas have reached or exceeded 50,000 Negro registrants. There were 125,000 registered Negroes in Georgia in 1947.

Sun. 4-17-49

ONE OF THE MAIN REASONS for the failure of the registration efforts of Negro Louisianians to greatly exceed the present figure is the fact that many of the individuals giving leadership to this movement are under the influence of elements both in the trade unions and in the community who compromise with the worst enemies of the Negro people. These leaders have diverted much of the struggle from a militant course to one of reliance upon "good will" and "political philanthrophy" of tools of the political bosses in power.

In this city popular opinion among a large section of Negro leadership holds that full confidence can be placed in the registrar of voters to register impartially all applicants. This, despite the fact that the registrar is an appointee of the same political machine from which Dixiecrat-supporting Senator Russell Long hails. Thru this surrender of militant struggle the effort to destroy the basic barriers to full registration is relinguished in substitute for a program of mere agitation.

The absence of Negro candidates for political office in the recent state and national elections must be recognized as a contributing factor to the low registration of Negro citizens in this state. Progressive leaders in the community, in the trade unions, both Negro and white, must redouble their efforts to win the masses for increased registrations.

The time has come to raise as a goal the registration of 100,000 Negro voters in 1949. In the attainment of this goal major emphasis should be placed upon the registration of at least 70,000 in the urban communities thru ward and precinct committees. The remaining 30,000 can come as a result of work in the rural area.

Full mobilization of the labor unions, civic-political organizations, churches, the liberal interracial groups and the fraternal groups into a broad people's coalition can guarantee the successful realization of this goal. The call for a state-wide voters conference to launch such a coalition is the order of the day.

★

THE WORK of this people's coalition toward the goal of 100,000 registered Negro people in 1949 can be strengthened by raising the demand for the immediate appointment of Negro registrars and deputy registrars throughout the state. A people's coalition can serve to mobilize a state-wide movement supporting the demand for permanent registration and for a simplified registration form.

Under-the-Wire Voters

Detroit Free Press - Thurs. 10-20-49 Mich

34e

A record number of 838,480 Detroiters have qualified to vote in the municipal election Nov. 8. Photo shows scene at City Hall as crowds sought to beat the deadline.

Free Press Photo

More than 5,000 registered Wednesday. The previous high registration for a municipal election was 805, 244 in November, 1945, City Clerk Thomas Leadbetter said.

34e 1949

Missouri

NEGROES ARE JAILED AS 'IMPORTED VOTERS'

Illegal Ballots Charged In Missouri Liquor Election

Commercial Appeal

Special to The Commercial Appeal

STEELE, Mo., March 9.—Six negroes have been arrested, with more arrests likely, on charges of illegal voting in a city liquor election held here Tuesday.

Memphis Press

Henry Lovelace, chief of police here, named the negroes as Joe Cleatous, Alton Thomas, Roy Dinewhiddy, James Harris, Fred Willis and Ike Williams, all of Caruthersville.

Thur. 3-10-49

The election issue was whether to adopt the sale of liquor by the drink or by package. The vote was 490 against by-the-drink sales and 179 for. Steele, near both Blytheville and Caruthersville, heretofore had had several saloons selling liquor by the drink.

Chief Lovelace charged that the negroes and others were brought here to vote against closing of the saloons. A spokesman in the sheriff's office at Caruthersville, where the arrested negroes posted bond, would not comment when asked whether the presence of voters from Caruthersville meant that someone had deliberately taken them to Steele for the purpose of voting.

The election was the outgrowth of several churches' efforts to close the saloons here.

Mayor Charles H. Bates announced Wednesday that the election will not prohibit package sales of liquor by licensed dealers, but that liquor sold cannot be consumed on the premises.

34e 1949 New York

Report Shows 69% of Race Voted for President Truman

Pittsburg Courier

Pittsburg Pennsylvania

(Special to The Pittsburgh Courier)

NEW YORK—A report released by the NAACP last week, following a nation-wide survey, shows that 69 per cent of the Negro vote in predominantly Negro areas in most of the Nation's cities went to President Harry S. Truman last Nov. 2. Republican Mound Bayou, Miss., gave Mr. Truman two-to-one—the first time a Democrat ever carried that all-Negro city.

The tide of Truman support from Negro voters repudiating New York's Gov. Thomas E. Dewey's bid for the White House showed the Democratic President leading Dewey by 74,567 votes in Harlem. In each of four predominantly Negro districts in Harlem, Dewey lost by a greater margin than he did in 1944.

GOP WENT DEMOCRATIC

Newark, N. J.'s Third Ward—80 per cent Negro—which went Republican in 1946, was three-to-one for Truman in 1948. The Borough of Brooklyn, N. Y. tossed Truman twice as many votes as it gave Dewey. The count showed: Truman, 19,503; Dewey, 9,627. Henry A. Wallace muddied the waters with 5,804 votes in Brooklyn.

Sat. 2-5-49

One-time Republican strongholds, six Cleveland, Ohio, wards went two-to-one for President Truman. The vote was: Truman, 30,045; Dewey, 15,332. The same stunning upset for the GOP prevailed in Philadelphia where six out of every ten Negroes voted for President Truman. It was that vote which swung the city of Philadelphia to Truman, who carried that Republican stronghold by only 6,040 votes.

In the South, between 80,000 and 100,000 Negro voters gave their votes mostly to Mr. Truman. So did North Carolina's Negro voters. Negro write-in votes in Alabama, South Carolina, Mississippi and Louisiana helped swell Mr. Truman's national count, the survey disclosed. Over 25,000 Negroes wrote in Mr. Truman's name in Mississippi.

HUMPHREY SWUNG MINNESOTA

In Minnesota 70 per cent of Negro voters supported Mr. Truman. The NAACP report showed that in March, Negro voters in Minneapolis, St. Paul and Duluth were 54 per cent in favor of Wallace; only 22 per cent for Mr. Truman. But after dynamic former Mayor Humphrey of Minneapolis, now a Senator, fought for a strong civil rights plank at the Democratic convention, voters switched, and in August, 68 per cent of Negroes favored the President.

On the West Coast Mr. Truman polled 30,742 Negro votes in California; Dewey had 5,714 and Wallace got 4,092. But, 25,028 of the votes constituting the Truman margin of 35,323 in the Fourteenth California Congressional District in Los Angeles County, came from the 85 per cent Negro Sixty-second Assembly District.

REPORT INCOMPLETE

The report was admittedly partial, inasmuch as returns of Negro voters from some cities and areas were not available when it was released. The report was titled "Survey of the Negro Vote in the 1948 Presidential Election." It shows beyond doubt that Mr. Truman's popularity with Negro voters was spread all over the Nation.

Let Harlem Name Mayor

THEY ASKED everybody in town except the Negro whom they'd like to have as the next mayor of New York City. They've polled opinion all over town, hunted up prospective candidates, made promises and pledges to everybody, but the Negro isn't consulted about anything and no promises and pledges that will hold water have been made to him.

New York Age

It looks as if nobody cares what the Negro wants or gives a damn about what he thinks, and his is the biggest minority population on the island of Manhattan. He just has a vote that everybody owns but himself.

Bat. 7-23-49

The Italian vote means more than does that of the Negro although Negroes outnumber the Italians in Manhattan.

The Irish vote is more important than the Negro's although there are more Negroes in Manhattan than Irish.

New York 30, N.Y.

The Jewish vote can't be offended.

All the Negro has, for political purposes, is the ability to be "hustled on," used as a threat or an out as the case may be. Not even LaGuardia has accorded the Negro vote what it is worth, despite the important judgeship appointments he made.

Leadership Failed

It all goes back to the Negro political leadership which has consistenly failed to be effective in demanding and getting the major consideration due its constituents. It sits supinely by and allows the biggest opportunity to be the balance of power in the election of a mayor slip past. Each one of our leaders can be pictured as sitting in his wigwam or headquarters awaiting word from downtown as to what downtown man will be nominated as mayor and for orders as to what kind of campaign to wage to get him elected.

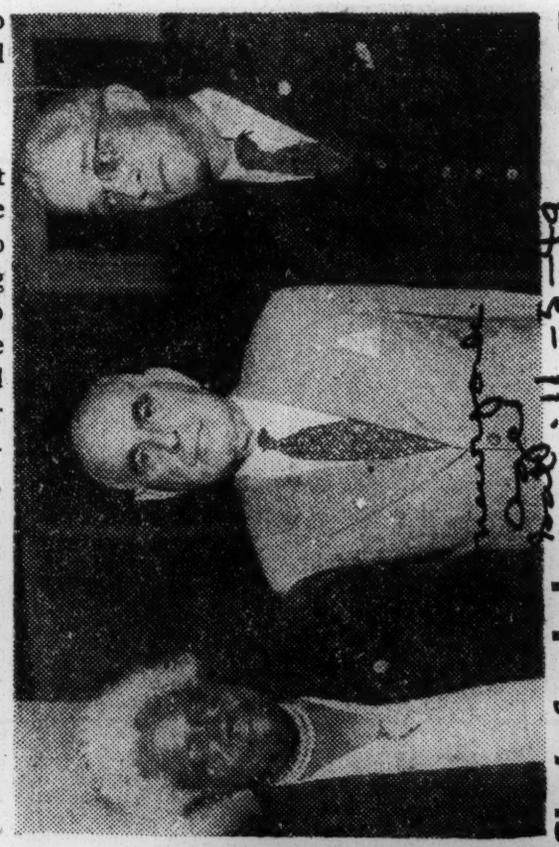
The candidate selected downtown need not pledge one thing to the Negro; does not have to be embarrassed by promises, (except to "look out" on a personal basis for the leader who "goes along" with him) and can be assured of getting his party's share of the Negro vote, whether Republican, Democrat, Liberal or American Labor.

Situation Must End

This intolerable situation must be brought to an end. Something must be done at once to emphasize the decisive power of the Negro vote in New York City. This something should be the voluntary assembling of a group of non-partisan Negroes interested in race progress. They would form a committee and make a conscientious painstaking search for a mayoralty candidate who will make intelligent promises to the Negro and keep them, one who isn't hungry and who has enough money of his own not to be tempted by that of others; one who will have no other interest than the one to serve well the various racial and political elements that make up the New York City electorate.

We would like to see such a committee headed by Elmer A. Carter, commissioner on the State Commission Against Discrimination, and including Attorney Ruth Whaley, executive assistant to Commissioner Raymond Hilliard; Lester B. Granger, executive director of the National Urban League; Attorney John T. Doles, Jr.; Bishop D. Ward Nichols of the AME Church; and Roy Wilkins, NAACP executive secretary. This committee, according to our way of thinking, would make an independent survey for a suitable candidate, interrogate him or her (and here we are thinking of Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt) and then submit their findings to the city.

That manner of operating in politics would bring us the attention we deserve. It might pay off through Negroes finding the proper candidate that nobody else has yet found.



She's for Lehman: Former Governor Herbert H. Lehman with Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune and Colonel Chauncey M. Hooper at a reception (Oct. 20) at the headquarters of the Independent Citizens' Committee for the Election of Herbert H. Lehman as United States Senator, 383 Madison Avenue. Colonel Hooper, who are vice chairmen of the Independent Citizens' Committee, are co-chairmen of the new committee.

New York Age 11-5-49

34e 1949

New York

Dr. Bethune Works To Defeat New York's Mayor O'Dwyer

Atlanta Ga. Daily World

NEW YORK -(ANP)- For the first time in her notable career, Dr. Mary McLeod Bethune is participating actively in a local election and, as a result, political observers speculated last week that she might sway thousands of Negro voters at the last moment and thereby cause the defeat of Mayor O'Dwyer.

Wed. 11-2-49

Mrs. Bethune, in a stirring radio appeal last week, announced her support of Newbold Morris, the Republican-Liberal-Fusion opponent of O'Dwyer and Congressman Vito Marcantonio, who is the mayoralty candidate sponsored by the American Labor party.

"I searched my soul before making up my mind to support him" she told an audience estimated at 1,000,000 listeners. "And I am supporting him because the record shows that he has fought against racial discrimination, existing or threatened, wherever it has reared its head. We cannot live on promises! They neither keep decent shelter over our heads, food in our stomachs, nor clothes on our backs.

In deciding to cast her vote for Morris, Mrs. Bethune was in public disagreement with her close friend, Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, who is supporting Mayor O'Dwyer.

Leaders of the regular Democratic organization here feared, however, that the Bethune statement might change the minds of thousands of voters before the ballots are cast next week.

The day after her appearance over radio station WMCA, Edward White, a prominent Seventh avenue grocer, announced that he had formed the Independent Democrats for the Election of Newbold Morris. Apparently, White had been preparing to make this move for some time because soon after he had announced his plans his headquarters opened up at Seventh avenue and 135th St.

34e 1949

North Carolina

5,000 Charlotte Negroes Registered

Pittsburgh Courier

CHARLOTTE, N. C.—A registration campaign sponsored by the Charlotte Branch, NAACP, has resulted in more than five thousand Negroes names being placed on the registration books where previously only 3,000 were enrolled.

A feature of the registration campaign is that Charlotte's election system started out this year with a complete new registration due to the recent reoutlining of precincts within the city.

On the first day of registration Negro precincts led white by three to one in reregistration.

With more than 30,000 residents of the city registered on the last day of registration, two predominately Negro precincts led in signing up voters for the city election.

Sat. 6-11-49

Drive Made To Elect Colored Men

Norfolk Guide

Norfolk Va.

34e

Candidates Defeated In Recent Election; More Votes Needed

Sat. 6-11-49

candidates defeated—sc 14

By A. A. MORISEY
Staff Correspondent

CHARLOTTE, N. C. — While this city for many years now has held the distinction of being the largest municipality in North Carolina, its colored citizens have not been able to make any comparable claim regarding the progressiveness of the community, or their own efforts to realize a higher degree of democracy.

Yet, in the past decade the city has seen increasing signs that colored citizens are awakening to civic and political consciousness. This increase in awareness of their plight, as well as their potentialities as a community force, has paralleled the history of the local branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Sat. 6-11-49

The potentialities of this city's approximately 46,000 colored citizens were realized more than ever during the recent municipal election when colored candidates for the school board and the city council garnered substantial votes though failing to win.

6,000 PERSONS REGISTERED

The campaign to elect colored men to local public office was directed through the Citizens Committee for Political Action which was successful in registering 6,000 colored persons during a brief three-week period.

The tabulation of votes for the two candidates revealed that each received virtually the entire colored vote, which may indicate that the colored vote was not sufficiently large enough and that the candidates did not draw any appreciable white vote.

The local NAACP branch was organized in 1940 and since that time has gained respect locally as an organization which makes a militant approach to civic problems as it endeavors to assure minority citizens more fruits of democratic government. The organization has concerned itself with job opportunities such as the campaign it initiated and successfully pursued for the employment of colored carpenters on war projects of the area.

SOUGHT BETTER SCHOOLS

It has campaigned for better school facilities in the city and sponsored an educational survey which was conducted by Dr. Martin Jenkins of Baltimore. The survey spotlighted gross deficiencies in the local schools in both physical and curricular offerings.

The NAACP takes credit for the appointment of the first two colored policemen in the city who were first appointed as special officers, not under local civil service regulations. Ten colored officers are employed here now and others are to be appointed. The branch was instrumental in the difficult fight to have colored men appointed in the local post office.

The success of this demand has resulted in 25 colored letter carriers and six clerks regularly employed. One clerk recently began serving at a parcel post window. Jacob Thompson, recording secretary of the branch, was the mainspring of the project.

Efforts of the branch on behalf of improved recreation facilities have gained the commitment that colored citizens may expect $324,000 to be used in their behalf if the $1,000,000 bond issue meets the approval of the electorate on June 11. Sat. 6-11-49

Officers of the branch are: N. W. Dixon, president; Robert Lee Sr., treasurer; Kelly M. Alexander, executive secretary; Jacob Thompson, recording secretary; Mrs. Emma LeMay and F. G. McGill, membership secretaries.

Mr. Alexander is president of the North Carolina State Conference of NAACP branches, having risen to that position of leadership on the state level on the heels of his leadership in the local branch.

700,000 Of Million Qualified Vote In '48

Daily World
Atlanta Ga.

NEW YORK — The long legal battle to re-establish the right of Negroes in the South to vote proved increasingly fruitful last year according to the 1948 Annual Report of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, published July 1. The report points out that approximately 700,000 of an estimated one million qualified Negroes in the southern states voted in the November presidential election.

7-5-49

The NAACP report, entitled "The Fortieth Year in the Crusade for Civil Rights," summarizes activity of the Association during 1948 on all fronts, with sections devoted to branch activity, legal accomplishments, the legislative work of the Washington bureau, labor, veterans' affairs, church, public relations, research, and the annual conference of the Association.

POLITICAL ACTION

In the North as well as the South, the NAACP emphasis during 1948 on the struggle for civil rights through political action, conducting an intensive campaign to encourage Negroes to value the right to vote and to exercise it judiciously. Early in the year, the Association called a conference of 22 national Negro organizations, which formulated a "Declaration of Negro Voters" to serve as a guide in the selection of candidates to support in the November election.

"The fruitfulness of our political action campaign," the NAACP report states, "was clearly demonstrated by the results of the election (Negro voters) demonstrated. . . . independence and intelligence. . . . when they voted in large numbers for candidates committed to civil rights and social welfare legislation." An NAACP survey quoted in the report points out that the Negro vote for President Truman as a "spokesman for civil rights" in each of the three pivotal states of Ohio, California, and Illinois, exceeded the margin by which the President carried the state.

7-3-49

LEGAL VICTORIES

Perhaps the "most signal victory" of the year on the legal front, the NAACP report indicates, was the unanimous United States Supreme Court decision in May, declaring racial restrictive real estate covenants unenforceable in state or federal courts. "When these cases were presented to the court," the report says, "the Solicitor General of the United States made an unprecedented argument maintaining that the enforcement of race restrictive covenants on real property was unconstutional. The Attorney General and the Solicitor General of the United States filed a brief on behalf of the United States government to the same effect." In addition, twenty-five interested organizations filed briefs in the Supreme Court case, which marked the culmination of a 35-year fight by the NAACP against residential segregation.

Other outstanding legal victories were won by the NAACP during 1948 in the field of education, where the barriers of segregation and discrimination continued to crack under legal pressure; and in transportation, employment, the armed services, and criminal cases.

PATTERN OF VIOLENCE

The NAACP report noted several instances of mob violence and brutality in the South, particularly in Georgia. The reign of terror in that part of the country was climaxed by the lynching of Robert Mallard, a moderately successful Georgia businessman; the murder of Isaiah Nixon, who voted in the Georgia primary despite "warnings" from whites not to do so; and the beating of D. V Carter NAACP officer in rural Georgia who drove Negroes to the polls in his automobile.

"The contention of the Dixiecrats that the NAACP is an outside organization meddling in the affairs of the South," the report states, "is belied by our increasing strength in that region." Noting that of the 223 new NAACP units chartered in 1948, many were in the deep South the report indicates that "a substantial part" of the Association's membership is now located in that area "and is making rapid advances under able southern leadership."

Colored People Vote In Florence Sans Disorder

Journal & Guide
Norfolk Virginia
Sat. 4-23-49

By E. P. BROOME
III E. EVANS STREET

FLORENCE, S. C. — Because of the recent expansion of the city, a city-wide primary election was conducted here on Tuesday, April 12, for two city councilmen. Negro voters were impressively heavy in spite of the intermittent drizzle.

As the writer visited several of the polling places, on election day, he found in many cases that the Negroes outnumbered the whites. Those who owned cars took their neighbors and friends and those who did not have cars, wre taken to the polls by the Magic City Cab Company, free of charge. This company is owned and operated by Florence Negroes.

Voting was very orderly with no reports of disorder or irregularity in any way.

Churchmen Must Turn Out or Quit!

Courier
Sat. 10-29-49
Pittsburgh Pa.

(Special to The Courier)

CHARLESTON, S. C. — Snatching up the gauntlet in the fight for Negro rights, AME Bishop Frank Madison Reid has taken the lead and ordered his followers to go to the polls and vote!—or else!

Pointing out that the ballot is our most potent weapon —ministers and laymen have been urged to use the ballot to its full advantage—by voting for the vital issues that affect Negroes.

"I want no cowards in my flock," declared Bishop Frank Madison Reid, Presiding Bishop of the Seventh Episcopal District of the AME Church, in a stirring address before an overflow audience at the annual conference of the Kingstree District held in the Morris Brown Church here in South Carolina Sunday.

Courier 10-29-49
Pittsburgh Pa.

"Any minister who accepts an appointment from me, must be brave enough to lead his congregation to the polls to take full advantage of their citizenship rights," the Bishop said. The AME Church has a constituency of better than 90,000 communicants in South Carolina.

"We have no fear of difficulty in urban areas like Charleston or Columbia," he said, "but it is in the rural areas where there are many AME churches and circuits, that we must have courage. We have sent to Washington, D. C., to ask the FBI to give us protection.

ATLANTA, Ga.—The president of the Georgia Baptist Convention declared in no uncertain terms this week that "all Baptist ministers and lay leaders must urge all eligible voters to go to the polls and vote for the issues that mean something to gaining the rights of Negroes."

I believe that they will send it . . . but even at that we must be brave enough to exercise the rights . . . only the cowards and the bullies will attempt to stop us."

LAUDS JUDGE WARING

Bishop Reid praised the action of Judge J. Waties Waring whose ruling opened the polls to Negroes in South Carolina earlier this year.

"It is a fine thing for a Governor or a judge up North to declare in favor of civil rights," he declared, "but it took a giant among men . . . a giant named Waring to make such a decision in face of vicious opposition . . . we can not let him down by failing to vote.

"The great AME Church, which has long been a leading factor in South Carolina, can indelibly stamp itself as a leader of a great people, by marching in the foreground as we go to the polls in November. It is through the ballot that we can make ourselves heard. When we elect men to office we can make them respect our rights. It is up to you men who call yourselves leaders to demonstrate your courage by leading the parade to the polls."

Bishop Reid told The Pittsburgh Courier that he had discussed the matter with top men in the pro-Truman forces in the state . . . men opposed to the Dixiecrat regime of Gov. Strom Thurmond . . . and had been promised support in having the Attorney General supply protection for Negroes at the poll, in November.

Bishop Reid also urged his ministers to set up classes in voting to better inform their congregations as to how to cast their ballots.

The Bishop's talk on voting was greeted with cheers from the audience of more than a thousand persons gathered from many sections of South Carolina.

Governor Thurman is running with Dixiecrat support in opposition to the incumbent, Senator Olin Johnson, who has the pro-Truman factions behind him.

Editor Urges S. C. Negroes To Vote

Courier
Sat. 10-29-49
Pittsburgh Pa.

FLORENCE, S. C.-(ANP) - John H. McCray, editor of the Lighthouse and Informer and chairman of the Progressive Democratic party, in a speech to the state NAACP convention, emphasized the need for organization and leadership in increasing the Negro vote at the 1950 polls.

McCray pointed out that the NAACP should prepare their local voters so that they will know how to register and vote.

A goal was set for the state NAACP to have at least 200,000 registered voters at the polls.

Continuing, McCray urged the elimination of all Negroes who "sell their votes" from the organization and from the Progressive Democratic party.

During the discussion period following the speech representatives from various chapters agreed to carry out the policies set forth.

34e 1949

Texas

Court Refuses Order For Negroes to Vote

JEFFERSON, Texas, Sept. 15 (AP).—Federal District Judge T. Whitfield Davidson has refused to grant a group of Marshall Negroes an injunction prohibiting the Citizens Party from denying them ballots.

Dallas, Texas
Morning News

The Negroes alleged the Citizens Party would not let them vote in its primary election in 1948. The Citizens Party is a Jefferson County organization. Its candidates run only for county and precinct offices.

Judge Davidson ruled, in effect, that the Negroes' right to vote had not been denied because they could have voted for their candidates on the Democratic Party ballot. He said they could have cast write-in votes on the Democratic ballot or could have petitioned the Democratic Party to place the names of their candidates on its ballot.

Washington Calling

By Marquis Childs

WASHINGTON

IN NEARBY Virginia they are winding up the fiercest political battle seen in that ordinarily placid state in many a year. The machine of Sen. Harry F. Byrd is being seriously challenged in the race for governor to be decided at Tuesday's primary.

Byrd and the politicians operating one of the most tightly controlled organizations in the country have raised the cry of "outside interference" by the trade unions. They would like to have the voters believe the contest is a kind of trial run for 1950 when the issue of organized labor in politics will be fought out on a much bigger field.

But the ardent champions of Francis Pickens Miller, the anti-Byrd contender, dispute this loudly. They insist that the real issue is whether Virginians are to participate in free elections or whether state and national offices are to be perpetually filled by the designation of insiders who in each county manage the courthouse crowd.

The Miller strategy is to try to get out the largest possible vote. As of today the Miller forces believe the vote will be between 330,000 and 350,000—out of a population of more than 3,000,000. On that basis they are surprisingly optimistic about the outcome.

Besides Byrd's candidate, James S. Battle, two others are in the race. They are Remmie L. Arnold, a pen manufacturer, and Horace H. Edwards, who was for eight years state Democratic chairman.

Arnold accused Byrd of sending an intermediary to him to offer him an important office if he would get out. Byrd issued an indignant denial. Both Arnold and Edwards seem likely to pull votes away from battle.

THIS question of who votes in the Southern poll-tax states was hotly debated in the House before a coalition of Republicans and Northern Democrats. Ultimately, a measure outlawing the poll tax as a prerequisite for voting in national elections was passed by a vote of 273 to 116. A great deal of oratory, most of it thickly clotted with politics, came from both sides.

Northern advocates of the bill compared the total vote in 1948 in the seven poll-tax states with the totals in industrial states in the North. The Southern total was 2,695,293 or 1,200,000 less than were cast in Illinois alone. Yet, the seven Southern states sent 69 members to the House as compared with 26 from Illinois.

This ignores, of course, the fact that under the South's one-party system the primary and not the national election is the decisive contest. But it also conventiently overlooks the fact that the poll-tax requirements is only one—and perhaps one of the least serious—obstacles to voting in the South.

There is good reason to believe that Southern conservatives are all prepared, if by remote chance the Senate should also adopt the anti-poll-tax bill, to institute formidable state barriers that could not be broken down by federal action. The most effective means is to require annual registration of all voters and that registration can in practice be made so difficult that only a select few are helped across the barrier.

VIRGINIA is an interesting example. State Atty. Gen. James L. Almond, Jr., a former congressman, has ruled that the state law forbids putting printed questions on the registration blank. The applicant is to be handed merely a blank sheet of paper and he must know what information he is supposed to put down.

The average citizen could be counted on to flunk that test. In practice, however, county registration boards are for the most part reported to have been helpful and considerate, instructing applicants in what to write down on the blank.

There has been an extraordinary increase in registration, particularly in certain areas where organized labor is strong and in Negro districts. The registered Negro vote in Richmond is said to have gone from less than 1,000 to nearly 10,000 and the increase in the Fourth Congressional District is roughly the same.

In recent years machine after machine has gone down to defeat in state after state. The Byrd forces resent the word machine, preferring the politer term, organization. But whatever it is called, it has been highly effective over a long period and such tight control inevitably breeds the kind of jealousy, resentment and factionalism now evident in Virginia.

C, 1949, by United Features Syndicate, Inc.

Virginia

Vote Change Plan In Virginia Flayed

Roanoke, Va., Oct. 31 (AP).—Walter Johnson of Heathsville, Virginia's Republican nominee for Governor subject to the November 8 general election, today struck out against the proposed Campbell amendment to the State Constitution, which would change voting regulations, as a disclosure of "machine philosophy."

"Under this proposal the General Assembly would be given power which it never ought to have," he said in a radio speech. "It would be given power to require annual registration of voters four months before either a primary or general election, power to levy a head tax and require that it be paid as a condition precedent to getting any license of any kind; and power to institute a system of examining the people to determine whether or not they have the intelligence to vote."

Although declaring himself in favor of a poll tax repeal, he termed the amendments "something that would heap . . . indignity on the free people of this commonwealth."

Johnson said it is the duty of state citizens to vote their best judgment in the gubernatorial election and not follow statements which he attributes to his Democratic opponent, State Sen. John S. Battle, that they are "morally obliged" to vote for the Democratic nominee if they voted in the Democratic primary.

Annual Registration Held Not Uner Plan

Richmond, Va., Oct. 31 (AP).—A Republican member of the Campbell Commission which recommended suffrage amendments to be voted on in the November 8 election emphasized today the amendments in no way contemplate annual registration.

Federal Judge John Paul of Harrisonburg in a letter to the Richmond Times-Dispatch, said the amendments provide "that persons who are registered shall 'renew such registration annually in such manner as may be provided by law.'

"This does not involve going through the formality of registering annually," he said, "but means only that a current registration shall be renewed each year in such manner as the legislative may provide."

He recalled the suffrage commission "recommended the manner in which this renewal of registration should be accomplished" in any one of three ways:

"(1) By the mere act of voting in the preceding year, (2) by the payment of personal property taxes in the preceding year or (3) by applying to the registration board in writing for a renewal of registration."

Judge Paul said none of these required the voter to go through the formality of registering each year.

"Of course," he said, "no one can at this time give a guarantee as to whether the General Assembly might adopt this plan for renewal of registration and, for that reason, it is particularly desirable that the incoming governor should make known whether he will recommend the adoption of this plan by the General Assembly, or something substantially like it."

Battle Cites Reasons For Poll-Tax Support

Richmond, Va., Oct. 31 (AP).—John S. Battle, Democratic candidate for Governor of Virginia, tonight gave his reasons for supporting the proposed suffrage amendments to the State Constitution, and said he believed they should be adopted.

In a four-page statement he said: "It is certain that the poll tax, as a prerequisite to voting in the election of all Federal officers will be prohibited by Congress.

"If we fail to adopt the proposed amendments, we will have one set of laws and one set of qualified voters in Federal elections, and different laws and different voters in State elections. This will be an impossible situation and will lead to endless confusion and to dangerous consequences."

Folsom Goes To The People

Birmingham News

Once again Alabama's governor is taking his case to the people. He is appealing for support for his ideas in a forum where he has known both success and defeat. The results of the campaign now starting will be indicated in actions of the State Legislature after it convenes in May. What Gov. Folsom is seeking is popular support for his program so strong that it will impress itself upon the lawmakers.

Birmingham Ala.

Before he left the state capitol to make the first of a number of speeches, Gov. Folsom issued three proclamations pledging his administration anew to poll tax repeal, a constitutional convention and an expanded state parks program. In addition he is expected to continue to put in licks for higher old-age pensions and more farm to market roads.

Sun. 3-27-49

Not one of these is new in the Folsom program. All were advocated in his first speech to the Legislature in May, 1947. Except for slightly higher pensions to the aged and some stimulation to blacktop rural road construction, neither of which came about exactly as Gov. Folsom wanted, none of the five recommendations has been carried out.

Nevertheless, those demands were not killed by the failure of the 1947 Legislature to act upon them. Nor do they survive solely because the governor wants them. His voice is only one of many heard in advocacy of some or all of them.

* * *

The poll tax issue is certain to come before the Legislature this year. It will be part of a broader discussion of voting and registration. The decision of a three-man federal court at Mobile holding the Boswell amendment unconstitutional calls for a thorough legislative review of the whole difficult problem of voting qualifications. The poll tax is one device for restricting the franchise to those considered qualified to exercise it. It is a very unsatisfactory device.

This newspaper welcomes especially Gov. Folsom's criticisms of the cumulative feature of the poll tax. That feature at least should be eliminated without delay.

The call for a new constitutional convention merits consideration. The present constitution is nearly 50 years old. While age itself does not condemn the present document, the 1901 constitution was adopted at a time when sharp restrictions on the powers of local governments were thought necessary. The present constitution lacks flexibility, especially in that respect.

And certainly, as Gov. Folsom says, the need for reapportionment of the Legislature grows steadily greater. This matter cannot be put off forever.

* * *

In 1947, Gov. Folsom recommended to the Legislature a $500,000 parks development program. The park system has been improved somewhat, chiefly through creation of a state park in the Tennessee Valley near Guntersville. Alabama's park system could stand further improvement, of course, but how much should be invested in recreational expansion must be weighed in the light of the fact that the state's taxpayers will have to put up most of the money for it. Some of the expense will be borne by additional tourists who may be attracted this way, but most of the initial expense and the added cost of upkeep must continue to come from state revenues.

The governor's advocacy of higher old age pensions and "mailbox roads" is not new. But lately he has upped his demand for pensions to $50 a month, a figure higher than the national average. Is Alabama, by all standards of measurement a relatively poor state, able to finance such a program?

Sun. 3-27-49

* * *

These questions will receive much public discussion in the next few months, as they should. Alabamians will have need of much wisdom to answer them aright.

POLL TAX REPEAL PROSPECT

The Decatur Daily

Advertiser Jun. 11-20-49

Should an amendment be submitted to the voters of Alabama, abolishing the poll tax, would it pass? Some profess to think so, but judging from what happened in Texas and Virginia, there is plenty of doubt that we would voluntarily lift the polls requirement. The voters of both Texas and Virginia refused to eliminate the tax in elections held last week.

The Poll Tax As A Barrier To Voting

POLL tax paying days are here again. As usual very little publicity is being given to the fact. Those who want to vote for a governor, a U. S. senator, a congressman, state Democratic committeemen, state legislators, and in local races next spring, had better pay and be prepared.

Birt

The poll tax may be a beautiful rose symbolic of White Supremacy, but it is a rose with its thorns. One such thorn has already stuck this columnist.

I landed in America in 1946, and came at once to Alabama. I was a foreigner here on a permanent visa. Technically, I was a guest of the country and so, couldn't vote.

I became a citizen of the land I love just as soon as the law allowed—March, 1949. At once I registered as a voter. I am now being made to pay poll tax not from the date of my "birth" as an American citizen, 1949, but from the date of my arrival in Alabama, in 1946, when, under the law I could not have voted, was only a foreign "guest," and was not, therefore, allowed to pay poll tax. To the learned lawmakers, as I pay this bill, I ask Quid dicendum, doctores—

DURING the war an Alabama soldier married a Georgia girl. The young wife was already registered in Georgia and paying her poll tax there. When she left Alabama with her husband, after their marriage, she had not, however, completed her required two years residence in Alabama to make her an eligible voter.

The couple lived in Virginia during the rest of the war. The wife registered also in that state where only one year's residence is required for voting. Meanwhile she paid poll taxes both in Virginia and Alabama. She continued to pay her Alabama poll tax as well as the Virginia tax so that she would not owe back Alabama poll tax when she returned after the war. Her husband commented:

"We need to adopt the 'good neighbor' policy right here in Alabama and start accepting registration in a neighboring state. If you live in Columbus, Ga., and then move across the river to Phenix City, Ala., you have to wait two years before you can register. When you do register, you have to pay poll taxes for two years back before you can vote."

This man did not discuss the danger a "good neighbor" registration reciprocal system might incur—mass registration of unqualified voters in one state and their subsequent return to Alabama. He was highlighting the way white voters can be caught in the laws. He admits the problem.

AFTER the 1940 general election, the late Probate Judge H. H. Kinney of Cullman County almost had his election to office declared illegal on an alleged ineligibility arising from poll-tax paying. The Supreme Court ruled in favor of Kinney. Cullman is quite a Republican Party stronghold. Mitchell, a Republican who had held office for two terms, was defeated by Kinney, the Democrat. Mitchell contested he result. Claimed Kinney was not a qualified voter and elector.

It appears that as a young man Kinney—scion of an old Cullman family—had gone to Mississippi. When he came of age there, he registered and paid poll tax in Lee County, Miss. That was in 1928. On June 9, 1930, young Kinney moved back to Alabama and lived for about two years in Birmingham. But he seems to have paid his poll tax in Cullman—not Jefferson County. At no time does he appear to have omitted paying poll tax.

Then he returned to his native Cullman, and continued paying his dues in that county. Years later Mitchell pointed to the law. Kinney had claimed that his official domicile had all the while been in Cullman. Mitchell claimed therefore that during his absence in Jefferson County he had been "domiciled" in Birmingham, not Cullman, and should have paid his tax there. Kinney replied "officially" he had never left Cullman. Question: are there any other office holders or legislators today unknowingly in this fix and in danger of having an opponent hold this against them one day?

GESSNER T. McCORVEY, chairman of the State Democratic Executive Committee, has made no recent statements about the poll tax which can be recalled to mind. However, he recently wrote a substitute for the defunct Boswell amendment, but which failed to pass in the legislature. The McCorvey voter amendment was based on two requirements: education and good character.

By Geoffrey Birt
Staff Writer, The Alabama Journal

Dubious Poll Tax Victories

Voters in two states Tuesday rejected constitutional amendments to kill the poll tax as a prerequisite to voting. But in neither case does the result indicate that voters in those states continue in favor of the principle of the poll tax. For in both instances, the issues were tied up with other matters and presented in a way that antagonized many who oppose the poll tax per se.

In Texas, the poll tax amendment was linked with a registration plan that had passed the Legislature conditionally. If the poll tax provision had been eliminated, by the voters, from the constitution, then the bill would have become effective. It set up a new system of registration by parties, with a charge being made for registration. The charge was equivalent to the poll tax. Approval of the amendment simply would have meant removal of the poll tax as a constitutional requirement and continuing it as a statutory charge. Registration also would have been by parties, a requirement many voters did not like.

Consequently a majority of Texas voters, including many who are against the poll tax, turned down the whole plan. Texas newspapers in recent weeks have printed many letters from persons who said they would like to do away with the constitutional poll tax provision but could not stomach the Legislature's method of doing it.

* * *

There is a similar story in Virginia. There the constitutional amendment which would have done away with the poll tax was made a part of a broad plan for changing the election machinery. That plan included a grant of authority to the Virginia Legislature to fix qualifications for voters as it saw fit. The change would have permitted the setting up of literacy tests, which the present constitution does not now prescribe. Opposition also centered on a phrase, "such other requirements," which would have given the Legislature blanket authority to set up arbitrary voter qualifications without referring any plan to the voters for approval.

The Norfolk Virginian-Pilot, in its pre-election stories, reported that many groups and individuals who have been most vocal in their opposition to the poll tax were against the adoption of the alternative plan submitted by the Legislature. Although the Byrd machine went down the line for the amendments, which probably would have strengthened its hold in Virginia politics, the proposal was fought by anti-organization Democrats, as well as by Republican, labor, church, and Negro groups.

* * *

The results in Texas and Virginia, in this paper's opinion, do not so much indicate a strong sentiment in favor of retaining the poll tax as a requisite for voting as they highlight the opposition of a large body of Southern voters to continuing under any name the undemocratic limits upon the franchise which underlie the poll tax. Alternatives as onerous as the poll tax, in some respects even more dangerous to a broadly based democracy, and certainly more subject to the whims and passions of legislatures, were presented. It is to the credit of the voters of the two states that they rejected these plans despite the appeal of doing away with a tax so widely and generally discredited.

Payment of Poll Taxes

Practice in New England Cited, and Its Bearing on Anti-Poll-Tax Bill

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES:

The letter in THE TIMES of Nov. 25, in which a correspondent inquires why you omitted Vermont in a recent listing of states requiring the poll tax as a voting prerequisite, penetrates a chink in the armor of not only THE TIMES but the whole national press.

She says: "I lived in Vermont eighteen years and paid a poll tax every year in order to be allowed to vote." Of course she did. Informed persons know that residents of most of the New England States cannot vote without paying their poll taxes. It is also known in the South that THE TIMES and the national press not only maintain stubborn silence about this situation but do not even report the facts to their readers when they are presented on the floor of Congress. An experienced or fair-minded person, reading the Congressional Record of Aug. 3, 1948, and comparing it with news reports in the nation's press the next morning is not favorably impressed.

This New England poll-tax arrangement was gone into thoroughly on the Senate floor that day in a penetrating, pertinent, fact-crammed presentation, led mostly by Senator Eastland of Mississippi and Senator Hill of Alabama. They showed conclusively (with statutory quotations verified by the Library of Congress) that New Hampshire's interlocking laws make assessment of its $2 poll tax a voting prerequisite. No one there can vote without being assessed for the tax, and, once assessed, he must pay. The alternative is jail. (The basic law limits the franchise to taxpayers; another levies a $2 poll tax. This last catches all residents without property. Still another says those without property must pay the poll tax before election. The property owner waits till afterward, but still must pay.)

New Hampshire Constitution

The Congressional Record shows that Senator Tobey of New Hampshire was rushed to the floor to try to stem this damaging tide of fact, but had to leave it because he could say nothing of

weight in the face of his own New Hampshire Constitution and statutes which were being quoted to him.

Other Northern poll-tax states were dealt with in this debate—Vermont and Maine require poll-tax assessment for voting and Massachusetts voting registrars exchange lists with the poll-tax assessors so no voter will escape.

The staggering nature of it all was shown when Senator Morse of Oregon, the major proponent of the federal anti-poll-tax bill, admitted in the Record, "I am inclined to believe, on the basis of the representations made here this afternoon, that New Hampshire does have a poll tax," and a moment later said he was inclined to believe that "some other states north of the Mason and Dixon line have a poll tax."

But the impact of the facts became even more decisive moments later. For Senator Eastland showed that the anti-poll-tax bill applied only to Southern, not Northern, poll-tax states, and was rank sectionalism; and he showed the entire bill was worthless even if passed because there was and is nothing to keep Southern states so desiring from adopting the New England poll-tax system. Said Senator Morse, referring to Senator Eastland: "I agree with his observation—that the bill would not reach the New Hampshire poll tax."

The Administration abandoned the anti-poll-tax bill the next day. It had to. The weight of law and evidence was too much for a basically fair Senate.

T. A. RHODEN.

Columbia, Miss., Dec. 1, 1949.

South Carolina Repeal Predicted; Levy's Critics Attack Virginia Plan

The Tribune, New York, N.Y. Sun. 5-8-49

By Henry Lesesne

COLUMBIA, S. C.

SOUTH CAROLINA and Virginia will vote next November on whether to repeal the poll tax, as a result of recent action by their legislatures. The poll tax is a constitutional provision in both states and it will take a vote of the people to amend the constitution.

If these states join the others which have repealed the poll tax in recent years—Georgia, Florida, North Carolina and Louisiana—there will be but five states retaining it as a voting prerequisite. These are Texas, Tennessee, Arkansas, Alabama and Mississippi. A few years ago the Tennessee Legislature repealed the poll tax but the state Supreme Court held the repealer unconstitutional. There is currently a strong movement in Tennessee for a new constitution which would omit the poll tax.

It is generally accepted that the voters in South Carolina will repeal the poll tax. The $1 a year non-cumulative tax in South Carolina, applying only to the general election and not to the Democratic primary, which is the only meaningful election in the state, has never been much of a deterrent to voting.

The poll tax repeal resolution went through the South Carolina Legislature with little or no debate. There has been an almost perennial effort to get such a resolution through the Legislature, and last year it got through the Senate and died in the House. This year it was passed quickly by both houses.

The legislative action followed requests for repeal for the last two years from Governor J. Strom Thurmond, the Dixiecrat candidate for President last year, and repeated suggestions on the part of most of the state press that the levy is of little consequence in this state and that is should be done away with to silence outside criticism if nothing else.

THE situation is not so simple in Virginia, for there the proposal for repeal is not a separate amendment but part of a general amendment which would make various suffrage changes. There are poll tax repealists in Virginia who say the proposed remedy is worse than the poll tax itself. The controversy exists already and will mount before November.

The Virginia levy is $1.50 a year and must be paid for three years preceding an election, which makes it a far more effective instrument than the South Carolina tax. The general suffrage amendment in Virginia, while it would repeal the poll tax, would also do these four things:

Herald Tribune

1. Permit the Legislature to require annual registration of voters in place of permanent registration.
2. Empower the Legislature to prescribe literacy tests if it should desire.

Sun. 5-8-49

3. Close registration books four months before elections instead of thirty days, as at present.
4. Permit the Legislature to levy a new $3 annual school tax and permit the municipalities—with legislative approval—to assess a $1 capitation tax for local improvements.

Some feel this would be better than no change at all, while others contend it could and would result in a situation far worse than at present.

In 1945 Colgate W. Darden jr., who was Governor then, appointed a nine-man commission to study suffrage in Virginia and draft recommendations for the Legislature. The commission's proposed amendment was essentially the same one that was approved by the Legislature for submission to the people, except for one major plank.

New York, N.Y.

The Legislature added the provision giving itself the authority to prescribe literacy tests. The commission felt the present requirements for reading and writing were adequate. If a voter now applies for registration in his own handwriting it is considered proof of his literacy.

Now that the Federal courts have held that the real elections in the South, the hitherto "white" Democratic primaries, must be thrown open to the Negroes, literacy tests have assumed a far greater importance then formerly in the Southern states.

Supreme Court recently upheld lower court rulings that a provision in Alabama requiring the prospective registrant to "interpret" the constitution to the satisfaction of the local registrars is unconstitutional. The courts held the intent of the law plainly was to disfranchise the Negro.

However, the Georgia Legislature this year approved a requirement that the applicant for registration must be able to read and write the constitution "intelligently or legibly," and if the registrars feel he doesn't do either of these, he must answer at least ten of thirty questions dealing with governmental set-up.

There are many in the South who contend that some sort of literacy test, impartially administered, is necessary. But the Talmadge forces which put through the new voting law in Georgia openly admitted its aim was to curb "Negro bloc voting." In all matters involving the South's suffrage laws, the Supreme Court has considered the intent as well as the letter of the law.

IN THE last two gubernatorial elections in Georgia the Negro has had no choice but to vote between a candidate advocating "white supremacy" and a candidate with a more moderate view. In some county elections, where the issue has not been one of "white supremacy," the Negro has tended to divide his vote pretty much as the white voters.

Since Negroes have voted in the Democratic primaries in Georgia in the last few years, they have made up a considerable portion of the big city vote. Under Georgia law the local registrars have had very wide latitude in registering voters and generally in the many very small counties in Georgia Negroes have not been permitted to register.

Under the archaic county unit system the big-city vote in Georgia doesn't count for much, since the system gives overwhelming political dominance to the small counties. The 1949 Legislature moved to extend this system, now applying only to the Democratic primary, to the general election.

It involves, however a constitutional amendment, and the voters will have to vote on it in the November general election. The vote in a general election in the states of the Deep South is usually relatively small. It is regarded virtually as a foregone conclusion that the amendment will be approved.

Bypassed Measures In Drive For Votes

Courier Sat. 8-6-49

Pittsburgh Pa.

(Special to The Courier)

NEW YORK—The sacrifice of anti-lynch and poll tax bills to what the late President Franklin D. Roosevelt termed "political realities" and the fact that he did not consider these bills "must" legislation, were revealed this week by his widow, Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, in the third installment of her memoirs appearing in McCall's magazine.

Disclosing that President Roosevelt "calculated votes very closely on what were known as Administration policies which had to be 'must' legislation," Mrs. Roosevelt recalled that she wanted to get "all-out support for the anti-lynching bill and the removal of the poll tax, but though Franklin was in favor of both measures they never became 'must' legislation.

'ANNOYED ME'

"While I felt strongly on certain subjects, he often refrained from supporting causes in which he believed because of political realities. There were times when this annoyed me very much," Mrs. FDR said.

"Franklin would simply say," Mrs. Roosevelt wrote, "First things come first, and I can't alienate certain votes I need for measures that are more important at the moment by pushing for any other measure."

Mrs. Roosevelt said that in the first years of the President's administration "must" bills were "largely economic or relief"; in later years "they were measures for defense." She said that "only bills that were 'must' legislation got full Administration support."

SPEAKS HER MIND

Despite her "annoyance," Mrs. Roosevelt said she "would do all I could for the people who came to me, short of stating what my husband might think or feel, and he never asked me to refrain from speaking my own mind.

"For that reason, I suppose, in spite of my protests to him I frequently was more careful than I might otherwise have been. I felt he was in a position to evaluate the essentials of his program and that I had no right to endanger that program by any action of mine.

"Little by little, however, I found that people looked upon me as having a point of view of my own, with which Franklin did not necessarily concur. After I was convinced that this was so I felt freer to state my views, for I knew that people would not think that I was just a mouthpiece for my husband."

SUPREME COURT

Mrs. Roosevelt touched on the period, in 1937, when President Roosevelt became "much troubled" over the decisions the Supreme Court was rendering. He felt "that if it was going to be possible to pass progressive legislation only to have it declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court, no progress could be made. He also felt that certain older people became too conservative and should not be allowed to continue indefinitely to wield a great power."

Courier

"REAL BLOW"

The defeat of the subsequent Supreme Court Bill was "a real blow" to President Roosevelt. But little by little he was able to change the composition of the Supreme Court.

"I used to think," said Mrs. Roosevelt, "that he might have saved himself a good deal of trouble by just waiting a while, since it was death and resignations that really gave him the opportunity to appoint new people to the Supreme Court. However, if he had not made the fight, perhaps fewer people would have resigned."

ROYAL VISIT

This installment of Mrs. Roosevelt's memoirs included a detailed description of the visit of the King and Queen of England. With a typically American view toward British protocol, Mrs. Roosevelt cites many "amusing" incidents surrounding the visit; the fact that the type of clothing hangers the King must have were sent her in advance of the royal couple's trip, the suggestion that she get a "linen blanket" for the Queen's "very comfortable settee." Mrs. Roosevelt said no where in this country could she find a "linen blanket."

Someone even felt that the King and Queen might prefer their tea with English water and promptly sent the President's wife some bottles of "English" water, after careful analysis and reproduction.

ANDERSON INCIDENT

Mrs. Roosevelt said there were many "harrowing moments" during a formal dinner and garden party for the King and Queen.

"First of all, Marian Anderson was loath to sing Negro spirituals, but we discovered it in time to persuade her that people coming from England would want to hear the music that above all else we could call our own."

TO END THE POLL TAX

For the fifth time in seven years the House yesterday passed a bill outlawing the poll tax in primary or national elections for federal officials. The other four times—in 1942, 1943, 1945 and 1947—the legislation was killed in the Senate, without a vote, by filibuster or threat of one. It remains to be seen whether a minority in the Senate will again succeed in denying to some citizens of this country the elemental right to vote for federal officials without paying a tax to do so.

The poll tax is undemocratic in theory and in practice. It is a discriminatory weapon against both the Negro and the impoverished white of the seven Southern states that still impose it. It is an aid to political machines in the purchase of votes; in fact, it can be, and has been, used, as a Representative from Arkansas recently said, "to disfranchise the dishonest poor and to enfranchise the honest poor."

To the argument that the poll tax is a state affair, the reply is that a Senator from Mississippi is an officer of the United States Government. It is a matter of concern to all the people of the United States that all federal officers be elected without the arbitrary restrictions of negation of argument. If that minority of Senators who argue that an anti-poll tax law would be unconstitutional are sincere, they will, after voting Five long and vigorously debated times the House has emphatically held that it is constitutional. It is reasonably certain that, if a vote were permitted, a majority of the Senate would take the same view. A filibuster is surely no argument; in fact, it is the reply that it can be used only long and vigorously debated.

against it, be content to let the Supreme Court decide the question. They will not resort to the tactics of a filibuster.

You Have To Pay It To Fish

It now develops that another Yankee state—none other than Maine—has a poll tax. It has attracted scant national notice on the widely accepted principle that sin is less sinful if the right ones do the sinning.

John Gould, editor of The Lisbon Enterprise and author of the 1945 best seller "Farmer Takes A Wife," tells all about the Maine poll tax in an article in The Baltimore Evening Sun. It is levied on all males over 21 with certain exceptions, such as some veterans, some old people, the blind, etc.

It has no bearing on the right to vote, but in some respects it is decidedly more aggravating than the Alabama or Mississippi poll tax. They can put you in jail if you don't pay it—Maine law provides that any eligible who does not come across may have judgment brought against him and be sent to languish in jail.

In Maine unless you have paid your poll tax you are debarred from driving an automobile and cannot get a hunting and fishing license.

In explaining the auto license and hunting license angle of Maine's poll tax, the Maine editor dryly observes: "Neither of these laws has been brought before Maine courts on constitutional grounds. Neither has ever engaged the attention of President Truman or Congress so you could notice it. Yet each is fully as unprincipled as anything yet argued in Washington."

Poll Tax

As a part of Congresswoman Norton's speech, she placed in the July 25 Congressional Record a statement by the Attorney General on the proposed Federal "Anti-Poll-Tax Act."

He states that "the poll tax is an arbitrary, unreal, meaningless requirement intended and operating as a means of disfranchising" whites and Negroes. No such tax is more than a dollar or two, and the elections of Federal officers are only once in two years, and most of the funds go for school purposes, in connection with which subject so much comment is made of the South.

The ownership of property and the payment of taxes have always been considered as showing and creating a more solid interest in public affairs. No man reading the constitutional debates can be ignorant of the fact that property and/or poll taxes were made "qualifications" for suffrage in every colony and their legality was never questioned by a single delegate.

GEORGE W. WILLIAMS.
Baltimore.

Looking South

House Makes Another Pass At Poll Tax

By Hodding Carter

GREENVILLE, Miss.—If the House of Representatives can waste two days in passing anti-poll-tax legislation, I ought to be able to waste a few paragraphs commenting on the hypocrisy, the futility and the unconstitutionality of such action.

A majority of the citizens of 42 States obviously think the poll tax, as a voting requisite, is a bad tax. Perhaps a majority of the citizens of the remaining six also think so, and in time will abandon it. I hope so.

But if the Constitution of the United States means anything—and you'll have to ask the Supreme Court, not me, if it does—the decision to change now rests with the citizens of those six States. Only a constitutional amendment can properly take away the present right of the States to set their own voting qualifications.

However, bloc votes are more important than the Constitution, so a majority of the boys in the House came across with the good old gesture last week. For the fourth time they've passed a bill outlawing the poll tax as a requisite for voting in Federal elections.

If any of them honestly believe that the Senate will concur, they ought to be barred from voting themselves on the grounds of mental instability. There isn't a chance of anti-poll-tax legislation getting by the Senate. Southern Senators would again filibuster a poll tax measure to death, and everyone in the House knows it. Filibuster is a horrible word, but it isn't as repugnant as the recurrent attempt to ramrod an unconstitutional act through Congress because it seems smart politics to do so.

And it probably is smart politics. On the one hand are six Southern poll tax States whose total electoral vote is small and whose political behavior can usually be ascertained in advance. On the other are clamorous blocs of voters in large and politically uncertain States, to whom poll tax repeal by Federal action has been sold as a holy crusade and a politically advantageous kind of retaliation.

Inciting them—and influencing the lads who learned back in Kansas City that great machines can be built from little blocs—are honest and dishonest spokesmen for greater centralization of government as the only panacea for our democratic failures.

The poll tax is virtually meaningless in the Nation. Left to themselves, the six poll tax States will in time repeal their statutes. Or, if that appears too long to wait, certainly the citizens of 42 States would approve a constitutional amendment outlawing the poll tax in Federal elections.

But such procedure would be too orderly to produce immediate political results. Congressional repeal is the smart way, boys, so damn the Constitution and full speed ahead to the same old starting point.

Texas, Virginia Ponder Wiping Out The Poll Tax

By The Associated Press.

Two proposals to abolish the poll tax as a voting requirement headed a long list of constitutional amendments and referendums voted on yesterday in many states.

Of the seven Southern States still levying poll taxes, Virginia and Texas voters had repealers on their ballots. Wording of the Virginia proposal, however, was so broad the issue confused many voters.

Arkansas, Alabama, Mississippi, South Carolina, and Tennessee are the other States having Poll-Tax Laws.

Fear More Rigid Curbs

A federal anti-poll-tax measure is high on President Truman's civil-rights legislative program for action at the next session of Congress. The House passed such a bill last July, applying only to primaries and elections for federal officeholders. It's the Senate's turn to act.

The Virginia repealer would do away with the $1.50 levy as a perequisite to voting and give the State Assembly broad power to enact other votilng requirements, including a literacy test.

Opponents of the repealer included many individuals and groups normally against a poll tax. They argued the amendments would lodge too much power in the Assembly and might lead to more rigid vote curbs.

Two States Vote on Bonus

Among those favoring the amendments were Senator Byrd (D., Va.), Governor William M. Tuck, and the Democratic candidate for Governor, John S. Battle.

In Texas the question was whether to repeal the $1.75 tax as a voting qualification, but to retain the tax for revenue purposes and provide for a general registration law.

If voters abolish the tax in Texas, a new law to register voters has been prepared to take effect automatically next year.

Proposals being voted on in other states include a $500,000,000 veterans' bonus in Pennsylvania and a similar $105,000,000 proposition in neighboring New Jersey. More than a dozen States now pay bonuses to those who served in the armed services in World War II.

Vote on Daylight Time

Californians decided on a proposed administrative revision of their State Social Security Law. But the $75 and $85 monthly benefits for the aged and blind would be retained. California voted also on a bond issue to assist distressed school districts, and a proposal for summer daylight saving.

A referendum in Tennessee was on a proposal to call a limited constitutional convention to amend the State's Constitution, oldest unrevised State Charter in the country. It was enacted in 1870. Eleven attempts to change it have failed.

34e(1) 1949 Georgia

GLADSTONE WILLIAMS

Poll Tax--Deflated Political Football

Atlanta, Ga. Constitution Mon. 8-1-49

WASHINGTON—Politics will be served. Hence it is that the Lower House, after nearly seven months of the present session, has reported out and passed the antipoll tax as the first move toward carrying out the President's civil rights program. It only amounts to a meaningless gesture, however, since there is little likelihood of the Senate varying from its past record of talking the bill to death, if a serious attempt is made to bring it up for final action there. Coming this late in the session, it is hardly likely that any such effort will be made.

The House action would be newsworthy if similar efforts to put through a poll tax bill had not met with failure in the past. But this marks the fifth such attempt in eight years. Consequently, public interest will be lacking.

Bills of a like nature were passed by the House in 1942, 1943, 1945 and 1947. They were killed each time by Senate filibusters or threats of a filibuster. There is nothing to indicate that the present measure will not meet a similar fate.

One reason for the lagging public interest in the controversial issue is that the case of antipoll tax legislation grows weaker with the years. At present there are only seven States which still retain the poll tax as a prerequisite of voting. Georgia did away with it in 1945. Tennessee abolished it in 1943, only to have the State Supreme Court declare the act unconstitutional. Referenda on the subject are pending in South Carolina and Texas. Virginia will vote on abolition of the tax in November, while Governor Folsom, of Alabama, has asked the State Legislature to repeal the tax. A similar appeal has been made to the Arkansas Legislature by Gov. McMath, of that State. Mississippi, alone among the Southern States, has made no move in recent years toward repeal.

Thus the poll tax, which has been a bone of spirited controversy among socalled liberal elements for years, is on its way out. It is booted about in Congress more as a political football than anything else.

If Congress would leave the issue alone, the chances are that it could be worked out much sooner. Every time a new effort is made to pass a bill on the subject it only serves to increase resistance to individual State action.

As a matter of fact, it would have been possible to put through a constitutional amendment banning poll taxes years ago, if leaders behind the movement had really been sincere in their zeal. Southern Senators forming the backbone of opposition to poll tax legislation have long signified their willingness to submit the question to the various States through a constitutional amendment.

34e(1) Ga.

They have sound reasons for insisting that the ban be taken through a constitutional amendment rather than a simple act of Congress. If a poll tax bill were passed and upheld by the courts, then it is maintained that the Federal Government could go to any lengths desired in promulgating or forbidding rules bearing on the qualifications of voters, something that the constitution reserves to the individual States.

A constitutional amendment on the subject would simply provide that no State could impose a poll tax on the exercise of the voting franchise. It would not affect other requirement as to the qualification of voters.

But the agitators for an antipoll tax law would have none of this method. They preferred to stick to their demands for straight-out legislation. Had they taken a different attitude the amendment could have been passed and submitted several years ago.

All of this is but further evidence on the score that politics is back of the issue. It is a subject the agitators like to trot out and make capital of every campaign year.

MANEUVERS TO HEAD OFF VOTE ACTION FOILED

Atlanta, Ga. Daily Herald Tues. 7-26-49

Southerners Brace For Hard Fight To Stem Vote Tide

34e(1) Ga.

A move to head off action on the anti-poll tax bill in the House Monday by Southern Democrats failed as Northern Democrats and Republicans voted 265 to 100 to approve a resolution, bringing the measure before the House for debate.

The move by Southern Democrats to force adjournment before the House could consider the measure was led by Representative Gossett, Texas Democrat, who is an outspoken critic of the proposal to outlaw the levy as a prerequisite to voting in elections for president, Vice-president or members of Congress.

After going through seven roll-call votes, which consumed the better part of three and a half hours, the House drove toward passage of the measure, which some observers say will come early today.

Gossett's motion carried, 46—30, on an initial standing vote when only a handful of the members had arrived in the chamber.

Representative Hays (Democrat, Ohio) asked for a roll call to give the bill's supporters time to round up their forces.

Opponents were expected to try every parliamentary device at their command to delay a show-down.

It was the fifth House effort in less than 10 years to pass an anti-poll tax bill.

And, if history repeats itself, the bill will die on a Senate shelf or lead to a Senate filibuster.

Chairman Norton (Dem., N. J.) of the House administration committee, which is sponsoring the bill, predicted there would be fewer than 100 votes against the measure on a roll-call vote expected late Monday.

—GET REGISTERED TO VOTE—

34e(1) 1949

ANTI—POLL TAX SHOWDOWN

Afro American, Baltimore, Md.

The House, for the fifth time in seven years, last week passed a bill outlawing the poll tax as a requisite for voting in Federal elections—primary and general.

In 1942, 1943, 1945 and 1947, after House passage, filibusters in the Senate prevented this legislation from coming to the floor for a vote. What are its chances this year? That is the $64 question.

34e(1)

All of us know that the poll tax is undemocratic in theory and in practice. Two-thirds of the Senators are willing to vote for this bill but they do not do so out of consideration of the 28 Senators from 14 Southern States who know that once the Federal Government interferes with poll taxes it is likely to pass an antilynching bill, a fair employment practices bill and the rest of President Truman's civil rights measures.

Sat. 8-6-49

There has been considerable discussion and debate regarding the constitutionality of anti-poll tax legislation. Our view is that there is no maybe so about it—such legislation is postively constitutional.

There was a time when the Supreme Court held that the constitutional rights of every citizen should not be guarded zealously. Under the old theory, if a State complied with the legal formula, the Supreme Court was satisfied.

In recent cases, however, the high court has taken the position that a citizen is a citizen both in the State in which he resides and in the U.S. It has said that a State must not only go through the form of granting citizenship rights to all, but also that its heart and spirit must be in the right place.

Congressional elections are the business of the Federal Government, even though the Constitution (Article I, Section 4) gives the States some power to regulate voting. But a State may not impose a regulation such as a poll tax or an educational test purely for the purpose of disfranchising certain citizens.

All of this talk that white people must be educated before they will stand by quietly and see colored people voting at the Dixie polls is a lot of hogwash.

Where the courts have thrown out segregation measures and drected Southern universities to admit colored students, or Southern juries to accept colored talesmen, there has been no appreciable protest.

It is time for the Senate to quit passing the buck and to pass the anti-poll tax bill instead.

We are getting close to another Congressional election year.

Sat. 8-6-49

The boys who vote against the anti-poll tax bill can be left home in 1950.

Already, labor is girding its loins in preparation to defeat some Senators who have been in office too long to know what the score is today.

All that we ask of our friends in the Senate now is to press for a vote on the bill which will place every Senator on record. The people can be depended upon next year to take care of the rest.

That Poll Tax Bill Problem

A bill to abolish the poll tax has passed the House in Washington and goes to the Senate.

Poll Tax Bill

Constitutional Tri. 7-29-49

There it will die, the Administration not being willing to bring on a filibuster at this time, with adjournment nearing and vital business at hand.

Atlanta, Ga.

Georgia has no poll tax. It is old stuff, anyhow, remaining in only seven States. We agree that it does, as a Southerner in Arkansas said the other day, "enfranchise the dishonest poor and disenfranchise the honest poor."

We don't think the bill is constitutional.

We think the States should do the job themselves, but some of them won't.

Also, it is worth calling attention to the fact that the Dixiecrats were saying a year ago to let us alone and we would maintain law and order. Now, the Klan floggers are scampering over the landscapes of Alabama and a few in Georgia and adjoining States. We are not keeping order. We are not standing for law.

So, we suggest the Senators say, "The poll tax is no longer worth an argument. It it not constitutional to pass a law interfering with the States in this matter. So, to get rid of your clamor go ahead and pass the bill and let the Supreme Court pass on it."

Sectional Lines Crossed for Anti-Poll Tax Vote

Afro American Sat. 8-6-49

WASHINGTON — (NNPA) — Both sectional and party lines were crossed last Tuesday when the House passed the Norton anti-poll tax bill by a vote of 273 to 116.

Baltimore, Md.

On the vote on passage, even members from poll tax states voted for the bill, while Northern Democrats and Republicans joined Dixiecrats in voting against the measure.

34e(1)

Of the 273 votes cast for the bill, 151 were Democrats, 121 were Republicans and one was American Labor party. Ninety-two Democrat. all except 7 from the South, and 24 Republicans voted against the measure.

Sent Over to Senate

Despite the parliamentary maneuvering of Southern Democrats, designed to delay action on the bill, passage of the measure was assured from the moment the House Administration leaders decided to by-pass the Rules Committee and bring the bill up under a 21-day rule.

The bill was sent to the Senate where it was referred to the Judiciary Committee.

The following list shows how Representatives from Eastern Seaboard and some Southern States voted.

FOR THE MEASURE

DEMOCRATS

Addonizio, N.J.
Bailey, W.Va.
Barrett, Pa.
Bolton, Md.
Buchanan, Pa.
Buckley, N.Y.
Burnside, W.Va.
Bryne, N.Y.
Cavalcante, Pa.
Celler, N.Y.
Chudoff, Pa.
Clemente, N.Y.
Davenport, Pa.
Dawson, Ill.
Deane, N.C.
Delaney, N.Y.
Dingell, Mich.
Dollinger, N.Y.
Donohue, Mass.
Eberharter, Pa.
Flood, Pa.
Fogarty, R.I.
Furcolo, Mass.
Garmatz, Md.
Gorski, N.Y.
Granahan, Pa.
Green, Pa.
Hart, N.J.
Hedrick, W.Va.
Heffernan, N.Y.
Howell, N.J.
Kee, W.Va.
Kelley, Pa.
Kennedy, Mass.
Keogh, N.Y.
Klein, N.Y.
Kane, Mass.
Lesinski, Mich.
Lind, Pa.
Lynch, N.Y.
McCormack, Pa.
McGrath, N.Y.
McGuire, Conn.
Morgan, Pa.
Multer, N.Y.
Norton, N.J.
O'Brien, Mich.
O'Neill, Pa.
O'Toole, N.Y.
J.L. Pfeifer, N.Y.
Philbin, Mass.
Quinn, N.Y.
Rabaut, Mich.
Ramsay, W.Va.
Rhodes, Pa.
Rodino, N.J.
Rooney, N.Y.
Roosevelt, N.Y.
Sadowski, Mich.
Sasscer, Md.
Staggers, W.Va.
Tauriello, N.Y.
Woodhouse, Conn.

REPUBLICANS

Auchincloss, N.J.
Bates, Mass.
Beall, Md.
Boggs, Del.
Canfield, N.J.
Case, N.J.
Corbett, Pa.
Dagud, Pa.
Engel, Mich.
Fenton, Pa.
Ford, Mich.
Fulton, Pa.
Gamble, N.Y.
Gavin, Pa.
Goodwin, Mass.
Graham, Pa.
E. A. Hall, N.Y.
Hand, N.J.
Herter, Mass.
Heselton, Mass.
James, Pa.
Javits, N.Y.
Kean, N.J.
Kearns, Pa.
Keating, N.Y.
Keefe, Mich.
Kunkel, Pa.
Latham, N.Y.
Lefavre, N.Y.
Lodge, Conn.
McConnell, Pa.
Macy, N.Y.
Martin, Mass.
Morrow, N.H.
Michener, Mich.
Miller, Md.
Nelson, Me.
Patterson, Conn.
L.W. Pfeifer, N.Y.
Plumley, Vt.
Riehlman, N.Y.
Rogers, Mass.
Sadlak, Conn.
St. George, N.Y.
Hardie Scott, Pa.
Taylor, N.Y.
Towe, N.J.
Van Zandt, Pa.
Wigglesw'h, Mass.
Wolcott, Mich.
Wolverton, N.J.

AMERICAN LABOR PARTY

Marcantonio, N.Y.

AGAINST THE MEASURE

DEMOCRATS

Abbitt, Va.
Andrews, Ala.
Battle, Ala.
Bennett, Fla.
Bland, Va.
Bonner, N.C.
Boykin, Ala.
Brown, Ga.
Bryson, S.C.
Burton, Va.
Camp, Ga.
Carlyle, N.C.
Cooley, N.C.
Cox, Ga.
Davies, N.Y.
Davis, Ga.
deGraf'reid, Ala.
Doughton, N.C.
Elliott, Ala.
Fugate, Va.
Gary, Va.
Grant, Ala.
Hardy, Va.
Hare, S.C.
Herlong, Fla.
Hobbs, Ala.
Jones, Ala.
Kerr, N.C.
Lanham, Ga.
McMillan, S.C.
Pace, Ga.
Peterson, Fla.
Preston, Ga.
Rains, Ga.
Richards, S.C.
Rogers, Fla.
Sims, S.C.
Smith, Va.
Vinson, Ga.
Wheeler, Ga.
Wood, Ga.

REPUBLICANS

Bennett, Mich.
Cotton, N.H.
Crawford, Mich.
Fellows, Me.
Gillette, Pa.
Hale, Me.
Hoffman, Mich.
Reed, N.Y.
Nicholson, Mass.
Rich, Pa.
Simpson, Pa.
Taber, N.Y.
Woodruff, Mich.

Vacancies, 2; absent or not voting, 20.

Paired for: Redden, Murphy, Walter, Ribicoff, Powell, Democrats; Withrow, McGregor, Lichtenwalter, Kearney, Potter, L. W. Hall, Hugh D. Scott Jr., Republicans.

Paired Against: Smathers, Sikes, Stanley, Hays (Ark.), Rivers, Gilmer, Whitaker, Barden, Democrats; Wadsworth, Andresen (Minn.), Kilburn, Smith (Ohio), Republicans.

Anti-Poll Tax Approved After Angry House Debate; Senate Passage Is Unlikely

Dixie's Legislators Wage Bitter Fight, Saying Measure Aids Ku Klux Klan; 'Bigoted, Narrow,' States Hit By GOP

the Courier Pittsburgh Sat. 7-29-49

34e(1)

WASHINGTON, July 26—(AP)—After an angry debate, the House passed an anti-poll tax bill today, 273 to 116.

It would outlaw the poll tax as a requirement for voting in primaries and elections in which federal office-holders are chosen.

The measure, the first item of President Truman's civil rights program to be acted on at this times previously the House had session of Congress, now goes to passed similar bills, only to see the Senate. Opponents are confident it will be pigeonholed or filibustered to death if any move is made to take it up there. Four

South Fights Bill

Southerners fought the bill bit-

terly in the House, saying such measures encourage the rise of the Ku Klux Klan. Northerners replied that the poll tax disfranchises large masses of people and enables "narrow, bigoted" men to control some Southern states. Opponents argued in vain that if the poll tax is to be outlawed it should be done by constitutional amendment. They failed, 266 to 123, to send the bill back to committee so a constitutional amendment could be substituted for it.

WASHINGTON, July 26—(AP) Alabama's nine representatives voted solidly against the anti-poll tax bill which the House passed today.

The bill says the imposition of a poll tax as a voting prerequisite is "an interference" with elections and "an impairment of the republican form of government."

Virginia, Arkansas, Texas, Mississippi, Alabama, South Carolina and Tennessee could continue to levy poll taxes as they do now. But under the bill's provisions, they could not make the tax payment a condition of voting for president, vice president or members of Congress.

Hobbs Loses

Rep. Hobbs (D-Ala) tried to knock out the reference to primary elections and make the poll tax ban apply only to general elections. His amendment lost by a vote of 87 to 62.

The Klan was injected into the debate by Rep. Sims (D-SC), 28-year-old freshman, who challenged claims of proponents that the tax disfranchises millions of potential voters.

South Carolina's poll tax of $1, he said, is not cumulative, applies only to adult males and its payment is not a requirement for voting in primaries which in many Southern states are "the real elections."

Negroes and whites vote without paying a poll tax in South Carolina, he said.

Truman Caused 'Rise'

The rise of the Ku Klux Klan in the South," Sims said, "is a direct result of President Truman's endorsement of the report of his civil rights committee.

Other opponents of the bill argued that the states alone have the right to determine the qualifications of their voters. They claimed that the proposed law is unconstitutional. Joining in this argument advanced by Southern Democrats was Rep. Fellows (R-Me). Wed 7-27-49

Called 'Intervention'

Rep. Brown (D-Ga) called the bill "federal intervention," and Rep. Rankin (D-Miss) said it followed "the Communist line" and would be followed by anti-lynching and anti-segregation proposals which might lead to widespread race riots.

Rep. Davenport (D-Pa) said he had waited 20 years "to say what I'm going to say." Then he told the House that only two per cent of the eligible voters in Mississippi voted in Rankin's district in the 1946 congressional election.

"Stay on the floor, John," Davenport called to Rankin as the Mississippian started walking up the aisle.

Davenport claimed the main issue is "whether a narrow group of bigoted men will continue to control the destinies of their states."

When Davenport finished, Rankin congratulated him "for putting in 20 years accumulating so much ignorance."

34e(1) 1949

BILL ON REGISTRATION GIVEN 12 TO 15 DEFEAT BY ARKANSAS' SENATE

Commercial Appeal

Turndown Of Governor Measure Is Second Met By McMath During Session

Memphis Press

ADJOURNMENT IS TODAY

Thur. 3-10-49

Liquor Price Control Proposal Passes After Amendment—Action Is Completed On All Appropriation Items

By DICK ALLEN

From The Commercial Appeal Little Rock Bureau

LITTLE ROCK, March 9.—The Arkansas Senate Wednesday defeated an Administration-sponsored bill to set up a system of voter registration throughout the state.

By a vote of 12 to 15, the Senate handed Governor McMath his second defeat on a series of so-called civil liberties bills. Earlier in the session, the upper chamber refused to approve a proposed constitutional amendment to outlaw the poll tax as a prerequisite to voting.

Hinged On Poll Tax

The Voter Registration Bill, handled by Senator F. C. Crow of Hope, would not have become effective until the poll tax was either repealed by the Congress or by Arkansas voters. Instead of paying a poll tax, county Boards of Election Commissioners would supervise the registration of all qualified voters.

Senator Jerry Screeton of Hazen launche a blistering attack on the proposal, that it "is their step No. 1 in their civil liberties program and their attempt to break down segregation in Arkansas." He was joined by Senator W. H. Abington of Beebe who said now was in "inopportune time" to adopt such a bill.

Thur. 3-10-49

Without discussion, the Senate passed 30 to 1 a previously approved House bill designed to control the price of liquor and wine in Arkansas. However, the bill was amended in the Senate to provide a $125,000 appropriation for the operation and maintenance of a Liquor Investigating Division in the Revenue Department.

Funds from the appropriation would come from a 25-cent per case tax levied on liquor sold by the wholesaler. The bill was returned to the House for concurrence in the amendment.

Adjournment Today

With adjournment at noon Thursday staring them in the face, weary members of the House spent most of the morning filibustering a Senate measure designed to make retailers pay the state all sales tax collected, instead of 2 per cent on thir gross sales.

Members participating in the talking spree admitted their purpose was to keep the administration from bringing up the controversial election law code, which the Governor's aides sought to pass through the lower chamber. The filibuster lasted until the noon hour, and while the House recessed for lunch the Governor told his supporters to withdraw the bill.

The election code was one of his chief legislative projects, but anticipating that it might run into trouble the Governor succeeded in passing several separate measures containing major provisions of the code. The House referred both the code and the controversial sales tax bill to the Arkansas legislative council for further study.

Both the House and Senate completed final action on all budget bills pending on the calendars. Budget chairmen in both houses said they would have no further appropriations measures to bring up.

The Senate defeated a House bill which would have required the revenue commissioner to issue wholesale liquor permits to any qualified applicant, and also voted down a bill by Representative W. L. Ward of Lee County which would have repealed a special Lee County motor vehicle tax.

With Senator Lee Bearden of Leachville pushing for passage, the upper house approved 28 to 1 a bill requiring the Medical School to prorate the admission of new students on the basis of the state's congressional districts. The bill is expected to give some of the state's smaller counties more representaeion in the school.

Claims Commission

The Senate approved and sent to the Governor a bil setting up a new claims commission, composed of three members. Th enew board will handle claims against the state, which formerly were settled by the State Fiscal Control Board.

In an unexpected action, the House defeated a $25,000 appropriation bill to finance subsidization of Medical School students. Earlier in the session a bill to permit the state to make loans to eligible medical students was approved. The appropriation was necessary to make the measure effective. The House also refused to pass an appropriation to increase to $10,800 the retirement pay for three chancery and circuit judges, and defeated a $16,840 appropriation to finance the operation of the Arkansas Council on Children and Youth.

Thur. 3-10-49

The House passed and sent to the Governor a bill authorizing first-class cities to create public parking authorities and a bill changing the method of computing the severance tax on lumber from a lumber scale to a log scale. It acted on dozens of other "now controversial" bills previously approved in the Senate.

Poll Tax

Repeal Of Poll Tax, Reapportionment, Revised Constitution Appear Unlikely

Montgomery Advertiser

Montgomery, Ala.

By G. C. LONG, JR.

A constitutional convention, repeal of the poll tax and legislative reapportionment appear to have little chance of winning approval during the session of the legislature opening Tuesday.

An Advertiser sampling of opinion indicates also that members of the legislature are not inclined to vote additional taxes for the construction of hospitals or for raising the salaries of the school teachers.

Of these five issues, on which all legislators were questioned, reapportionment got the highest percentage of support—but most lawmakers answering opposed it. Forty-seven legislators answered The Advertiser questionnaire and on the reapportionment issue. Nineteen said they were opposed to it, 12 said they favored it, three said they were for it conditionally and three said they were opposed conditionally. Ten did not answer this particular question.

On repeal of the poll tax, 23 legislators said they were against lifting that levy. Only five said they were for repealing the tax. One legislator said he was opposed conditionally, 11 did not answer and two said they were undecided.

Twenty-six lawmakers said they were not in favor of a convention to rewrite the Alabama Constitution of 1901. Seven legislators expressed themselves as favoring the convention. Two said yes conditionally, two no conditionally, and 10 did not reply to this question.

Mon. 5-2-49

Rewriting of the state's basic law, reapportionment and repeal of the poll tax are all major parts of Gov. James E. Folsom's program that will be submitted to the legislature this week.

Folsom has long urged repeal of the poll tax, and he has been extremely critical of the fact that there has been no legislative reapportionment since the adoption of the 1901 Constitution in spite of the fact that the organic law states reapportionment shall be effected every 10 years.

The 1901 Constitution gives South Alabama control of the legislature and legislators from this section have stalled reapportionment since that time.

Most of the answers received to The Advertiser questionnaire have come from South and Central Alabama legislators, the areas where reapportionment, and a constitutional convention, would be fought the hardest.

In a series of proclamations that Governor Folsom issued on his program, he called for a senator from every county—67—instead of the 35 now in the upper chamber.

In his attacks on the present state constitution Folsom has stated that it is a document that was produced by a group of men who were "carpetbag-led."

He also charged that the 1901 constitutional convention was dominated by the "railroad and mineral trusts."

On the question of increased taxation for the purpose of raising the salaries of school teachers, 26 legislators said they did not favor such an increase.

Not a single lawmaker answered the question with a flat yes However, two said they favored an increase conditionally, five said no conditionally, 11 failed to answer and three said they were undecided.

Money On Hand

The 1947 legislature set up an average $1,800 annual salary for public school teachers, but Folsom has been campaigning for a minimum $1,800 yearly salary.

During his recent campaign the governor said that $1,800 minimum salaries already were possible because the income tax, which was diverted to teacher salaries by a constitutional amendment, had produced more revenue than had been anticipated.

Mon. 5-2-49

Twenty-two legislators said they did not favor an additional tax to be used for the construction of hospitals.

Three replied that they favor a tax for hospitals, six said yes conditionally, three said no conditionally, two said they were undecided and 11 failed to answer.

It has been reported previously that most legislators replying to the questionnaire are opposed to any additional or new tax for any purpose.

What Individuals Say

Here's what some of the legislators said about the questions:

Senator J. Bruce Henderson, Miller's Ferry—On a tax for hospital construction: "Certainly not a direct tax without a vote of the people at the present time."

Rep. Willis L. McIlwain, Union Springs—Commenting on a tax for higher teacher salaries: "I think there is sufficient revenue being collected to sufficiently take care of the teachers."

On the tax for hospital construction, McIlwain stated: "For certain localities, yes. This thing can be run into the ground if we don't watch it."

Rep Wallace Gibson, Birmingham—On a constitutional convention. "Yes, if the bill provides for delegates in proper ratio."

Rep. T. Werth Thagard, Greenville—On reapportionment: "Yes. Everybody is if the right formula can be found."

Several legislators indicated they might favor a constitutional convention, poll tax repeal and reapportionment at a later date by commenting that they did not favor it "at this time."

Texas Moves To Kill Poll Tax

Daily Herald

AUSTIN, Tex.—(INS)—The Senate Monday night passed and sent to the House the Anti-Poll Tax Bill.

Atlanta, Ga.

The vote was 25 to 2 and it overrode a filibuster which Senator Wardlow Lane had sponsored.

Wed. 4-20-49

Senator Lane's filibuster was hailed as a delaying action against proposed tax measures on petroleum products.

House Group Backs Anti-Poll-Tax Bill

Courier Journal

But 2 Hurdles Still Confront It

Louisville Ky.

Washington, June 23 (AP)—The House Administration Committee today approved an anti-poll-tax bill. In doing so it reversed its own subcommittee.

Thur. 6-23-49

The legislation would make it illegal to require payment of a poll tax as a prerequisite to voting for a representative, senator, Vice-President, or President in either a primary or a general election. Eight states still have poll taxes.

President Truman has made the abolition of these voting requirements a part of his civil-rights program.

The subcommittee had recommended that action on this bill be deferred until the House Judiciary Committee had a "reasonable" time to act on a proposal to submit a constitutional amendment banning poll taxes.

Truman, at a recent news conference, said those who want a constitutional amendment are stalling and that the job can be done by legislation.

The committee apparently

agreed with him, by a vote of 11 to 7. 6-23-49

At least two hurdles still confront the anti-poll-tax bill: The House Rules Committee and the Senate. Especially the Senate.

Southerners opposed to the bill are influential on the Rules Committee. But even if it is held up here, it can be called out under a new House rule adopted this year.

The House has passed anti-poll-tax bills before, but they have been killed in the Senate by filibusters or threats of filibusters.

Anti-Poll Tax Bill Shuffled Off In House

Montgomery Advertiser

Montgomery, Ala.

Committee Calls Delay To Allow Opportunity For Compromise Plan

Fri. 6-10-49

Montgomery Advertiser

WASHINGTON, June 9—(AP)—Anti-poll tax legislation—a key part of President Truman's civil rights program—got sidetracked in the House today.

Montgomery, Ala.

By a 4-3 vote, with one absentee, a House administration subcommittee decided to defer further consideration of the legislation until the House judiciary committee has "a reasonable opportunity" to act on a compromise plan for a constitutional amendment.

Fri. 6-10-49

The delay order is subject to review by the full 21-member administration committee next Wednesday. At that time the group may order hearings resumed, uphold the subcommittee, or may approve an anti-poll tax bill for immediate House action.

Marcantonio Absent

Rep. Marcantonio (ALP), New York, an outspoken foe of poll taxes, and a member of the subcommittee, was absent when today's ballot was taken. He said he was attending a meeting of the veterans' affairs committee at the time, and was not notified that the administration subcommittee was going to vote.

Had Marcantonio been present to cast his certain opposition ballot the motion to defer action would have lost by a tie vote.

Marcantonio said he will ask the full committee next week not to order further hearings, but to approve the bill for immediate House debate.

Sat. 6-10-49

Anti-poll tax legislation would outlaw such levies as a prerequisite for voting in federal elections.

First Adverse Move

The House group's action was the first adverse move on Capitol Hill against any part of the President's civil rights program, which also includes anti-discrimination and anti-lynch legislation.

Other Developments

COMMUNISTS—The House un-American activities committee questioned Philip O. Keeney, New York librarian, and his wife, Mary Jane, an editor at United Nations headquarters. Keeney refused to tell if he was or had been a Communist. Mrs. Keeney said she wasn't, but she told of entertaining Communist leader Herhart Eisler and a man accused of heading a Communist spy ring. Keeney said he handled secret material during the war, but was fired by the Army in Japan. Fri. 6-10-49

LABOR—The Senate continued its debate on the administration's labor relations bill which, if President Truman has his way, will replace the Taft-Hartley Act. Senator Withers (D), Kentucky, called for "cool heads" in writing the new law, urging that the lawmakers not allow the actions of any labor leader to arouse their anger. The reference was to John L. Lewis' latest coal strike.

AID—Paul Hoffman indicated after testifying to the Senate appropriations committee that he will resign as economic cooperation administrator if European recovery funds are cut too drastically.

GROUP GIVES APPROVAL TO ANTI-POLL TAX BILL

The Appeal

House Panel Reverses Action Of Its Subcommittee

Memphis, Tenn.

From The Commercial Appeal Washington Bureau Thu. 6-23-49

WASHINGTON, June 22.—The House Administration Committee Wednesday reversed the action of its subcommittee and approved the Norton Anti-Poll Tax Bill. The vote was 11 to 7.

Two MidSouth members voted for the bill and one against it. Voting for the bill were Representatives Jones (D., Mo.) and Christopher (D., Mo.). While voting against it was Representative Trimble (D., Ark). Thu. 6-23-49

Two weeks ago the subcommittee headed by Representative Harrison (D., Va.) voted 4 to 3 to delay indefinitely action on the bill which would make it unlawful to make the payment of a poll tax a prerequisite for voting in both primaries and general elections for Federal offices.

Opponents of the bill in the subcommittee won their temporary victory because Representative Marcantonio (A. L. D., N. Y.) forgot to attend the meeting.

Wednesday, Representative Woodhouse (D., Conn.), who had opposed the bill in the subcommittee, made the motion in the full committee approving the bill.

One member of the committee said after Wednesday's action that an effort likely will be made to bypass the Rules Committee and have the measure considered in the House under a suspension of the rules. A two-thirds majority of those voting is required for suspension of the rules.

However, the bill is certain to run into delaying action and stiff opposition in the Rules Committee from Representatives Colmer (D., Miss.), Smith (D., Va.) and Cox (D., Ga.).

No Poll Tax, Please

Editor Constitution: Although I am a staunch supporters of Gov. Herman Talmadge and white supremacy, I'm forced to disagree with some of his ideas on voter qualifications. 1-19-49

The idea of a registration fee or poll tax is highly undesirable because it will cause much confusion and will keep many qualified voters away from the polls. Some people will not vote if they have to pay a dollar to do so. This has been proven in the past. And I believe, after looking over the past election, that we have done pretty well without a poll tax for the past few years and I believe we can do without it in the future. The Constitution

The reregistration of all voters every two years is another measure that will cause more trouble than good. It's hard enough to get some people to register once in their lives much less every two years. Many of our good voters will say, "to hell with it," before they'll journey to the county seat, go through all the rangtangle of qualifying and the paying of a dollar just to get to vote one time. Atlanta, Ga.

I believe the qualification bill should be so arranged as to require a voter to register only once, thus qualifying him for any election provided he votes every two years. If this is done, and no poll tax is passed, we can get rid of block voting and unqualified voters, but still keep our good voters without the risk of losing them, too. 1-19-49 COILE J. GRAHAM.

Comer.

IN WASHINGTON

Antipoll-Tax Bill Is Sidetracked in House

Free Press

Detroit, Mich.

Free Press Wire Services

WASHINGTON—Antipoll tax legislation—a key part of President Truman's civil rights program—got sidetracked in the House.

By a 4-to-3 vote, with one absentee, a House Administration subcommittee decided to defer further consideration of the legislation until the House Judiciary Committee has "a reasonable opportunity" to act on a compromise plan for a constitutional amendment.

Fri. 6-10-49

THE DELAY ORDER is subject to review by the full 21-member Administration committee next Wednesday.

At that time the group may order hearings resumed, uphold the subcommittee, or may approve an antipoll tax bill for immediate House action.

Free Press

The proposal to abolish the tax by a constitutional amendment was described by President Truman as just an effort to prolong the agony. He said there was another better way

34e(1) 1949

POLL TAXES TRIMMED IN SERIES OF MOVES; POWER STRIKES HIT

Browning Says He Is In Favor Of Anything That Removes Barrier To Voting

Thur 3-24-49

SENATOR PEAY MOURNED

Memphis Press

Union Shop Battle Will Be Resumed In House Today—Bill Asks State Ownership Of Liquor Stores

By MORRIS CUNNINGHAM
From The Commercial Appeal
Nashville Bureau

NASHVILLE, March 23.—Both houses of the Legislature whittled away at the poll tax Wednesday and the House approved a bill to outlaw strikes in electric power systems.

The House passed a Senate-approved measure exempting women from the vote barrier, and passed and sent to the Senate another bill to exempt war veterans.

Meanwhile, the Senate passed and sent to the House a measure to reduce the vote levy from $2 to $1. But the Senate tabled a bill which would have outlawed the right of counties and cities to levy poll taxes.

Shelby For Veterans

The Shelby County legislators favored exempting veterans, but voted against exempting women and trimming the amount of the levy. They joined in tabling the fourth measure.

The exemption for women was sent to the Governor, joining a measure approved Tuesday which lifted the vote levy as a prerequisite to voting in primaries for Governor, United States senator, congressmen, members of the Legislature, and railroad and public utilities commissioners.

House approval of the ban on strikes by public power employes came after an amendment was attached exempting municipally-owned systems operated in Shelby and the three other metropolitan counties. Thur 3-24-49

House consideration of a measure to modify the anticlosed shop law to permit "union shop" contracts was interrupted by an announcement of the unexpected death of Senator Austin Peay Jr. of Clarksville.

The House quickly adjourned in tribute to the Montgomery County senator, the son of a former governor. In ill health for several years, he was stricken shortly after the morning session of the Senate. He died about midafternoon in Baptist Hospital. Physicians said death resulted from a brain hemorrhage.

Governor Browning said:

"The death of Senator Peay is quite a distinct shock to all of us as well as a great loss. Without a doubt he was one of the most valuable and level-headed men in the Legislature."

The Governor also commented on the legislative action on the poll tax bills.

Favors Removing Tax

"I am favorable to anything that removes the poll tax as a requirement to voting," he said. "I have no objection to any of the poll tax bills, but I think that the question of using the poll tax as a revenue measure should be left to the cities and counties."

Senator Clifford Allen of Nashville, who is at odds with Governor Browning over a free textbooks measure, chalked up a personal victory in the passage of the bill to clip the poll tax from $2 to $1. He sponsored the bill.

But Mr. Allen also was the author of the poll tax measure tabled by the Senate.

Poll Tax Payments Off Sharply Here

Montgomery Advertiser

About 1,300 poll tax payments were made here in the last two days before the deadline yesterday afternoon. The total of $4,550, however, is only about half of last year's total, according to Tax Collector Jack M. Hobbie.

About 300 white persons and 40 to 50 Negroes registered for the first time during the same period. Approximately half the Negroes applicants were teachers, registering officials said.

The decline in poll tax payment is not out of the ordinary for a non-election year, Hobbie said. And registration workers said that the total number of Negroes registering this year did not represent any appreciable increase over normal.

Poll Tax Plan Offered by Dixie

The Age-Herald

Truman's Foes Request Constitutional Change

Baltimore, Md.

WASHINGTON

Ten Democratic senators from seven Southern States filed a resolution last Thursday which urged that poll taxes be outlawed by a Constitutional amendment rather than by Federal legislation as proposed by President Truman. Sat.

Poll Tax

The resolution was the prompt answer of Southerners to Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey (Dem., Minn.), who had urged Republicans and liberal Democrats to unite behind the President's civil rights program. 1-22-49

Party Pledges Recalled

Recalling that both parties supported civil rights legislation in their 1948 platforms, Senator Humphrey said: "There are enough votes in Congress to enact the whole (Truman) program if the people who have endorsed it vote their convictions."

A Constitutional amendment requires a two-thirds majority in both houses of Congress, and then must be ratified by three-fourths (36) of the 48 States.

The resolution was filed by Sen. Spessard L. Holland, Fla.; for himself and Sens. Walter F. George, Ga.; Tom Connally, Tex.; Allen J. Ellender, La.; Russell B. Long, La.; Clyde R. Hoey, N.C.; J. Melville Broughton, N.C.; A. Willis Robertson, Va.; Millard E. Tydings, Md.; and Herbert R. O'Conor, Md.

CIO SAYS POLL TAX AIDS COALITION FOE

New York Times

Tells House Group Broadening of Franchise in South Would Put In Better Democrats

New York Herald Tribune

By CLAYTON KNOWLES
Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, May 3—Representatives of the Congress of Industrial Organizations bluntly told Congress today they wanted the poll tax outlawed to break up a coalition of Southern Democrats and Northern Republicans standing in the way of social progress.

Broadening the franchise in the South, they said, would not lead to the election of Republicans but, rather, a "different kind of Democrat." Wed. 5-4-49

This unusual candor led to a sharp across-the-table exchange between Representative Omar Burleson, Democrat, of Texas, and John W. Edelman and Thomas E. Harris, the CIO spokesman at the hearings on anti-poll tax legislation before a House Administratio subcommittee.

Mr. Burleson contended that the CIO was "trying to force foreign issues on the Democratic party." He vehemently denied Mr. Edelman's statement that the average worker in the South regarded the force dpayment of a poll tax before he could vote "as a stigma placed upon him by a privileged minority."

Says CIO Sets South Back

"You are doing and have done an irreparable damage in the South by some of the things you have advocated, and this is one of them," Representative Burleson asserted.

It was at this point that Mr. Edelman asserted that the Southern Democrat-Northern Republican coalition stood as a "great barrier to social progress" and insisted that the poll tax must be outlawed.

"We can deal with the situation in the North in one way," he snapped, "but we must get rid of the poll tax in the South to change the Democratic point of view."

The statements of Mr. Edelman, who appeared for the national CIO legislative committe and the CIO Textile Workers Union, were supported by Mr. Harris, assistant general counsel to the CIO, who in turn drew Mr. Burleson's fire.

The Texan accused him of misrepresentation in citing the fact that in Alabama, where cumulative payment of poll tax arrears is required as a qualification for voting, an individual may have to pay as much as $36, or a family up to $72 to vote. Mr. Burleson said Mr. Harris sought to leave the impression that a like situation applied in all poll-tax states. He said only a question by Mrs. Chase Going Woodhouse, Democrat, of Connecticut, corrected the situation.

"That was not my understanding at all," broke in Mrs. Woodhouse as the CIO representative also denied the charge.

Figures on Voting Are Cited

To demonstrate how the poll tax cut down voting, Mr. Harris quoted statistics covering the 1940 Congressional elections which showed that i nthe eight states that then had this levy only 7.21 per cent of the population of voting age went to the polls, as against 41.79 per cent that balloted in the other forty states.

Burr P. Harrison, Democrat, of Virginia, who heads the subcommittee, suggested that there undoubtedly was a much larger vote in the primary where, because of a virtual one-party set-up in the South, most election contests were settled. Mr. Harris replied with another set of statistics showing that in Texas 19 per cent voted in the primary, as against 16 per cent in the general election. The percentages in Tennessee were given as 11 and 14 and in South Carolina 16 and 5. Wed. 5-4-49

Asked by Mr. Harrison why he did not favor the proposal to abolish the poll tax by constitutional amendment, Mr. Edelman replied:

"I regard it as a stall. The history of Constitutional amendments proves tthey take a long time to be ratified. I just can't believe that the framers of the Constitution would believe tthat Congress in 1949 would feel so inhibited that it could not outlaw this tax."

Also appearing as a proponent of the legislation was Elmer W. Henderson, director of the American Council on Human Rights. He asserted he had never heard "a sound justification of this tax from any source."

Folsom To Seek Poll Tax Ban, Negro Colleges

Montgomery Advertiser Sun 1-2-49

Governor Says Problem Of Improving Colored Schools Must Be Met

Survey Is Planned

1949 Fight Is Promised To Hike Teacher Pay And Pave More Roads

Montgomery Ala.

CULLMAN, ALA., Jan. 1—(AP)—Gov. James E. Folsom said today he will seek more and better education for Negroes and will fight for poll tax repeal in Alabama.

He departed from his prepared text in a New Year's Day broadcast to emphasize both points.

Folsom announced he will appoint a committee within a few days to study improved higher education for Negroes.

"This is a problem that's got to be met in Alabama," he declared. "We're going to have to face it and I believe Alabama is just as equal to the task as any other state."

Negro college education has been a problem in the South, especially in the wake of a Supreme Court decision that states must provide equal facilities for all races.

Folsom has called for poll tax repeal before but he was more insistent today. "I just don't believe a person ought to have to pay for the privilege of voting," he said.

He indicated he would fight for repeal in the 1949 legislature.

Would Up Teachers

The governor also reaffirmed his hopes for a $45-month old age pensions and more paved rural roads.

He said his administration will continue to press for a minimum salary of $1,800 yearly for all teachers (they now get an average of $1,800), and a constitutional convention to rewrite the state constitution.

"With the help of the legislature," these goals can be reached, he declared.

Folsom reviewed the first half of his administration and concluded:

"We have done more to help this state [illegible] people move forward [illegible] way of life, a [illegible] life in agriculture and transportation. [illegible] life for our old [illegible] was able to get only a small part of his program through the 1947 dren, and [illegible] dividuals have [illegible] than has ever before been done in two years." The governor insisted, however, that much could have been done with the help of the legislature.

He and the legislature have been at odds most of his administration. Because of this Folsom was able to get only a small part of his program through the 1947 legislature.

Taxes, he said, have been administered "more fairly" than at any time in the past "and as a result, we have collected record amounts in almost every tax."

The governor commented that many parts of his program have brought about opposition. But staff because it was found "that this is as it should be," he said. "Certain selfish groups and individuals have honored my administration with their opposition."

Folsom took time to explain his use of the state's temporary clerk hire fund for which he has been criticized.

Part of the money was spent, he said, to add new men to the state ABC board enforcement staff because it was found "that moonshine operation was eating into state liquor profits."

Last year, he added, ABC agents seized 2,505 stills capable of producing $33,000,000 worth of whiskey.

Claims He's Fair

1-2-49

Texas Decides to Put States' Rights to Work

OVER in Texas they are giving the best and clearest proof of democratic good intentions. They are making the best possible answer to the charge that Southerners insist on States' rights before civil rights because they have no feeling for the latter. The Texas Senate has passed, by the overwhelming vote of 25 to 2, a bill to end payment of the poll tax as a requirement for voting.

According to the word from Texas, the bill is pretty sure to be passed also by the House and to become law. It is part of a program which Governor JESTER and other Texas leaders have approved to show that their promises of political and social reform are genuine.

For years these promises have been made by Southern senators in course of filibusters to prevent passage of Federal laws in this connection. The filibusters usually prevailed, but rarely was anything done back in the States to carry out the assurances. It was only natural that the rest of the country should be skeptical and the drive for congressional action continue. It was only natural that the issue should stay in politics, partly inflammatory, partly specious, partly the grail of earnest crusaders. If the South wouldn't act, then the nation could, they cried.

It is true that removal of the poll tax is hardly a startling action in itself. Retained by only seven States, including Texas, it long ago ceased to have a meaning except as a symbol of Southern determination to resist coercion by other regions. In this case the action would be less noteworthy but that it has been linked with a proposal for a Texas anti-lynching law, which would be an even more eloquent testimonial to good intentions. Governor JESTER has approved a law to make local officials accountable for the safety of persons in their custody or threatened by mobs This is next on the schedule, if the poll tax bill is cleared.

Not in Texas alone is the movement of self-exoneration under way. Progressive young Governor SID MCMATH, in Arkansas, promised in his campaign a program of the same sort. He found his legislature balky on the subject and the plan languishes; but Governor MCMATH hasn't given up. Perhaps the action just across the line in Texas will help his cause. At any rate, the argument will be strengthened that the best way to get something done is to do something.

Poll Tax Deadline Nearing

With the deadline for paying poll taxes little more than a week away, only one-fourth as many persons have qualified this year as last.

Tax Collector J. W. Hamilton pointed out that through Jan. 15, only $11,796 has been taken in through poll tax payments as compared to a total of $69,831 for the entire tax period last year.

Last year a total of 20,039 persons paid poll taxes as compared with 5,200 so far this year.

TO MAKE POLL TAX PAYMENTS more convenient, Mr. Hamilton said he has established 21 poll tax booths in various parts of the county and will add three more in the downtown area next week. Mr. Hamilton pointed out that there is a City Commission election coming up this year and that there may be other important issues to be voted upon after the Legislature meets.

THE BOOTHS already established are located as follows:

Acipco Y. M. C. A.; Birmingham CIO Hall; Painted Local No. 57; Ariail Drug Company, Crestline Heights; V. C. Wood Drug Company, 7607 First Avenue, North; CIO Hall, Ensley; Gilmer Drug Company, 418 19th Street, Ensley; Municipal Court of Ensley; Fairfield City Hall; CIO Hall, Fairfield; Irondale Drug Company; Leeds Home & Auto Supply Company; Leeds Drug Company; Powers Cafe, Leeds; Rogers & Company, 3100 North 27th Street; Turner Drug Company, 205 Avenue U, Pratt City; City Hall, Tarrant; Norrell's Super Store, Trussville; Levy Dry Goods Company, 1334 Tuscaloosa Avenue; Reviere Grocery Store, 4500 Seventh Avenue, Wylam.

Texas Demo Accuses CIO Of Trying To Kill Poll Tax To Aid GOP

WASHINGTON, May 4—(AP)—A Southern Democrat accused the CIO today of trying to wipe out poll taxes in order to build up the Republican Party in the South.

Rep. Burleson (D., Tex.) tossed that out at a House committee hearing. He drew from CIO spokesmen the retort that what the big labor organization wants is a different kind of Democrat, a more liberal kind, from the South.

Arguing with Burleson before a House administration subcommittee were John W. Edelman and Thomas E. Harris of the CIO.

The committee is studying bills to end the payment of poll taxes as a voting requirement in national elections.

Burleson said that "you"—he didn't make it clear whether he meant Edelman or the CIO—"are doing and have done an irreparable damage in the South by some of the things you advocate." Ending the poll tax, he said, is one of them.

EDELMAN TOLD the subcommittee:

"The average working man and woman in the South regards the requirement that he pay a poll tax before he can vote as a stigma placed upon him by a privileged minority.

"There is a statement," Burleson bristled, "that stands wholly without foundation. And I challenge you to prove that statement is so."

"Shall we take a referendum?" Edelman retorted.

Moments later, Harris said the predominance of one party—the Democratic—in the South is due in part to the poll tax.

"You figure you are going to make more Republicans by failing to have poll taxes," Burleson remarked.

"If they are repealed," Harris replied, "I don't think the poor people are going to vote Republican, but for a different kind of Democrat."

SOUTHERNERS LOSE ROUND ON POLL TAX

Band in House Forces Seven Roll-Calls Before Leaders Get Rule for Debate

By CLAYTON KNOWLES

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, July 25—A solidly knit band of Southern Democrats, battling against heavy odds to prevent a House vote on the anti-poll tax bill, forced seven roll-calls today before the House leadership could get a rule for consideration of the measure.

Lacking the Republican support in this civil rights test that they have had on other major issues, the Southerners were set back in vote after vote, but came back fighting hard after each defeat. They lost the key vote on the rule, 265 to 100.

This vote will make the final action on the bill somewhat anticlimactic, for the House in the four most recent Congresses has approved this legislation by lopsided margins. The vote to outlaw this levy as a prerequisite to voting in Federal elections was better than 2 to 1 in the House in 1942, 1943, 1945 and 1947, although the measure never has come to a Senate vote.

The objective of the Southerners today was patent—to delay and obstruct proceedings as much as possible in the hope that the House would not have an opportunity to vote on the rule and thereby make the measure the pending order of business.

They did hold out for more than three hours, but finally lost the fight at 3:40 P. M.

Discharge Rule In Effect

Had they succeeded in preventing the vote on the rule, the House could not have taken up the matter again until Aug. 8, since the measure was coming to the floor under the new twenty-one-day discharge rule that bypasses the Rules Committee. Discharge resolutions can be considered only on the second and fourth Mondays of each month.

Buth the Southerners, even when bested on the rule, continued their delaying tactics as debate was begun in the Committee of the Whole. The point of a quorum was raised and the chair found there were seven fewer in the chamber than the 100 necessary for committee deliberations.

This led to the eighth and last roll-call of the day—each such record vote takes a half hour—and Representative Mary T. Norton of New Jersey, author of the bill and chairman of the House Administration Committee that reported it, angrily cried that the House would be kept in session until 10 P. M., if necessary, to complete debate.

Amendments Planned

But as the House dropped the subject soon after 5 P. M. until tomorrow, there were indications that the Southerners would continue their rear-guard pot-shots with a series of amendments. Representative Tom Pickett of Texas has announced that he will offer three on his own.

The Southern attack was begun by Representative Ed Gossett of Texas, who made a motion at 12:02 P. M., just after the opening prayer was concluded, that the House adjourn.

Speaker Sam Rayburn called for the automatic voice vote, then, announcing that he was "in doubt" as to the result, called for a standing vote, on which the motion prevailed, 46 to 30. Representative Wayne L. Hays, Democrat, of Ohio, immediately objected on the ground that a quorum was not present.

This was "not a proper objection," the Speaker ruled, then volunteered that Mr. Hays could ask for the ayes and nays. On the ensuing roll-cal the motion to adjourn was beaten 242 to 102.

This was the first of three roll-calls the Southerners, cued by Representative John E. Rankin of Mississippi, an expert on parliamentary procedure, demanded on the question of adjournment. All were defeated.

Other test record votes came on approval of the journal of the previous day and, twice, on the next order of business.

Rayburn Warns on Delay

On one occasion Mr. Rayburn warned that he would crack down if dilatory tactics became flagrant.

"Since the Speaker has occupied the chair," he said, "he has not held a motion to be dilatory and he will not do so until it becomes obvious that dilatory tactics are being indulged in and a filibuster is on."

Less than one hour of debate followed granting of the rule, with Mrs. Norton touching it off with a plea that the bill, although sponsored by a Democrat, was "not a party measure." She asserted that "the same arguments backed by the same prejudices" were being advanced against the bill this year as in the past. Eamnuel Celler, a Democrat, and Jacob K. Javits, a Republican, both of New York, echoed her plea for passage of the bill.

Filibustering Southerners Fails To Stop Poll Tax Vote

Today After Coalition Defeats 8 Roll Calls Force 8 Roll Calls

Move Is 'First Step' In Civil Rights Plan, Asserts Republicans

WASHINGTON, July 25 —(AP) Southern filibustering prevented a vote on an anti-poll tax bill in the House today but failed to kill the measure.

After forcing eight roll calls that took more than four hours, the Southerners had to retreat before a determined combination of Republicans and Northern Democrats.

Finally, after less than an hour of general debate, the House put over the bill until Tuesday when it probably will be passed by a substantial margin.

May Die In Senate

But Southerners predicted that such legislation has gone through the House—meant only that it would again die in the Senate.

On a crucial roll call vote today—on a resolution bringing the bill before the House—the vote was 265 to 100.

House Passage Assured

A half dozen Southerners, most of them conceding ultimate defeat of the bill, appealed for recourse instead to a constitutional amendment to abolish the poll tax. Representative Clare Hoffman, Republican, of Michigan, echoing this view, urged his party colleagues not to support the pending legislation in the hope of gaining support among Negro voters.

Loosening of Poll Tax a Swat at Crump

Washington Post

Special to The Washington Post.

NASHVILLE, Tenn., April 30.—The Tennessee Legislature took a healthy swing at its former political master, Memphis Boss Ed Crump, before quitting earlier this month.

It loosened the State's voting requirements by exempting all women and war veterans from payment of poll taxes. It then voted a State-wide referendum November 8 on the question of a constitutional convention to remodel Tennessee's fundamental law, which has been unaltered since the collapse of the carpetbagging regimes in 1870. Among changes proposed is complete repeal of all poll taxes. Another would raise the pay of State legislators above the present $4 a day. Washington, D.C.

The $1 poll tax, payable 60 days ahead of election, helps keep political machines alive. Crump was credited with using opposition to Negro voting as a weapon in seizing control of the Memphis election machinery a generation ago.

More recently he has been charged with "block voting" of Negroes. This is the method by which a political leader pays poll taxes in advance for a block of voters who otherwise would not qualify, and then votes them in a group. Sun. 5-1-49

50 Pct. Vote Increase

POLITICAL experts predict that the changes already granted will increase the number of Tennessee voters by 300,000—a better than 50 per cent jump over the 550,000 who voted for President last November.

The effect of poll taxes on Tennessee elections is demonstrated by the following figures:

1. Last fall Kentucky, with a population of 2,845,627, cast 825,000 votes for President. Tennessee, with 2,915,627 population, cast only 550,000.

2. Compared with Northern States without poll tax or other restrictions, Tennessee falls still farther behind. Iowa, with 400,000 fewer inhabitants, cast 1,050,000 votes for President last November.

Tennessee, however, compares its record with that of adjoining Georgia, where voting laws are even more restrictive. Georgia, with a population of 3,123,000, cast only 425 votes for President—one of the slackest records in the Nation.

Removal of poll taxes will complicate Tennessee's election machinery. The poll tax, reduced at the recent session to 50 cents for each male citizen not a war veteran, provides the only record of who is eligible to vote in many counties. There is no State-wide registration system. Voters must register only in counties of more than 40,000 population or in towns of more than 2500 inhabitants. More than half the 95 counties fail to meet either requirement, and without the poll tax list there will be no control of voters in those communities.

There is a question about the constitutionality of the removal of poll tax requirements from veterans, but cynics say nobody has the political courage to challenge it. Tennessee veterans take their politics seriously, in one case, at Athens, using force.

The Legislature in 1943 passed a law abolishing the poll tax. This was found unconstitutional by the State Supreme Court. The constitution requires the tax from "all male citizens over 21" and fixes the rate at "not less than 50 cents nor more than $1."

The decision setting aside the 1943 laws was a masterpiece of confusion. It held, in effect, that when the Legislature once levied a poll tax under the constitutional provision, it surrendered the right of future Legislatures to repeal the levy. But it didn't remove their right to change the amount. In other words, it gave the State Assembly power to create a new tax or to amend the old one, but not the power to destroy it.

Tradition of Chivalry

IN REMOVING the poll tax from women, the State lawmakers referred over and over again to the Tennessee Legislature's traditional political chivalry. They dragged out history to show that the Assembly was called into special session in 1920 by Governor Albert H. Roberts to become the thirty-sixth and deciding State to ratify the Nineteenth Amendment, which gave women national suffrage. Sun. 5-1-49

But they failed to point out that Roberts acted only after much prodding by President Wilson, who saw a benefit to his party's Cox and Roosevelt ticket that fall.

They also neglected to point out that the women that November trooped to the polls for a Republican, Warren G. Harding, placing Tennessee in the Republican column for the first time in decades.

State of Tenn. Kills Poll Tax

Chattanooga Times

NASHVILLE—Following legislation to kill most measures affecting the State poll-tax as a prerequisite for voting in Tennessee, Governor Gordon Browning last week signed a bill abolishing the poll tax altogether as it affected state-wide primary balloting. The bill was authored by Senators I. D. Beasley of Carthage and Luther Creasey of Gallatin.

Poll Tax Ban Voted in Texas

Atlanta Constitution

AUSTIN, Texas, (AP) — The Texas Senate voted 25 to 2 last night to drop the poll tax requirement for voting.

Date 4-19-49

First it beat down a five-hour filibuster against the measure, one of President Truman's civil rights proposals.

Atlanta Ga.

The bill goes now to the House where it must gain a two-thirds approving vote before it can be submitted to the polls for final action.

Virginia's Poll Tax

A good many misleading arguments have been thrown out to Virginia voters as they prepare to ballot today on poll-tax repeal. This newspaper has long opposed the poll tax as a qualification for voting. But some things are worse than the poll tax. One of them is the vague concoction that has been skillfully brewed up in the Campbell amendment. The net effect of this mass of technicalities would be to give the Legislature power to keep the restraints of the poll tax while doing away with it in name.

If voters approve the amendment to repeal the poll tax, they will write *into the State constitution* a requirement that voting registration books be closed 120 days before registration. This can hardly be anything but an effort to discourage voting. Present procedure involves prior payment of the poll tax, to be sure, but books are closed only 30 days in advance—and even then it is hard enough to arouse interest in elections. If the amendment carries, it also will give the Legislature authority to substitute a literacy test and *such further requirements* as it may provide. And although the Legislature *could* merely require annual voting as the means of accomplishing the annual registration the amendment sets up, it would be left free to impose any restraints it saw fit on registration.

The point has been made that Virginia would lose vital school funds if the poll tax were repealed later through Federal action. Why should school funds be raised through the poll tax at all? Here is a field in which the Legislature is entirely free to provide alternatives when and if an honest repeal measure comes along. Meanwhile, as they consider this phony repeal, Virginia voters ought to think twice before saddling themselves with something potentially a good deal more damaging than the poll tax.

Post 11-5-49

1109 Precinct Give Margin; Battle Slate Gets Big Lead

By Richard Morris
Post Reporter

Virginia voters slapped down a proposal to repeal the poll tax yesterday in a landslide general election vote.

With 1109 of the State's 1760 precincts reporting, the unofficial vote on the Campbell amendments to the constitution was:

For, 30,505.
Against, 111,458.

John S. Battle, Democratic organization candidate for Governor and supporter of the amendments, was leading his Republican opponent, Walter Johnson, by a greater than 3-to-1 margin.

Vote for Governor

The vote for governor, with 943 of the State's total of 1760 precincts reporting, was:

John S. Battle(Dem), 82,903; Walter Johnson (Rep.), 27,271; Clarke T. Robb (Soc.-Dem.), 1912.

Battle, the 59-year-old former chairman of the State Senate Finance Committee, piled up a heavy lead from the start, as expected, and was never threatened.

Neither were his two running mates who had the blessing of Senator Harry F. Byrd, Attorney General J. Lindsay Almond, jr., and Lieut.-Gov. L. Preston Collins, both incumbents.

It was the proposed constitutional changes, supported by the Democratic organization, that provided the surprise of the day.

They were slated in pre-election guessing to bring a close vote. From the moment polls closed at 6 p. m., it appeared certain that the $1.50 poll tax would remain a part of Virginia law, at least for the time being.

Defeat of the amendments was the only reverse the Democratic organization had to suffer in the general election. Most of the organization's supporters were not averse to the poll tax as such, making rejection of the amendments merely a less desirable outcome.

Paradox Highlighted

The paradox brought out in the alignment of political forces was highlighted by this organization support.

"Liberals" who have attacked the poll tax as unpalatable and unconstitutional were solidly against the Campbell amendments because of other provisions wrapped in the same package.

Thye claimed the General Assembly would decide who could or could not vote if the amendments passed, bringing about a "hand-me-down" constitution.

These "anti-organization" Democrats were joined by an assortment of Republicans, independents, nonpartisans and even a few members of the "Byrd machine."

Many observers believed their success in the cause, which offered the only real State-wide contest yesterday, was enhanced immeasurably by voters who like the poll tax and want to keep it.

"Excess Baggage" Deplored

Thte "excess baggage" deplored by this coalition would have permitte dthe legislature to impose a $3 head tax and to authorize a $1 tax by counties and cities.

It would have given the General Assembly authority to 'prescribe such tests as to literacy and such further requirements" as it deemed necessary as voting qualifications.

Annual renewal of registration, rather than the present permanent registration was provided.

Anti-amendment forces plumped for a constitutional convention to repeal the poll tax during the campaign. After yesterday's voting, this idea was renewed by the State Republican leadership.

Robert H. Woods, chairman of the Republican State Committee, said in Pearisburg that rejection of the suffrage amendments is a mandate to the General Assembly to call "an unrestricted constitutional convention."

Envisions Two-Party System

In a statement from his home there, the GOP leader said as a result of the vote on the amendments he now envisions "the beginning of a two-party system in Virginia."

His statement on the amendments said:

"The people of Virginia have spoken. They have arisen in righteous indignation against one of the greatest frauds ever attempted to be perpetrated against a free people."

GOP Gubernatorial Iandidate Johnson campaigned against the amendments. Victor Battle indorsed them.

The amendments were devised by a commission established in 1945 by former Gov. Colgate W. Darden, jr., and headed by former Delegate Stuart B. Campbell of Wytheville.

They were approved unchanged by two sessions of the General Assembly—in 1946 and 1948—as required by law.

The poll tax was first imposed in the Old Dominion in 1876. It was repealed in 1882, but was finally inserted in the constitution in 1902 by a convention vote of 47 to 38. The amendment was never ratified by the voters.

Also considered on ballots in Virginia's 100 counties yesterday were candidates for 35 seats in the House of Delegates. They provided only 23 contests.

There was one Senate contest in the Ninth (Southwest) District.

Post Wed. 11-9-49

No. Virginia Votes for Poll Tax, Battle

Nearby northern Virginia followed the State-wide pattern in voting down the Campbell amendments and voting in State Senator John S. Battle, Democratic Party candidate, as the Commonwealth's Governor.

On the basis of incomplete returns from the five sectors of the northern Virginia area, there appeared to be no deviation even precinct-wise.

But in northern Virginia, one State pattern was broken: State residents turned out in droves for for a general election in a non-presidential year. Observers freely conceded that the controversial Campbell amendments, heatedly debated during the preelection weeks, were the cause of the heavy voting.

How Area Voted

On the State-wide issues, here is how the nearby northern Virginia area voted:

With 99 of a total of 112 precincts reporting, the Campbell amendments vote was: For, 2572; Against, 8573.

In the voting for state offices with 90 precincts reporting, the totals were: For Governor, John Battle (D.), 10,241; Walter Johnson (R.), 4499; and Clark T. Robb (Co.-D.), 467.

For Lieutenant-Governor: L. Preston Collins, incumbent Democrat, 9892; E. Thomas McGuire (R.), 4547.

For Attorney General: J. Lindsay Almond, jr., incumbent Demo 10,045; Sidney Moore (So.-D.), 3790.

In Arlington County, with eight of 27 precincts reporting, the unofficial vote on the Campbell amendments was: For, 184; against 353. In the voting for State officers, with four precincts reported, Battle polled 819 votes; Johnson received 543, and Robb, 75. For lieutenant governor: Collins, 823; McGuire, 559. For attorney general: Almond, 870; Moore, 425.

In Alexandria, with all nine precincts reporting, the unofficial vote on the Campbell amendments was: For, 1147; against, 3560. In the voting for State officers, Battle polled 3068 votes, Johnson received 1432, and Robb 138. For lieutenant governor: Collins, 2859; McGuire, 1162. For attorney general: Almond, 2573; Moore, 1289.

In Falls Church, with one of three precincts reporting, the unofficial vote on the Campbell amendments was: For, 53; Against, 151. In the voting for State officers, Battle polled 147 votes; Johnson received 60 and Robb, 4. For lieutenant governor, Collins, 133; McGuire, 69. For attorney general Almond, 134; Moore, 46.

Fairfax, Loudoun

In Fairfax County, with 28 precincts reporting, the unofficial vote on the Campbell amendments was: For, 951; Against, 2898. In the voting for state officers with all precincts reporting, Battle polled 3094 votes; Johnson received 1766 and Robb, 168.

For lieutenant governor: Collins, 3144; McGuire, 1722. For attorney general: Almond, 3280; Moore, 1364.

In Loudoun County, with all the 28 precincts reporting, the unofficial voting on the Campbell amendments was: For, 194; Against, 1564. In the voting for State offices, Battle polled 1479 votes; Johnson received 234 and Robb, 16. For lieutenant governor, Collins, 1392; McGuire, 246. For attorney general: Almond, 1263; Moore, 243.

The unopposed incumbent member of the House, Delegate Stilson H. Hall, polled 1611 votes. A Leesburg lawyer for 19 years, he was first elected to the House in 1946.

Prince William County

In Prince William County, with 16 of 17 precincts reporting, the unofficial vote on the Campbell amendments was: For, 256; against, 784. In the voting for State offices, Battle polled 892 votes; Johnson received 163 and Robb, 23. For lieutenant governor, Collins, 806; McGuire 184. For attorney general: Almond, 801; Moore, 145.

Delegate Frank P. Moncure, an attorney, who represents Stafford and Prince William Counties in the General Assembly, was elected without opposition and polled 888 votes. He will begin his sixth term in January.

34e(1) 1949 Virginia

JAY G. HAYDEN

'Liberals' Fight Poll Tax Repeal

WASHINGTON—Virginia currently presents the remarkable spectacle of an orthodox Dixiecrat party machine moving for abolishment of the poll tax, with Negroes, labor unionists and all other Fair Deal elements and some Republicans fighting against this elimination.

In Virginia, one of seven States which still levy poll taxes, the charge is $1.50 a year, cumulative for delinquency up to three years, plus interest and penalties swelling the maximum charge for voting to a little over $5.

The Democratic organization in the State, headed by Sen. Harry F. Byrd, began moving to wipe out the poll tax in 1945, when Gov. Colgate W. Darden, now President of the University of Virginia, appointed a bipartisan commission to propose election law changes.

Atlanta, Ga. 34e(1)

That body recommended complete elimination of poll tax payment as a requirement for voting and, in pursuance of Virginia's cumbersome machinery for constitutional amendment, two biennial legislatures have approved this provision and submitted it finally to a vote of the people next Nov. 8.

Constitution

The objection of self-styled "liberals" is that the poll tax repealer is wrapped up in a large package of election law changes which would make stronger than ever the Byrd machine's hold on the State.

Times 10-25-49

Also, it is contended, something very like the poll tax may be projected in a provision authorizing the Legislature to impose a capitation tax on adults up to $3 a year and to make payment of this levy a prerequisite to "the issuance of any license or permit for any privilege." That the latter might include registration for voting is indicated in another provision, relieving voters from a requirement of annual reregistration provided they pay their personal taxes on time.

Voters are being told that they may be forbidden automobile and hunting licenses, or even tags for their dogs, unless they have paid the school head tax.

Provisions that are claimed to be specially designed to aid the Byrd machine are a limitation of voting to persons registered at least 120 days (four months) before any primary or election and the requirements that lists of eligible voters be posted in each precinct 90 days before election.

Presently voters may register up to 30 days before election, provided they can prove that their poll taxes were paid at least six months before voting day.

Under the pending amendment, the Legislature could impose "such tests as to literacy and such further requirements" as it may deem necessary as qualifications for voting. Presently a prospective voter must answer "under oath and in writing" any and all questions that may be asked by the election officers bearing upon his legal qualifications to vote.

The answer to these objections by sponsors of the amendment is that it does no more, in fact, than give the State Assembly (the official body standing closest to the citizenry rank and file) the right to lay down election rules. Declaring his support of the proposal this week, Gov. William Tuck said:

"The complaint heretofore has been that there should be no poll tax as a prerequisite to the right to vote and that our existing suffrage requirements are too inflexible.

"The proposed amendments would definitely and finally remove the poll tax as a voting qualification. They would provide a flexible system of suffrage laws, responsive to the will of the people and subject to prompt change as the public may demand."

The real reason why the people who have been shouting loudest against the poll tax now are shouting against its repeal, say the Byrd machine spokesmen, is that its adoption would remove one of the main shibboleths of the folks who devote themselves to stirring up racial antagonism.

Virginia Affairs

Poll-Tax Amendment Is 'Garbled'

By Benjamin Muse

WITH regard to the proposed amendments to the Constitution of Virginia, if you want to understand the question which you will be asked to vote upon November 8, above all things, don't read it.

MUSE

If you don't read the question, you may assume that by marking "For" or "Against" you will be voting for or against repeal of the poll tax and the other provisions of the Campbell amendments. And, according to Attorney General J. Lindsay Almond, jr., your assumption will be correct.

But, if you read the question, you will get a contrary impression. For—as it has taken nearly three years to discover—the question reads just the opposite

It asks: "Shall sections . . . of the Constitution of Virginia, which . . . provide for the elimination of the poll tax . . . be amended?" Of course, there are no sections of the Constitution which provide for the elimination of the poll tax. What was meant was: "Shall sections of the Constitution which establish a poll tax be amended?"

"I think it will be obvious to the voter," Mr. Almond explains, "that a mistake has been made."

Height of Confusion

Post 10-16-49

THAT is the crowning stroke of confusion in the four-year effort to remove the poll tax without making it any easier to vote in Virginia.

The proposed amendments are, with very slight changes, the recommendations of a legislative commission set up at a special session of the General Assembly in 1945 and headed by Stuart B. Campbell, of Wythe County, then a member of the House of Delegates.

Washington, D.C.

William D. Medley, of Arlington County, then a member of the State Senate, was also a member of the commission. The amendments which they drew up provided for repeal of the poll tax and substitution of annual registration, in a manner to be prescribed by the General Assembly, together with authorization for a head tax not exceeding $3 for schools.

Out on a Limb

PUSHED along by the Democratic "organization," the lengthy amendments went over the four General Assembly hurdles—twice through the House of Delegates and twice through the Senate—with all too little debate and—as is now painfully evident—without careful examination. On the 1948 round they were rushed through just before adjournment. "The bill was never printed," Delegate Robert Whitehead recalled last week. "Only one copy of it was available and that was on the Speaker's desk."

The amendments have been publicly indorsed, however, by former Governor Darden, Governor Tuck and next Governor Battle.

Is the "organization" out on a limb? If it is, the opposition, which includes followers of all three of the unsuccessful candidates for the gubernatorial nomination, was out last week to saw it off. Republican Delegate Bentley Hite and a big slice of the G.O.P. are also fighting the amendments. They are all organized now in a Virginia Right to Vote League.

Rejection of the amendments by the voters on November 8 would add up to a defeat for the "organization," and it would be something like a triumph for Francis Pickens Miller and his "anti-machine" faction. Miller is in the center of the fight. "The right to vote," he said last week, "would depend (under the proposed plan) not upon a constitutional guarantee, but upon the changing opinions of a legislative body."

The League's Program

A MORE serious political signal to watch would be the development of any real unity of action on the issue among Miller, Horace Edwards and Remmie Arnold, but Edwards and Arnold themselves have remained silent since the primary.

In spite of all the jockeying and confusion, and the screwball question on the ballot, this is a matter of amending the Constitution of Virginia, and it is going to be decided one way or the other on November 8.

If the amendments are defeated, Senator Robertson says there will be a mess, as he is confident that a Federal anti-poll-tax law will be enacted next January. The Right to Vote League, however, has a program. Its objective is defeat of the proposal now and amendment by constitutional convention next year—simply repealing the poll tax, and discarding the other baggage of the Campbell amendments.

Anti-Poll Tax Plan Swamped In Virginia

Advertiser

RICHMOND, VA., Nov. 8—(AP)—Virginia voters rode roughshod over a proposal to abolish the state's poll tax law and give the general assembly broad powers to enact other voting requirements.

Wed. 11-9-49

Returns from 1,084 of the state's 1,760 precincts showed 109,471 against repeal, and 26,019 for.

Montgomery Ala.

Virginia is one of seven Southern states still requiring a poll tax as a voting requirement.

34e(2) 1949

Bloc Voting

The World Atlanta, Ga. Wed. 2-23-49

There is no reason why persons faced with the same problems, the same needs, and laboring under the same disadvantages should not vote alike. This is especially true where colored citizens are concerned. Candidates who raise race issues and exploit obselete doctrines of race supremacy and discrimination cannot expect the political support of self-respecting Negro voters. Some time ago a candidate for high office complained that Negroes, as a group, voted against him. Of course, all Negro voters most certainly should have voted against him, for the very reason that he openly advocated race discrimination and emphasized race antagonisms. No Negro except a fool Negro would vote for such a candidate.

The time when a candidate can win Negro votes by telling "mammy stories" and explaining how he "understands' Negroes ("negras") and declaring his faith in the brotherhood of man, is passing. Colored people are becoming intelligently realistic. They are tired and disgusted with jokes and patronizing superiority. They are not adult juveniles, although a few still act that way. They are growing up, they are reading and thinking, they are increasing in self-expression and self--reliance. Wed. 2-23-49

Voters who resent being ignored in programs for civic improvement will vote against candidates who ignore them. Voters who demand citizenship opportunities and benefits will oppose those who are against them. Negro citizens wishing an enlightened political administration will vote for capable candidates who stand for the prosperity, privileges, opportunities, and security of all persons regardless of race or creed or national origin.

Negro voters are not going to be influenced by misrepresentation or double-talk. They are not going to allow themselves to be stampeded into false positions or scared into unreasonable situations. Negro voters look for fair play and the chance to assume obligations and responsibilities of citizenship, as well as to fully share in the benefits and dignity of their communities.

TEXAN OFFERS AMENDMENT TO CURB NEGRO VOTE

Atlanta Daily World 4-12-49

34e(2)

WASHINGTON, April 11—Testifying in support of his resolution to amend the United States Constitution by abolishing the electoral college system, Representative Ed Gossett, (D., Tex.) freely admitted that the main objective of his proposal was to curb the power of northern Negro voters.

Under the Gossett resolution, the present rule by which each state casts its electoral votes for President and Vice President as a unit would be revised to permit a division of the electoral votes in proportion to the number of popular votes cast for the respective candidates.

"There are enough Negroes in New York City, when voting en bloc, to determine how the electoral vote of the State of New York is cast," Representative Gossett charged in testifying before the House Judiciary Committee. Similarly, he charged that there are "enough in Philadelphia to determine the result of an election in the State of Pennsylvania; enough in Detroit to perhaps decide the vote of the State of Michigan; enough in Chicago to carry the State of Illinois." 4-15-49

His plan, the Texan contended, would eliminate the Negro as a "balancec-of-power" factor in presidential elections. It was because of the power of the Negro vote, he said that both parties adopted civil rights plank in their platforms. He described FEPC as "a dangerous and radical proposal" written into the party platforms at the behest of Negro voters.

An amendmendment to the Gossett resolution, proposed by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and introduced by Representative Clifford R. Case (R. N. J.), was rejected by the House Committee in an executive session on April 5th. This amendment would have based the size of each state's electoral vote on the number of popular votes cast rather than on the state's total population. Thus, states which restrict suffrage would have electoral votes reduced accordingly.

Describing the Gossett proposal as "a half-way measure which will perpetuate the present imbalance in states in which only a small percentage of the potential voters is permitted to cast ballots because of the poll tax and other restrictions," Leslie Perry of the NAACP's Washington Bureau urged that all members of the House Judiciary Committee vote for the Case amendment.

Board To Hear Registration Protest Today

Three Or Four Groups Accused Of Refusing To Accept Some Names

Atlanta Daily World 4-12-49

The State Registrar Appointing Board will meet in Gov James E. Folsom's office this morning to consider "extremely serious complaints."

Governor Folsom called the meeting last week and said at the time his office had been receiving these serious complaints which consisted chiefly of the refusal of some county boards of registrars to register certain persons to vote.

Only three or four counties were involved, the governor said, and the complaints—"about two or three dozen"—have been coming in for "two or three months."

The Registrar Appointing Board is composed of Folsom, State Auditor Dan Thomas and Agriculture-Industries Commissioner Haygood Patterson, all serving on the board by virtue of the offices they hold.

The meeting is scheduled for 10 a.m.

Most of the complaints have been coming from veterans and veteran organizations, the governor said when he announced the meeting.

Asked directly at the time, Folsom would not say whether the complaints were coming from white or Negro veterans.

It was only last month in an Armistice Day proclamation that the chief executive urged county boards to register all veterans regardless of race.

When he called the meeting of the appointing board, Folsom said that only one of the counties from which he had received complaints was north of Clanton.

4 Registrars' Removal Asked

Birmingham & Mobile Boards Main Targets Of CIO & AFL Units

Wed. 12-21-49

New charges of racial discrimination shared attention yesterday with complaints that white people, too, are being kept from voting in Alabama. 34e(2)

The protests came at a public meeting of the state board that appoints registration officials in counties. Gov. James E. Folsom himself one of the appointing authorities, called the hearing to thrash out complaints.

Although the Negro voting question arose again as it has repeatedly in Alabama, most of the criticism yesterday was directed by labor leaders against boards of registrars in Birmingham and Mobile.

Demanding the resignation or removal of two registrars in each city, CIO and AFL spoeksmen charged them with systematically holding the voting lists to a minimum. Two votes constitute a majority on the three-member boards.

The State Appointing Board has authority to dismiss the registrars, but no action was taken. Nor was there any comment from the four registrars themselves — Chairman Milton Schnell and Mrs. D. C. Randle, of Mobile and Gus Thompson and R. J. Creel in Jefferson (Birmingham) County.

Thompson later accused "the labor bunch of trying to embarrass the boards here and in Montgomery and in Mobile."

Folsom Orders Registration Protest Airing

Charges Against Some Boards Called Serious; Eagerton Flayed Anew

Atlanta Daily World 12-21-49

Gov. James E. Folsom yesterday called a meeting of the Registrar Appointing Board for Dec. 20 to consider "extremely serious complaints" that certain county boards of registrars are refusing to register certain persons to vote.

At the same time, Folsom blasted Chief Examiner of Public Accounts Ralph P. Eagerton for "playing politics" with his office.

He declared that the Department of Examiners of Public Accounts, headed by Eagerton, was set up to "smear" his administration.

(Folsom's blast against the Examiner came just as that agency

is about to complete several months' work preparing a report of an audit of his (and former Gov. Chauncey Sparks) contingent and emergency funds. There have been rumors that the audit reports would be "interesting.")

Folsom, State Auditor Dan Thomas and Agriculture and Industries Commissioner Haygood Paterson compose the Registrar Appointing Board. They are on the board by virtue of the positions they hold.

The governor did not explain the complaints he has been receiving other than that it is claimed a few boards are not registering prospective voters who came before them.

Southern Area

The complaints are coming chiefly from three or four counties he said. He did say that only one of the counties was north of Clanton.

Most of the complaints, he continued, have been coming from veterans.

Termed Serious

"There are not so many of them," he continued, "only two or three dozen but the nature of them is so serious that I have to give the persons making them a hearing if they want to be heard."

Anyone can come before the meeting, which will be held at 10 a.m. on Dec. 20 in the governor's office, Folsom said.

He did not say whether he thought there might be sweeping—or few—changes in the various county boards following the meeting.

Folsom's announcement came on the heels of charges here by the Voter Committee, a citizen group dedicated to increasing the list of registered voters in Montgomery County, that it had failed to get cooperation from the local board of registrars.

Chief Examiner Eagerton last night would not comment on Folsom's blast at his department other than to deny that there "are any politics mixed up in the department."

The governor said that State Auditor Thomas would be at the meeting of the State Board of Education Dec. 22, when Eagerton is to make his recommendations for a uniform accounting system for the Education Department.

The chief executive's criticism of Eagerton and his department came after Folsom read to newsmen a letter from a county superintendent of education in which the Examiners were charged with "smearing" public officials.

Saying that he favored a uniform system of accounting for the Education Department and that the State Education Board did too and had requested Eagerton to give his recommendations, Folsom said Thomas would attend the meeting to give his ideas on an adequate system.

"The (Examiners) department was set up to smear my administration," Folsom declared, "and later on it was to smear other officials."

Says He Has Facts

He said he had the facts to prove what he said was true.

The governor showed newsmen a list of what he called facts about attempts by the Examiners to smear him.

One was in October, 1947, during the campaign for the Self-Starter Amendment, when a report was put out charging then Finance Director W. H. (Bill) Drinkard with "gross discrepancies" in the state's purchasing division.

Another was during the primaries in 1948 when the Examiners put out a report charging the Highway Department, headed by Ward W. McFarland, with "gross discrepancies."

A third was in October, 1948, during President Truman's campaign when there were "insinuations of discrepancies" against Director S. Fleetwood Carnley of the Department of Industrial Relations.

"We're on the eve of some more primaries now and I, as governor, am not going to see it (the Examiners) used to intimidate local officials over the state," Folsom asserted.

The county superintendent of education, whose name Folsom would not permit to be revealed, warned the governor to "look closely at any recommendations" Eagerton might make about the accounting system for the education department.

The county educator stated in his letter that the Examiners Department was in bad need of a reorganization.

The chief aim of the Examiners, the letter said, is "to try to get self-publicity," "to try to smear public officials" and "to undermine the confidence of the people in public officials."

Folsom said he was going to grant the request of the county superintendent and have Thomas at the Dec. 22 meeting "to keep any official from being intimidated."

Turning to the Examiners recent report on Chilton County, which charged the misuse of some $230,000 in county funds and resulted in the indictment of 10 persons on charges of fraud, Folsom said he even looked at that report with "suspicion."

He said he had been hearing about the report but it was not until he read an account of it in The Advertiser on Nov. 26, that he knew the report had been released.

A week prior to that a Chilton County grand jury had returned indictments against 10 persons based in part on evidence found in the report.

Read About It

"The fact that I had to read about it (the release of the report on the Chilton County audit) throws suspicion on it," he stated.

Folsom said he had had to call in Executive Secretary O. H. Finney, Jr., and Asst. Atty. Gen. Si Garrett after reading The Advertiser story and have them get him a copy of the report.

Finney pointed out that the story said a copy of the report had already been delivered to the governor but said actually Folsom didn't get it until sometime Saturday afternoon, Nov. 26.

Folsom declared that the Examiners "are not going to use that department to intimidate public officials."

Asked how he intended enforcing that remark, Folsom merely repeated it.

"We ain't going to have any more politics in the accounting department," he said.

The 1947 legislature created the Department of Examiners of Public Accounts into a separate agency. Prior to that time it had been operating as a division of the Finance Department.

Registration Practices

The board which appoints registration officials in the state's 67 counties met in Montgomery last Tuesday at the instigation of Gov. Folsom. Representatives of labor and Negroes who attended were not themselves responsible for the meeting. The officials present were Gov. Folsom and State Auditor Dan Thomas. The third member of the board, Agriculture Commissioner Haygood Patterson, was not there, but he was represented by an attorney from his department.

The governor, the auditor and the agriculture commissioner can and do appoint the boards of registrars. They can also remove members from office.

The meeting was called, said Gov. Folsom, because he had heard complaints about registration practices from a good many sectors of the state. The labor leaders were glad to be present, for they had a good many complaints of their own to make. They are already—both AFL and CIO—preparing a campaign to get out the vote. There are committees in action now whose purpose it is to get registered every person eligible to vote.

They had their say. They charged that Board Members H. A. Thompson and R. J. Creel in Jefferson County had at times turned down would-be voters who could in reality qualify. They spoke more for white citizens than for Negro citizens, holding that it is the policy of these two men to keep the voting lists small in this county. They significantly made no such charge against the chairman of the board, J. G. Hosey. It is widely known that differences have long prevailed on the local board and that in important cases of policy, Mr. Hosey has frequently been outvoted by his two associate board members.

It should also be reported that no board member and no labor leader in the county has charged any specific incident as responsible for bringing the matter to the fore at this time. Labor groups have frequently, ever since the appointment of the present board, made complaints against Mr. Thompson and Mr. Creel.

The laws of Alabama prescribe the qualification of voters. They do not require that men and women applying for registration must be identified by witnesses, and they do not require that applicants be able to answer questions about the Constitution of the United States or about matters of local, state, or national government. Yet it is charged by some individuals that in various counties such practices are resorted to. The registrars in Jefferson County are charged by labor groups with asking unnecessary questions and sometimes with rejecting applicants because they do not know how many circuit judges there are in Jefferson County or how many congressmen there are in the state.

This paper hopes that the renewed public attention given to the workings of registration boards will make for the cessation of any practices which may not have squared exactly with the law and with fairness to all.

Its Wisdom Doubted—

Negroes Themselves Spike Rumor Of One For U. S. Judgeship

BY GLENN EVERETT
News Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON, D. C., Dec. 20—Negro leaders here spiked rumor that President Truman may appoin a Negro to a federal judgeship in Alabama—or the South.

And the Negro leaders agreed that such a move would only defeat whatever program they have for constructive progress.

A National Association for Advancement of Colored People spokesman said that his organization had no knowledge of such a plan and that the organization would frown on the move.

Walter Winchell broadcast a rumor that President Truman was considering a Negro for a federal judgeship in the Sotuh.

Not a single Washington source could give any indication of a foundation for the rumor—and most sources emphatically denied such a plan.

President Truman and all his top White House aids were in Key West, Fla., but it seemed doubtful that the White House would dignify such a rumor by issuing a denial.

Capital Says—

Alabama Negro Won't Be Named To U. S. Bench

Truman Not Studying Move, Sources Say, Despite Winchell Tip

BY GLENN EVERETT
News Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON, Dec. 19—Capitol sources today scouted the rumor that President Truman may be considering the appointment of an Alabama Negro to the federal bench.

The rumor was broadcast as a news flash by Radio Commentator Walter Winchell.

It was greeted with categorical denials on all hands. Even such pro-civil rights organizations as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and Americans for Democratic Action knew nothing of the report save what Winchell had broadcast.

Apparently the rumor got its start a couple of weeks ago when the New Republic magazine published an editorial written by its Washington correspondent suggesting that since President Truman is not going to get his civil rights program through Congress he should show his good faith by naming an outstanding South[illegible] Negro to the federal bench.

A SPOKESMEN for New Republic, however, said that the magazine did not specify that the appointment be made in the South and that they doubted strongly that one would or could be made there.

Truman recently nominated William H. Hastie, a Negro, to be a judge on the Third U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals at Philadelphia. Hastie was sworn in Dec. 1 on a recess appointment but still must be confirmed by the Senate.

Hastie, born in Tennessee, was graduated from Harvard and has spent all his adult life in the North. He was governor of the Virgin Islands when nominated for the bench. So far no opposition to his appointment has emerged.

No vacancy exists in any Federal Court in the South, at the present time. Should a vacancy occur in Alabama, senatorial courtesy demands that the White House consult Sens. John J. Sparkman and Lister Hill. Spokesmen for both senators made it clear today that they would not agree to such a nomination.

* * *

EVEN THE N. A. A. C. P. was incredulous.

"Such a move might well play into the hands of our enemies in the South," said a national officer of the organization who asked that his name be withheld. "If I were to be asked who had planted that rumor I would suspect the Dixiecrats who would be anxious to profit from its political repercussions in the South."

Negro forces apparently will be well satisfied if they can get Judge Hastie's nomination confirmed without an uproar. Subsequently, if Hastie's record of service merits approval, they may seek other such nominations, but they realize that progress in such fields is made slowly.

* * *

THERE HAS BEEN some pressure on Truman recently, to name another Negro to the Municipal Court in the District of Columbia. The capital's judicial system is under federal control and there is no requirement that judges be natives of Washington.

So far as Washington is concerned the only Negro attorney in Alabama who is well known in the capital is Arthur D. Shores, of Birmingham, who has tried several civil rights cases. No one has heard his name mentioned in connection with a judgeship.

34e(2) 1949

Tell It To Old Grandma

Letters to the editor must carry complete name and street address of the writer, though pen names may be used at the editor's discretion. Letters of less than 200 words are given preference. All letters may be cut.

From Chairman McCorvey On Voter Registration

EDITOR, THE ADVERTISER—I read with interest Col. Richard T. Rives' letter criticizing proposed Constitutional Amendment fixing the qualification of voters. Montgomery Advertiser

I see no objection to requiring electors to be of good character and understand and embrace the duties and obligations of citizenship under a Republican form of government. Montgomery Ala.

As the situation now exists, since the nullification of the Boswell Amendment, Alabama has the biggest fool registration law of any state in the Union. It is now only necessary that the applicant to register be able to read and write, something that any child of tender years can do. In fact, under existing law, it is not even necessary for the applicant to be able to read and write, if he has real or personal property, such as an old automobile, assessed for taxes at $300.

Under the present Alabama laws Al Capone, John Dillinger, "Pretty Boy" Floyd, and "Legs Diamond," if living, would have to be registered and have the same voice in the government of our state as you and I have. They could not be turned down by our registrars on account of their character. Tru 5-20-49

There is little new in the language of the proposed amendment. The language of the proposed amendment is found in the Constitution of 1901, in the 3rd clause of the section which also contained the "Grandfather Clause." Section 180 of the Alabama Constitution of 1901, after providing for the registration, prior to Dec. 30, 1902, of those citizens who were descendants of persons who had honorably served in the land and naval forces of the Cenfederate States, etc. ("The Grandfather Clause"), contains this clause:

"Third. All persons who are of good character and who understand the duties and obligations of citizenship under a republican form of government."

The only change which the bill now before the Alabama Legislature makes in this clause of the Constitution of 1901 was by adding the words "and embrace." This was suggested by an eminent constitutional lawyer for the purpose of heading off the registration of Communists. Any Communist can by study understand the duties and obligations of citizenship under a republican form of government, but I think that the several states constituting the American Union should definitely require that before anyone is permitted to register, they should also embrace our republican form of government."

The Constitution of 1901 provided that applicants to register subsequent to Jan. 1, 1903, need only be able to read and write. At that time those requirements were sufficient to insure an intelligent electorate. but under our present compulsory education laws, everybody can read and write, and the gates are now wide open for the registration of everybody, regardless of their fitness to become intelligent voters.

I sincerely hope that in the discussions of this amendment in its passage through the legislature, and in the campaign following, that no reference of any kind will be made by anyone, directly or indirectly, to the race question, to Negroes or to white supremacy, and I wish to also express the very sincere hope that if the legislature submits such an amendment as has been suggested, and the people of Alabama aprove it, that the Boards of Registrars will be composed of honorable, fair, just and impartial men and women who will register all persons entitled to registration regardless of race, color or creed. Tru 5-20-49

GESSNER T. McCORVEY

Mobile, Ala.

Alabama

Bishop Urges Negro Ministers To Vote

TUSKEGEE, Ala., Nov. 10—(AP)—Negro ministers have been urged to register, pay poll taxes and vote by a bishop in the African Methodist Episcopal Church.

Bishop S. L. Green, of Birmingham, urged the ministers to vote in all elections at an East Alabama Conference of the church here yesterday. Thru. 11-10-49

Green is the owner of two houses on the fringe of a white residential section in Birmingham which were dynamited last March. He said he had no intention of selling the houses.

Fire With Fire In Alabama

The News

The refusal of many North Alabama representatives to approve the voter qualification bill proposed as a substitute for the invalidated Boswell amendment unless it is accompanied with reapportionment provisions may not show the legislative process at its best, but many arguments can be found to defend the action.

Supporters of the new registration plan contend that it is necessary to strengthen the voting system in the state. The same can be said of reapportionment. Talk about sound voting lists for the state has a hollow ring as long as there is maintained a system by which the people of some counties, Bullock for example, have six times the voting strength in the Legislature possessed by people of some other counties, such as Cullman.

Many North Alabama voters are in a measure disfranchised, in comparison with South Alabama voters, through a refusal of the Legislature to reapportion its membership since 1901. Why, then, should North Alabama representatives be so greatly concerned about supporting a voter qualification amendment that is the particular concern of those sections of the state that already have an undue advantage in the Legislature? Jul. 6-23-49

The House Tuesday rejected two reapportionment amendments offered to the registration proposal. One, tacked onto the bill by the House constitution and amendment committee, would have made reapportionment of the House a condition for making effective the voter registration law. Another, proposed on the floor, sought to provide a 67-member Senate. When the Senate, by a 53 to 38 vote, refused to accept these amendments, sufficient North Alabama representatives teamed up to abstain from voting to prevent the constitutional measure getting the three fifths majority needed.

Birmingham Ala.

But the measure remains on the active calendar. It will be necessary for the North Alabama lines to remain firm if reapportionment is to stand any chance at this session. Probably the foes of reapportionment are strong enough to defeat any measure to that end standing by itself. But, on the other hand, those legislators who believe in reapportionment appear strong enough, if they stick together, to defeat proposed constitutional amendments bearing on the voting system.

Thou Shalt Not Vote

The Montgomery Examiner (The Moulton Advertiser)

Gessner T. McCorvey, who still has sufficient crust to use stationery headed State Democratic Executive Committee, Montgomery, Ala this week wrote editors throughout the state regarding a proposed constitutional amendment fixing the qualifications of voters in Alabama.

Said the letter in part: "As the situation now exists, since the nullification of the Boswell Amendment, Alabama has the biggest fool registration law of any State in the Union. It is now only necessary that the applicant to register be able to read and write, something that any child of tender years can do. Thru. 6-2-49

McCorvey's aim—along with that of a handful of other self-appointed lords—is to disfranchise as many voters as possible. Alabama's voter qualifications today are "almost unthinkable" to him, McCorvey says.

He exclaims that under present law the gates are opened wide for "registration of everybody regardless of their fitness to become intelligent voters."

That brings up the interesting query of who is qualified to judge another's intelligence. There may be some who question the intelligence of men like McCorvey, for instance. When it comes to politics, who can truthfully say that intelligent men or women always vote intelligently?

Shall we have Boards of Registrars composed of psychiatrists who give applicants the Binet test to determine their intelligence quotients? And, if a person does not have a sufficiently high I. Q. to qualify him for voting, shall we likewise exempt him from paying taxes? (If we don't, then we're guilty of that crime we accused the British of—taxation without representation.) Montgomery, Ala.

Alas, the hot breath of men like McCorvey, who would disfranchise as many voters as possible, merely adds to the summer's heat.

For the pitiful state of American politics—which is bossed around by just such individuals—is such that those qualified to vote are just too lazy to vote. Hence we have such politicians.

Legislators Look To High Court For Advice On Voter Qualification Proposals

The Birmingham News
Bham, Ala.

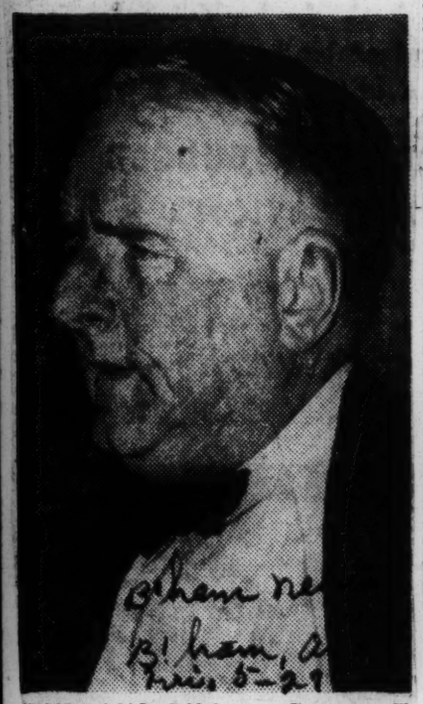
House Group To Seek Constitutionality Facts

Bham News 5-27-49

BY HUGH W. SPARROW
News Staff Writer

MONTGOMERY, Ala., May 27—Legislators were looking ahead today to an early advisory opinion from the Supreme Court as to constitutionality of an entirely new bill offered as a substitute for a pending measure defining and restricting voter qualifications.

A decision to ask for an opinion was reached yesterday near the conclusion of the House constitution and elections committee's hearing on proposals to replace the invalidated Boswell voting restriction amendment.



EXPLANS BILL — Gessner T. McCorvey, Mobile attorney and state Democratic Executive Committee chairman (above), addresses House constitution and elections committee yesterday afternoon. McCorvey explained a substitute bill he offered in place of one proposed earlier and introduced by 67 House members—more than enough to pass a constitutional amendment in the lower chamber. The committee accepted the new McCorvey amendment, but refused, 6-6, to give it a favorable report.

Bham News
Bham, Ala
Mar. 5-29

The committee squabbled several minutes over whether to hold the substitute in committee or report it out "without recommendation."

It deadlocked, 6 to 6, on each question. As a result the bill remained in committee.

Members, nevertheless, appeared to be in close accord on the question of determining in advance of passage, whether the new voting proposal is constitutional so far as Alabama laws are concerned.

Bham News 5-27-49

BEFORE ACTING on the conflicting motions as to reporting or not reporting the bill, the House committee sat for more than two hours as the pros and cons of the pending bill and substitute were debated.

Speakers in favor of the new measure included State Democratic Executive Committee Chairman Gessner T. McCorvey, Mobile; Rep. Walter Givhan, Dallas, sponsor of the bill which would be substituted; T. M. Norwood, Sumter County; Rep. Wallace Malone, Houston, and Horace Wilkinson, Birmingham attorney.

Opponents were led by Richard T. "Dick" Rives, Montgomery attorney and one of the original opponents of the voided Boswell amendment. Rives predicted that the pending measure and substitute would meet the same fate at the hands of the United States Supreme Court dealt the Boswell amendment.

* * *

OTHERS BEFORE the committee in opposition were Miss Mildred Laurendine, Mobile, who said she was not representing any group or organization; John Ward, Montgomery, Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen member, and Charles G. Gomillion, of Tuskegee Institute.

The proposed substitute varied from the pending bill in many respects. Among other of the differences was a provision requiring the Supreme Court to prescribe questions for questionnaire which prospective voters must answer in writing.

The original Givhan bill, House 294, provided that to be eligible, voters must "understand and embrace the duties of citizenship under a republican form of government."

The substitute proposal, offered yesterday by Rep. Will Garrett, Monroe, provided as follows:

"Sec. 181. The following persons and no others, who, if they are citizens of the United States over the age of 21 years and have the qualifications as to residence prescribed in Sec. 178 of this article, shall be qualified to register as electors provided they shall not be disqualified under Sec. 182 of this Constitution:

Bham News 5-27-49

"Those who can read and write any article of the Constitution of the United States in the English language which may be submitted to them by the Board of Registrars, provided, however, that no persons shall be entitled to register as electors except those who are of good character and who embrace the duties and obligations of citizenship under the Constitution of the United States and under the Constitution of the State of Alabama."

* * *

UP TO THAT POINT the substitute, with one or two exceptions, follows the language of the pending Givhan bill.

The most important exception is that the substitute does not require prospective voters to "understand" duties and obligations of citizenship.

The new proposal then adds the following, which is entirely new:

"And provided further that, in order to aid the members of the Boards of Registrars, who are hereby constituted and declared to be judicial officers, to judiciously determine if applicants to register have the qualifications hereinabove set out, each applicants shall be furnished by the Board of Registrars a written questionnaire, which shall be uniform in all cases with no discrimination as between applicants, the form and contents of which questionnaire shall be prescribed by the Supreme Court of Alabama and be filed by such court with the secretary of state of the State of Alabama which questionnaire shall be so worded that the answers thereto will place before the Board of Registrars information **necessary or proper to aid them to** pass upon the qualifications of each applicant.

Bham News 5-27-49

"Such questionnaire shall be answered in writing by the applicant, in the presence of the board without assistance, and there shall be incorporated in such answer an oath to support and defend the Constitution of the United States and the Constitution of the State of Alabama and a statement in such oath by the appplicant disavowing belief in or affiliation at any time with any group or party which advocates the overthrow of the Government of the United States or the State of Alabama by unlawful means which answers and oath shall be duly signed and sworn to by the applicant before a member of the County Board of Registrars.

"SUCH QUESTIONNAIRE and the written answers of the applicant thereto shall be filed with the records of the respective Boards of Registrars. The board may receive information respecting the applicant and the truthfulness of an information furnished by him.

"Those persons who have registered as electors under the Alabama constitution of 1901 shall not be required to register again.

"Provided further, that if solely because of physical handicaps, the applicant is unable to read or write, then he shall be exempt from the above stated requirements which he is unable to meet because of physical handicap, and in such cases a member of the Board of Registrars shall read to the applicant the questionnaire and oaths herein provided for and the applicant's answers thereto shall be written down by such board member, and the applicant shall be registered as a voter if he meets all other requirements herein set out."

Bham News 5-27-49

MR. McCORVEY TOLD the committee at the beginning of yesterday's hearing that he helped draft the substitute at the request of legislators. He explained its many features.

"Don't call it my amendment, or your amendment," he advised. "It should be called the voters qualification amendment."

The bill, he declared, was intended, among other things, to deny the ballot to those "who would tear down our government."

"I've just tried to do what the gentlemen asked me to do," he added. "Here it is. Do what you think should be done about it. I have no pride of opinion about it myself."

* * *

REP. GIVHAN DECLARED the fact that 69 House members, more than enough to pass a constitutional amendment in the House, signed his original bill as joint sponsors demonstrated clearly the belief among legislators that voting regulation is needed.

Miss Laurendine, of Brookley Field, opposed the bill and pending substitute. Repeatedly she called on the committee "to consider the motivation behind this bill."

Prof. Gomillion, of Tuskegee, read a petition he said had been signed by a "Statewide Citizens Committee."

The declaration said in part:

"We, as citizens of Alabama, are alarmed over the current indications to deprive a segment of the state's population of certain fundamental rights of citizenship, including the ballot.

"Contrary to the established concepts of democracy, it appears that persistent and determined efforts are made from time to time to circumvent by enactment of laws the right of citizens to vote in Alabama."

The statement added that "we fail to see that approval of this bill would improve the quality of the voters of the state, or improve the efficiency of our state government."

"On the other hand," the declaration added, "such action would brand our democracy as a mockery, lead to a lowering of the morale of the people who would be deprived of the ballot through its execution and again involve the state in litigation to defend the validity of an act that is obviously intended to disfranchise a part of its citizenry."

Bham News 5-27-49

GOMILLION'S NAME headed the list. He identified himself as chairman of the Tuskegee Civic Association.

Other names signed included J. L. LeFlore, vice chairman, Alabama N. A. A. C. P.; the Rev. S. S. Seay, Negro Civic League; Glover H. Torrence, Tuskegee, N. A. A. C. P.; Major E. Madison, Clarence Crayton and Perez J. Isom representing Mobile N. A. A. C. P., and Julius Pryor, Montgomery, N. A. A. C. P.

Bham News 5-27-49

Ward told the committee that "up and down the railroad" he had heard people expressing opposition to voting restrictions.

Rives said he regarded both the pending bill and the Garrett substitute as unconstitutional. He pointed out it would bar, among others, conscientious objectors in wartime. If the amendment is rati-

amendment a pacifist could be denied the ballot," Wilkinson added. "Well, why not? I have no regard for a man who in wartime tries to hide behind the cloak of religion.

Bham News 5-27-49

"A man who won't fight for his country should not have the right to vote in his country."

Mr. Malone spoke briefly in favor of the amendment.

"Exactly 67 members of this House signed the bill the principle of which is embodied in this substitute," he said. "That, in itself, is sufficient evidence that our election laws should be revamped."

The committee authorized the chairman to present a resolution at today's House session calling on the Supreme Court to rule on

fied, he predicted, it will be invalidated "on administrative grounds."

It would, he added, "turn every board of registrars into a witch-hunting organization."

As for the provisions aimed at Communists, Rives said it is foolish to assume that by submitting a questionnaire a Communist will answer truthfully that he is one.

Bham News 5-27-49

WILKINSON DEVOTED most of his time to answering legal objections voiced by Rives.

Responding to Rives' criticism

that the measure converts registrars into judicial officers, Wilkinson said any person under the amendment who is denied the ballot has the right to appeal to the Circuit Court.

"Mr. Rives said that under this constitutionality of the bill and pending substitute.

New Voter Registration Plan

Another plan has been advanced for qualifying Alabama voters. It would establish an educational test. Richard T. Rives, able Montgomery attorney, has presented the plan and will discuss it next Wednesday before the House committee on constitution and elections. Gessner T. McCorvey, state Democratic chairman, also will then discuss again the proposal he is now supporting and which has the backing of a number of legislators.

Mr. Rives believes the substitute which has been urged by forces which strongly backed the invalidated Boswell amendment would itself fail to stand court test. It would make good character and good citizenship requirements for registration. But authority to qualify or disqualify applicants on such a basis would leave a wide latitude for registrars and accordingly offer opportunity for abuse and discrimination of such authority. This paper considers such standards too broad and vague and, recognizing its lay limits, shares the opinion of Mr. Rives that they would not be upheld by federal courts.

Mr. Rives fortunately did not confine himself to criticism, but brought forward a counter proposal. It would make a sixth grade education a qualification for voting. This educational standard would rise Jan. 1, 1950, to the eighth grade. On Jan. 1, 1960, it would go up again to the 11th grade. This would eventually become, then, a relatively high educational qualification.

But there would be an alternative. It would enable a citizen lacking sufficient school training to qualify by passing an examination "to test whether the applicant has such understanding of and ability to exercise the duties and obligations of an elector in our republican form of government as would normally be possessed by a person having the required school training." Uniform procedure in such examinations would be required.

Such a test, it seems to us, would be much more definite, much less subject to abuse, than one calling for good character and "embracing" of the duties of citizenship.

The test would be more as to potential capacity, rather than as to broadly generalized matters such as character and performance of citizen duty. There's a substantial difference between the two proposals.

The Rives plan, it seems to us, would assume qualification for voting if certain definite standards were met. Those tests passed, the applicant would not be subject to possible demand that he prove good character and good citizenship.

But under the other plan, it seems to us, applicants might be subject to unfair discrimination and required to establish certain indefinite qualities and performances. The Rives plan is more in line with the broad American faith in people, the principle that people are generally all right and dependable unless shown to be otherwise.

Any such proposal calls for very careful consideration. The Rives plan should have such study. It seems to this paper to hold promise.

Solon's Proposal Alarms Ala. County

MONTGOMERY, Ala.—A "Little Taft-Hartley bill" in Taft-Hartley style, had organized labor excited here June 9.

It was introduced by Dixiecrat Bruce Henderson, Senator from Wilcox County. Local bills are usually given courtesy approval, but this one will likely to run into opposition.

Wilcox County is chiefly rural with almost no industries.

A majority of the population is Negro, although there is not a single Negro registered voter in this county. Several have reportedly tried to register but reportedly were intimidated and denied.

Negro Vote Registration In Mobile Is Heavy

MOBILE, ALA., Aug. 1—(AP)—A heavy turnout of Negroes was in evidence today as an overflow crowd of prospective voters turned out to register.

Of the 205 persons registered during the day 86 were Negroes and 119 white.

It was the first of two special registration days this month.

More than 1,000 Negroes were registered during the general registration period in March, the first since invalidation of the Boswell Amendment. There has been a heavy percentage of Negroes each registration day since.

The Sept. 12 city election was credited with spurring the registrations.

Sticking Their Necks Out?

Perhaps lawyers, just like other people, step out of character when they go off to convention. There are some grounds for suspecting that such is the case in view of some of the actions taken over the week-end at the annual convention in Mobile of the Alabama Bar Association.

Among the resolutions adopted at the convention was one urging the Alabama Legislature to submit the state constitutional amendment designed to replace the unconstitutional Boswell amendment. Lawyers should be in especial position to know that grave doubts exist as to the constitutionality of this measure. No matter how they may feel personally about the need for it, they know that its legality is in doubt. The propriety of their formal advocacy as a body of an action so dubious seems questionable.

The lawyers met, moreover, in an atmosphere of increasing doubt about the constitutionality of the act. The Boswell amendment was thrown out by a three-judge Federal Court in Mobile in a decision which sharply pointed out that all the history of the amendment showed it was intended as a means for making it harder, if not impossible, for Negroes to qualify as voters.

Backers of the new amendment, obviously in an effort to skirt this part of the court's decision, were careful in the beginning to emphasize that the proposed provision was not racist in intent or character. This effort, however, has failed. As was only to be expected, it has become obvious that behind this movement, as behind the Boswell amendment, is a belief that it will keep down Negro registration.

This much was implicitly admitted last week on the floor of the Alabama Senate when Sen. Robin Swift, of Escambia, declared he did not believe the measure was needed to keep down Negro voting in his county. There also have been editorial comments by newspapers advocating the new voter registration bill which give it still more the color of a racial matter.

The Mobile court quoted at length from newspaper editorials and statements in the Legislature to uphold its decision that the Boswell amendment was unconstitutional by the very nature of its purpose. How can it be confidently expected that the new proposal, in view of the comments already made about it, will suffer a different fate?

* * *

But the lawyers at Mobile, at least a majority of them, were willing to commit themselves formally on what is a doubtful matter from both constitutional and politic standpoints. Perhaps they were swayed by some of their speakers, who seem largely to have been of States' Rights hue.

On that point, too, they may not have acted with that tempered wisdom which one likes to expect from those who practice at the bar. On the very day the bar association adopted a resolution suporting submission of an amendment advocated by the States' Rights group, the National Democratic Committee was raising the bars against Dixiecrat leaders. That put the state lawyers in the position of supporting, in this particular, a group hostile to the National Democratic Party.

Many good Alabama Democrats, who opposed last Fall's split, will disagree with the stand of the bar association.

We Were Doing Fine

ADVOCATES of the new Boswell Amendment to restrict qualified Negro voting might with profit consider the attitude towards the ballot of the founders of the Republic as they sat in 1787 in the Philadelphia Constitutional Convention.

There were men in that convention who unlike Jefferson, had no faith in the masses: the masses were simply a rabble that must from time to time be dispersed with a whiff of grapeshot.

At that time, prior to the formation of the Union, in all the 13 states there was a requirement that all voters must own property or pay taxes. This, however, was not as oppressive as it sounds on first blush because of the fact that in those days nine tenths of the population owned farms.

However, there was no uniformity among the 13 states as to voter requirements, which made voting on a federal question a widely divergent procedure.

Thus the framers of the Constitution debated the qualification of voters and there an issue developed.

John Dickison of Delaware favored the requirement that every voter be a freeholder of real property as they could be relied upon to resist the "dangerous influence of those multitudes without property and without principle, with which our country, like all others, will abound."

Gouverneur Morris of Pennsylvania apprehended that rich men would be able to buy the votes of the poor in the days—he said with revulsion—of many hired "mechanics and manufacturers."

★

JAMES MADISON apprehended that in time there would be a great majority who owned no property of any kind and they would form combinations against

It was at this point that Benjamin Franklin arose to speak as Jefferson would have spoken had he not been in France. He warned the delegates on that hot August day 162 years ago "that we should not depress the virtue and public spirit of our common people; of which they displayed a great deal during the war, and which contributed prin-

cipally to the favorable issue of it."

Franklin spoke with emotion of the American sailors who, taken prisoner by the British, had refused "to redeem themselves from misery or to seek their fortunes" by serving on British ships. Whereas British seamen in captivity were generally willing to serve on American warships "on being promised a share of the prizes that might be made out of their own country."

To the sapient Franklin this was the result of "the different manner in which the common people were treated in America and Great Britain."

Not entirely for this reason—or for purely idealistic reasons—but with the great Franklin's discourse in their minds, the convention unanimously voted against disfranchising a voter because he did not own property.

Now historical parallels prove nothing at all since history does not repeat itself, but the wise view of Franklin in 1787 has its application in Alabama in 1949. It proves nothing, but is worthy of consideration in the case of the neo-Boswell attempt.

★

NO ONE proposes that unqualified Negroes be qualified to vote—only Negroes that can meet the white man's test. The U. S. Constitution, through an amendment, provides this. The courts, including those over whose bar Southerners presided, have invariably ruled that way. It is the law of the land. It is a growing movement in other Southern States. Too much force is arrayed behind it for a state in the Union to defy except in the form of guerilla resistance.

The original Boswell Amendment was knocked out of the lot by Judge Leon McCord's court. A counterpart amendment will evidently get harsher treatment. These legal devices only inflame the enemies of restriction.

We were getting along well without the Boswell Amendment. After all, in the end it is the 67 county boards of registrars, acting in response to local sentiment, that control the rate and extent of Negro enfranchisement. Why not revert to the status quo, which was serving well, rather than to embark on an offending adventure that is certain to end in a second failure?

Sayings Worth Repeating:-

Ark. Gazette - Little Rock, Ark.

The Right To Vote

The following editorial appeared in the New York Herald-Tribune on April 3.

The Supreme Court is far ahead of the Senate in dealing with the Negro's problem. Where the Senate managed, perhaps to its own satisfaction, to get lost in the filibustering fog, the judicial branch demonstrates a gift for directness. We refer to the quick and undiscursive opinion on Monday upholding the lower court in outlawing the Boswell amendment to the Alabama state constitution. This is the little trick aimed to keep the Negro from voting by requiring that an applicant must "understand and explain" the United States Constitution to the "reasonable satisfaction" of segregation boards. The point here was to see through to the intent of the law, and not conveniently look the other way. Although there was nothing said of color, the purpose and effect of the Alabama diversion were plain as daylight, and on the Negro's undeniable right to vote along with any other citizen the Supreme Court has repeatedly ruled in recent years with a highly practical grasp on reality.

After the many years of subterfuge, although one device after another has collapsed and the Democratic white primary is no longer sacrosanct, we are far from feeling that the Negro has now won the final struggle for the ballot. Georgia, where Talmadge still rules, is sieving its voting lists through a statutory quiz on government. The object is white supremacy. This project doubtless will also in time arrive before the Supreme Court, for the net effect of disfranchisement is Alabama all over again.

Fri. 4-15-49

The Alabama decision, however, is a healthy reminder that correctives against discrimination rise not only in political program and legislation. Negroes made the protest, were sympathetically joined by a great cross-section of Alabama, and won in the courts throughout on merit. This was a victory to be appreciated, and we may be sure that the vote of the Negro, just the same as that of any other American, will ultimately make itself felt. From this free right to vote we can expect important progress by a rising race.

Labor News and Views In The Montgomery Area

Montgomery Examiner
Montgomery, Ala.
Thu. 6-2-49
By John G. Ward

Appearing before the House Committee on Privileges and Elections last Thursday in support of the "McCorvey" substitute for the recently invalidated Boswell Amendment Judge Horace Wilkinson of Birmingham made statements that every citizen of Alabama should have been privileged to hear.

Not for the beauty or sanctity of his words, but so that people might better understand the man who desires to prescribe, or assist in prescribing, the qualifications to be met by future voters of Alabama.

His comment with reference to "character," "reputation," and "conscientious objectors" in support of the "McCorvey" substitute, was repugnant and amazing to many of his hearers.

In stating his disbelief in conscientious objectors, Judge Wilkinson said he had "taught a Sunday School class in Birmingham for 28 years." At another point during the course of his remarks in defining character and reputation, he went on to say that every man who stays out of jail doesn't necessarily possess good character. He said he knew one man in Birmingham who had stayed out of jail for the past 15 years, and that the reason he knew was because the man had paid him $1,500 to help him stay out of jail.

Who Is The Laugh On?

That's being amazingly frank about the matter, and although it evoked considerable laughter at the time, I am confident that the lasting effect of such statements will be anything but laughter-provoking. These statements, coupled with others he made several weeks ago in an interview in Birmingham to one of our local newspaper reporters, could hardly be expected to convince the working men and women of this state of his genuine interest in their future welfare, politically or economically.

Based upon showmanship and his ability to entertain, Judge Wilkinson's performance took top honors. But it remained for Col. Richard T. (Dick) Rives to do the outstanding job of the day in presenting his substitute, and arguing the unconstitutional provisions of the "McCorvey" proposal. He did a masterful job and rates the gratitude and commendation of every true Democrat in Alabama, for the energy and effort he put forth in their behalf.

In his opening remarks, Mr McCorvey said he wished to remind his good friend "Dick" Rives that this was not McCorvey's substitute, in fact it was no one's substitute. This statement produced a wave of laughter, and no doubt many of the spectators were willing to agree at the conclusion of the hearing that it truly was no one's substitute, and should best remain so. There were a few known "Dixiecrats" in the audience, however, who I am sure would be proud to claim this bit of subterfuge.

34e(2)

We saw our political adversary, Mr. Hubert Baughn, editor of Alabama Magazine, weaving in and out of the McCorvey side of the room during the hearing. We look forward to his account of the hearing. It was he who several weeks ago referred to me as the "C.I.O. political boss and labor writer for the pinkinsh Montgomery Examiner." I trust he had no difficulty in hearing when we stated our labor affiliations for the committee's record.

Directions On Voting

Immediately after the hearing on the "McCorvey" substitute was concluded, the committee took several votes on the question of reporting the amendment out for House action. A very significant thing occurred during the voting.

Members appeared to be very evenly divided on the issue, and during the course of their deliberations, motions and seconds counter-motions and seconds were popping up here and there, making what seemed to the writer, a difficult situation for the chairman.

However, being a lawyer, I am sure he was keeping up with developments. But there was one gentleman of the committee who seemed to require assistance on the different motions being voted on.

I could see and hear one of his colleagues from the same county, who stood directly behind this committee member, saying as the occasion for him seemed to demand: "Vote No," or "Vote Yes." Although this gentleman legislator in question was not a member of the committee, he appeared to be intensely interested in a favorable outcome for this McCorvey substitute.

It is very doubtful that the chairman of the committee knew of such actions for the press of the crowd around the committee table was great following completion of the arguments. I am sure he would not have permitted such conduct had he been aware of it. I was not the only one to witness this—there were others, and they were discussing it later in the evening.

I am wondering if the gentleman who appeared so eager to advise his colleague in this instance realizes the unfairness in such attempts, and if the legislator he was attempting to advise (whether accepted or not) did not feel his incompetence and inability on this occasion. Is this the kind of representation the citizens of Alabama desire? We wonder.

Montgomery Visitor

Mr. C. J. McCain, deputy vice president and general chairman of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen of the Louisville and Nashville Railroad, was a visitor to Montgomery during the past week and spent several hours chatting with members of the Brotherhood while here.

The Examiner

Mr. McClain is conducting an investigation for the Brotherhood regarding the use of radio in the operation of trains, and its possible effect from a safety standpoint, etc. So far as he has been able to determine, no railroads have as yet attempted to supplant the present system of written train orders, with radio.

Mr. McClain says he doubts very much that any system other than that of written train orders, personally delivered to the conductor and engineman, could provide the degree of safety to both the public and the employes that the present system gives.

Another Visit

The writer also had a very pleasant meeting with our mutual friend and colleague, Mr. Sam Douglas, of Birmingham. Sam was recently elected president of the State Federation of Labor at the Mobile convention. He succeds Mr. Jack Brock.

Montgomery Ala.

I am sure that I speak the sentiments of all Labor members in the Montgomery area, in wishing him a most successful and pleasant tenure of office. We hope to be seeing him more often.

New Voter Curb Proposal Valid, Declares Court

The Advertiser
Montgomery, Ala.
34e(2)

Measure Now In House Committee Said Minus Discriminatory Intent

Sat. 6-4-49

Lawson Disagrees

A proposed new voter qualification law intended as a substitute for the Boswell amendment House committee. Members refused to won the approval yesterday of the committee it loose without an expres- State Supreme Court.

Reviewing the legislation at the request of the State House of Representatives, the court said there is nothing in it to show intent to "discriminate against anyone."

Questionnaire Planned

The proposed constitutional amendment is pending in the constitution and elections They also would be required to fill out a questionnaire which the State Supreme Court itself would devise.

The Boswell amendment, which was held unconstitutional by the U. S. Supreme Court, required voters to be able to "understand the duties and responsibilities of citizenship."

Simpson Says Tribunal Shouldn't Have Passed On The Matter At All

and explain" the Federal Constitution.

Members of the state court split three ways over the advisory opinion. Justices Joel B Brown, A. B. Foster, J. Ed Livingston and Davis Stakely agreed that the Boswell amendment substitute is constitutional. Ad. 6-4-49

They Disagree

Justice Thomas S. Lawson contended in a separate opinion that it "does not meet the objections" raised to the Boswell amendment, while Justice Robert T. Simpson held the state court had no business passing on the question.

The majority opinion said the voter qualification proposal "does not impinge the rights guaranteed . . . under the 14th and 15th amendments" to the Federal Constitution.

County boards of registrars would be vested with judicial authority, the opinion continued, and their decisions would be subject to review in court.

Equal Protection

Therefore, it concluded, the prospective voter would have the "same measure of equal protection of the law and due process as guaranteed to residents of this state as to life, liberty and property." Montgomery, Ala.

"On the face of the amendment as a whole," the court said, "nothing is manifest of an intention to discriminate against anyone, or to abridge any of the freedoms secured by the first and 14th amendments (to the U. S. Constitution) or any freedom of citizenship in the United States."

A Dubious Registration Plan

If the Alabama Legislature approves the proposed bill to set up new voter qualifications, it will do so amid doubts of its constitutionality. That has been suspected from the beginning. The suspicion has become a certainty as discussion of the proposal broadens and critics become more vocal.

The bill has been assailed before the House constitution committee by Richard T. Rives, Montgomery attorney, who declared it would be outlawed by the Supreme Court, even as the Boswell amendment was. Others also have pointed out, as has this paper, that in requiring prospective voters to be able to understand and embrace the principles of a republican form of government, the state would be setting up a provision that would be as susceptible of arbitrary interpretation and abuse as was the Boswell amendment. Bir. 5-20-49

The Boswell amendment, it needs to be remembered, was held unconstitutional on several counts. One ground was that it was openly and avowedly a plan to keep down Negro registration, and another was that it inherently gave too broad opportunities for discrimination. Any substitute for the Boswell amendment must square with the federal constitution on both counts.

In a talk before a legislative caucus in support of the new registration bill, Gessner T. McCorvey, chairman of the State Democratic Executive Committee and a leader in the fight for the Boswell amendment, urged passage of the new bill but was positive in a statement that times have changed and voting privileges should not now be denied to Negroes able to pass a reasonable test for good citizenship. He said the Boswell amendment had been too closely identified as a proposed means for screening out Negroes. This emphasis is in contrast to that which marked advocacy of the Boswell amendment by many of its supporters.

5-20-49 * * *

The proposed amendment is too much like the Boswell amendment, in purpose and in method, to be above doubts as to its constitutionality. Mr. McCorvey says the new amendment has been scrutinized by some unidentified constitutional lawyers and approved. Did he not make substantially the same claim about the Boswell amendment? It is almost a certainty that the courts will be called upon to decide about the new proposal if it becomes law. And that is true regardless of how lofty and dignified the campaign for the amendment's passage may be.

Again

Gessner T. McCorvey, chairman of the State Democratic Executive Committee, and his associates came along a half century too late. That is to say, they should have been born soon enough to participate in the Constitutional Convention of 1901.

The urgency of that renowned parliament was to disfranchise the mass of incompetent Negroes who had become voters as a matter of Southern Reconstruction. It was imperative in that day that the ignorant and irresponsible be purged.

No such situation burdens and confronts Alabama today, this half century later. But Mr. McCorvey, a gallant and admirable man but an outmoded leader, and his associates act as though they are grappling with the 1901 situation.

They sponsored the Boswell Amendment to control a situation that didn't exist. They urged its adoption to obstruct what they said was a "mass registration" lunge of the Negro. There isn't any such thing.

The courts laid low this amendment. Now Mr. McCorvey & Associates are questing for a new stratagem that will be acceptable to the courts. This time they propose that the "character" of an applicant for voting be a test.

That strikes us as a more arbitrary requirement than the Boswell Amendment's requirement that the applicant be able to read, write and explain the Constitution.

With good character a qualification for voting, a board of McCorvey registrars might refuse registration for Senators Hill and Sparkman. After all, McCorvey contended that such ones cleaved to the Democratic Party in their lust for patronage. A person of good character would not do that.

Sponsors of the new plan would point out that they have no intention of using the character-lever on such ones—just Negroes. And that is why the Supreme Court will smash it.

There is no mass registration problem in Alabama today. Why stir up the hornet's nest?

ALABAMA ENCOURAGED TO BAR NEGRO VOTING

States' Righter Wants Party Made A 'Private Club'

BIRMINGHAM, Jan. 25—(UP)—States' Rights leader Horace Wilkinson urged Alabama legislators Tuesday to bar negroes from the polls and place the responsibility for state government "exclusively on reputable white people."

Wilkinson suggested a constitutional amendment to remove the primary election rules from the books and set up the Democratic Party as a private club. He wrote all legislators his ideas.

The ardent white supremacy advocate urged the Legislature to seek a new barrier against the negro at the polls after a Federal tribunal ruled invalid the state's Boswell Amendment.

The Boswell Law required would-be voters to understand and interpret any section of the constitution. The court held that it was discriminatory against negroes because the test was not required of white applicants.

South Carolina Democrats tried to set up their Party as a private club along the lines of Wilkinson's suggestion but Federal Judge J. Waties Waring ruled the plan illegal.

Georgia undertook similar legislation in 1947 but dropped it after the South Carolina ruling. Georgia is now considering a "re-registration" bill which looks similar to the Boswell Amendment but authors say it is "court-proof."

Alabama's Vote Ban To High Court

(Defender Southeastern Bureau)

MOBILE, Ala. — The U. S. Supreme Court was asked Friday to rule on the constitutionality of Alabama's infamous Boswell disfranchisement amendment, which was recently outlawed by a three-judge federal court here.

Meanwhile, Negro vote registration in the state passed the 7,000 mark when records of the Mobile county board of registrars showed 1035 Negroes registered since the Boswell measure decision on Jan. 7.

The petition for appeal of the three-judge federal court ruling was filed on behalf of J. Milton Schnell, chairman, and Mrs. D. C. Randle, an associate member, of the Mobile county registrars. It was made directly to the nation's highest tribunal.

The appeal set out that the court ruling against the Boswell amendment applied only to the Mobile county board of registrars, creating a situation where 66 county boards operated under the Boswell amendment while one was restrained from doing so.

However, as far as could be learned, all boards of registrars in the state feel that the court's decision covers them as well as the board at Mobile.

board of Grand Lodge A. F. and

1,035 More Register

Meanwhile Negro voting strength here rose to 2,000. There are also 2,000 Negro voters at Birmingham, although the amendment repeal resulted in no rush to register in that city. Montgomery, likewise, took little notice with only 40 or 50 Negroes registering.

In Macon county, where Negro population is four times that of whites, registrars used a slowdown process to limit Negro registrations to 40 per session of the board. Hundreds were turned away at closing time a few weeks ago.

This state now has 7,000 registered Negro voters, but a colored population of one million.

Proposed Law Would Ban Negro Demo Votes

BY FRED TAYLOR
News Staff Writer

A plan to "protect the Democratic Party in Alabama" by eliminating the Negro entirely from it was unveiled today by Horace Wilkinson, Birmingham attorney.

The proposal calls for a constitutional amendment, statutory enactments and a state party convention.

Wilkinson's lengthy plan, copies of which he is submitting to members of the Legislature and State Democratic Executive Committee would remove state control of primaries. It would repeal provisions requiring the law-making body "to regulate primary elections."

In his opinion, the plan meets all legal objections raised in the recent Boswell amendment and the South Carolina case Federal Court decisions. It was pointed out that these sought by subterfuge to bar mass registration and voting of Negroes in Alabama and that state.

WILKINSON, one of the States' Rights movement's chief planners, declared "My plan would mean that Democrats in Alabama will be States' Righters and white."

He said a number of other attorneys here and elsewhere in the South are convinced his plan, if adopted, could not be successfully challenged in the courts.

* * *

WILKINSON SAID that a voter registration law, patterned after the Mississippi court-tested statute and proposed by State Democratic Chairman Gessner T. McCorvey, "has much merit." But he emphasized "that our problem can not be entirely solved by registration."

The attorney does not use the words "race" or "color," in his outline, but he points to heavy increase in Negro registration in Mobile since the Boswell amendment was invalidated.

He said the National Association for Advancement of Colored People had embarked on a campaign to enroll 50,000 Negro voters in Alabama during 1949 and quoted that organization as announcing:

"Segregation is illegal, immoral, un-American, undemocratic, and most certainly un-Christian. It must be abolished in America."

* * *

"IT IS DIFFICULT to visualize the low level to which party politics will descend in Alabama if the Negro is allowed to become influential in our party in this state," said Wilkinson. "The Democratic Party in Alabama must get out of the inconsistent position in which it is now placed by law.

"Our slogan is 'White Supremacy,' and yet, because we cannot help ourselves until the law is changed, Negroes are admitted to the Democratic Party and are on the way to becoming the balance of power in our party when they are no more democratic than the inhabitants of Moscow."

The States' Rights leader asserted that "The Negro is clamoring for the ballot and admission to the Democratic Party in Alabama because he knows that the ballot is the key that opens the door to social equality and intermarriage." He added that responsibility for government in Alabama and the United States "should rest only on reputable white people." Only these, he contended should hold office or be employed in positions of confidence and trust.

THE ATTORNEY suggests a constitutional amendment which would provide for nomination of public office candidates in the state and its political subdivisions by:

"A voter, a mass meeting, a convention, a petition, a political party or in any other manner provided by the Legislature."

But it provides that "the Legislature shall make no law making the nomination of a candidate for public office by a political party an integral part or a necessary step in the procedure of choosing a public officer."

This proposed amendment declares that "Membership in a political party is not a legal right but a privilege" and that "participation in a party proceeding is not a legal right but wholly a political matter." No court in the state would have any jurisdiction over a party matter. Election fraud would be punishable as would any other law violation.

Candidates would have the right to reject Negro votes, or votes of any other individuals or groups.

* * *

IN BLACK BELT counties, where Negroes greatly outnumber whites, Wilkinson's plan would enable county and municipal officers to be nominated in white primaries. But they would be elected on a statewide basis in general elections. He says the Legislature now has authority to require this.

With regard to presidential electors, the plan sets out they would not be obligated to vote for any candidate nominated by a national convention of a political party, unless the State Democratic Executive Committee expressly so provided.

Wilkinson admits the state could not legally defray expenses of primary elections, under such arrangement. But he suggests that it could do this indirectly simply by purchasing from the party vote records and other data. The party, in turn, could use such funds to defray election costs.

WILKINSON also proposed reregistration of all voters in Alabama to require each to declare party affiliation or designate himself as an independent. Poll lists then would be published.

He said the absence of constitutional safeguards in South Carolina enabled the Federal Court to force the Democratic Party there to admit Negroes to membership.

"We avoid that by making qualifications for membership, not race or color, but belief in principles of state, and reserving the right of each candidate to reject a ballot he does not want," he said.

"It is quite clear that we are entitled to have a labor party, a woman's party, a white party or a party to rewrite the Constitution of the United States, or any other kind of political party, just so the party does not advocate the overthrow of the government by force and violence."

"As long as those parties are not agencies of the state and perform no state function," Wilkinson added, "there is no danger of the action of the party in limiting its membership to electors who are in accord with its basic and fundamental principles being successfully challenged in court."

Alabama Gets Another Scheme For Outlawed Boswell Amendment

MONTGOMERY, Ala.—The Alabama House of Representatives got another vote scheme in its hopper Tuesday which was proposed as a substitute for the outlawed Boswell Amendment.

The new vote device would require voters to "embrace the duties of citizenship" was offered to the House in the form of a constitutional amendment.

The measure carried the signature of 67 members which observers conceded was more than enough to secure its passage.

If passed, the new amendment would require all prospective voters to be of good character, be able to read and write, and to understand and embrace the duties of citizenship under a republican form of government.

Suit Filed In Brutality Case

MOBILE, Ala.—A $25,000 damage suit was filed in the Mobile circuit court Wednesday, as an aftermath of a suspected wave of terrorism to prevent Negroes from registering as voters here three years ago.

The suit was brought by Napoleon Rivers, aged and retired wealthy contractor, against Edward Lee Partlow, white police officer, who viciously assaulted him at the board of registrars' office. D. R. Coley, Jr., a leading white attorney here, represents Mr. Rivers in the suit.

Thou Shalt Not Vote

(From The Moulton Advertiser)

Gessner T. McCorvey, who still has sufficient crust to use stationery headed State Democratic Executive Committee, this week wrote editors throughout the state regarding a proposed constitutional amendment fixing the qualifications of voters in Alabama.

Said the letter in part: "As the situation now exists, since the nullification of the Boswell amendment, Alabama has the biggest fool registration law of any state in the Union. It is now only necessary that the applicant to register be able to read and write, something that any child of tender years can do. . . .

McCorvey's aim—along with that of a handful of other self-appointed lords—is to disfranchise as many voters as possible. Alabama's voter qualifications today are "almost unthinkable" to him, McCorvey says.

He exclaims that under present law the gates are opened wide for "registration of everybody regardless of their fitness to become intelligent voters."

That brings up the interesting query of who is qualified to judge another's intelligence. There may be some who question the intelligence of men like McCorvey, for instance. When it comes to politics, who can truthfully say that intelligent men or women always vote intelligently?

Which is bossed around by just such individuals—is such that those qualified to vote are just too lazy to vote. Hence we have such politicians.

we don't, then we're guilty of that crime we of psychiatrists who give applicants the Binet test to determine their intelligence quotients? And, if a person does not have a sufficiently high I. Q. to qualify him for voting, shall we likewise exempt him from paying taxes? (If

resentation, without representation.) Alas, the hot breath of men like McCorvey, who would disfranchise as many voters as possible, merely adds to the Summer's heat. For the pitiful state of American politics—

Give Us A Sound Voter's Law!

Montgomery Examiner

In deferring action on the McCorvey-Wilkinson substitute to the ill-fated Boswell Amendment, the House Committee on Constitution and Elections has given Alabamians hope that this state will not be dragged through another Boswell Amendment sequence. 34 e(2)

The McCorvey proposal, based on "good character," is now before the Alabama Supreme Court for an opinion concerning its constitutionality. All Alabama citizens should pray that the Supreme Court's answer will be as solid as Lookout Mountain Montgomery, Ala.

While Mr. McCorvey assures us he has no intent to discriminate in his new voting law, it was interesting to note in the Capitol hearing that virtually all the principals in the Boswell Amendment struggle stand similarly lined up on the McCorvey Amendment.

Dick Rives warned that the McCorvey plan is plainly faulty and will bring new troubles to Alabama Registrars. He said the same thing about the Boswell Amendment, and was proved right. Now he asks for definite voting requirements based on education and a test of ability.

McCorvey and Horace Wilkinson stood up and said their bill does not discriminate, and will pass U. S. Supreme Court scrutiny. In 1946 they said their law was constitutional, but admitted that the Boswell Amendment was designed to discriminate; now that they've been proved to be poor prophets, they beg nobody even to mention the word "discriminate." All they want, they say, is "an intelligent electorate." Montgomery Examiner

The only 1946 symbol missing from the show was former Governor Frank M. Dixon, who alon gwith McCorvey and Wilkinson were stars in the 1948 Dixiecrat exrtavaganza. Perhaps he will enter from the wings at the psychological moment.

It is to be hoped that members of the Legislature will honor their state and themselves by presenting to the people a voting law that is honest, definite, and capable of good administration.

Rives Warns Act Unconstitutional

McCorvey-Wilkinson Amendment Awaits Supreme Court Decision

The Montgomery Examiner

The McCorvey-Wilkinson proposal of a substitute for the nullified Boswell Amendment was all set for an easy ride before a legislative committee, but when local attorney Richard T. Rives finished his critical analysis of its deficiencies the Committee tied up 6 to 6 last Thursday and asked the Supreme Court of Alabama for help.

Montgomery Examiner

The proposed Amendment is now before the highest Alabama tribunal awaiting an advisory opinion as to its constitutionality.

Citing the Boswell Amendment as "a disgrace to the State of Alabama," Rives said the new proposal has the same weaknesses and, while it is offered as a way of holding "an intelligent electorate" in Alabama, it actually could bring chaos.

Danger of Injunction

"The argument was made for the Boswell Amendment that at least it would protect us for a few years," Rives said, "but we can't keep on doing this sort of thing every two years. The Supreme Court of the United States, the highest court in the land, has warned us. If we deliberately try to violate the Constitution, we face a Federal injunction requiring us to register everybody regardless of qualifications."

Among Rives' most telling arguments was his appeal for consideration of the Registrars themselves who, given a vague law such as is proposed by McCorvey and Wilkinson, would be subject to suits at every turn.

"With a law like this proposal," Rives said, "it may be very hard to get good men and women to serve as Registrars."

Montgomery, Ala.

Denies Ownership

McCorvey spoke first, and urged that the proposal not be tagged with his name as "it's the work of several people." He said it should be called the "Voter Qualification Amendment." 6-2-49 Thu.

Rives commented that he called it the McCorvey Amendment because McCorvey sent him the first copy he saw.

Claiming his proposal requiring "good character" and other qualifications intends "no discrimination," McCorvey said, "We are just trying to help the situation." He contended that it is constitutional "although I was wrong about the Boswell Amendment."

Rep. Walter C. Givhan, of Safford, spoke for McCorvey and said the voting law "is not aimed at any particular class of people."

Rep. Wallace Malone, Dothan pointed to the fact that "67 members of the Legislature have signed their names to a request for a bill similar to this, which is proof that such a law merits consideration."

Montgomery Examiner

Rives' Bombshell Thu 6-2-49

Rives threw something of a bombshell into the hearing when he produced a letter from Dean Wm. M. Hepburn, of the University Law School, which said that in his opinion the McCorvey Amendment is "void on its face."

Rives commented on the proposal to ask an opinion of the Alabama Supreme Court, saying that he opposed such a request believing it unseemly since the question would come up for decision not in the State but the Federal Court.

Thu. 6-2-49

The Committee's failure to approve the McCorvey law came as a surprise, since his group had expected an easy victory.

High Court Advisory Opinion Holds Sub For Boswell Law Okeh

Birmingham News Bham, Ala.

BY HUGH W. SPARROW
News Staff Writer

MONTGOMERY, Ala., June 3 — The Supreme Court, in an advisory opinion requested by the House committee on constitutional amendments, held today that a proposed substitute for the Boswell voter regulation amendment complies with the provisions of the 14th and 15th amendments to the Federal Constitution.

The opinion was a divided one, Justices Brown, Foster, Livingston and Stakely representing the majority opinion.

Justices Lawson and Simpson signed separate dissenting opinions. 6-3-49

THE SUBSTITUTE for the Boswell amendment would require voter applicants to be of good character and to embrace the principles of a democratic government as set forth in the Federal and State Constitutions. Tue 6-3-49

In addition, voters would be required to answer in writing a questionnaire which would determine whether they embraced these principles.

Under the proposed substitute, the Alabama Supreme Court would prepare the questionnaire. Applicants for registration would be required to fill out the questionnaire in the presence of the county board of registrars.

THE SUBSTITUTE MEASURE is pending before the House committee. The fact that a majority opinion held the measure constitutional probably assures passage.

Chief Justice Lucien Gardner who has been ill, did not participate in the decision.

34e(2) 1949

Alabama (Boswell Amendment)

Voting Qualifications Again

Birm. News

Again the very important problem of qualifications for voting is pressing in Alabama.

The Boswell amendment, it will be remembered, has been declared unconstitutional as involving racial discrimination. That amendment was approved to take the place of a section of the constitution providing that the ability to read and write or ownership of 40 acres of land or other real or personal property assessed at $300 or more should be qualifications for voting, if other general requirements were met. The other requirements have to do with residence, mental competence and absence of conviction of a long list of important crimes.

The invalidation of the Boswell amendment restored to effect the section which it was to supersede. That section, with its reading-and-writing and property qualifications, is widely regarded as inadequate to present needs. Now another proposed amendment has been prepared for introduction in the Legislature next week.

Birm. * Ala.

The new proposal will be backed by a group of senators and representatives. It was discussed by Gessner T. McCorvey, chairman of the State Democratic Executive Committee and states rights leader, at a caucus of legislators Wednesday night.

Tus. 5-18-49

Mr. McCorvey emphasized that any new legal action should be clear of danger of invalidation on grounds of racial discrimination. He expressed the view that the time had come when voting privileges should not be denied to Negroes able to meet a reasonable test for good citizenship.

The proposed new amendment would entitle to registration "those who are of good character and who understand and embrace the duties and obligations of citizenship under a republican form of government. . . ." Only one registration would be required, and those already registered would not be required to do so again.

Tus. 5-18-49

* * *

This new proposal represents, we are confident, much earnest thought and effort.

It is gratifying that it is so widely recognized in Alabama now that race must not be a basis for denial of the right of suffrage.

Reasonable qualifications are, of course, needed. They should be applied fairly and uniformly to all applicants.

Good character and understanding and acceptance of the duties of citizenship are, of course, much to be desired in voters. But such qualifications seem to be too broad, too subject to differing interpretations by registrars, to promise a satisfactory solution of the problem.

Some latitude of judgment for registrars is doubtless unavoidable and desirable, but this proposal, in this paper's opinion, would allow too much. It suffers from the same kind of weakness, if not so obviously, as did the Boswell amendment.

Efforts should be continued and pressed to provide more specific standards than would be set up by this suggested new section.

Voter-Registration Law

Birmingham News

(From The Brewton Standard)

In accordance with all previous predictions, the Supreme Court ruled that the Boswell law of Alabama is unconstitutional. There was nothing unexpected about the decision of the court, since the law was conceded to be dead after a three-judge Federal Court in Mobile handed down an opinion against the registration statute.

Thur. 4-21-49

The Boswell law was a piece of legal chicanery designed to meet the letter of our basic statutes while it morally violated them. This newspaper vigorously opposed it on those grounds, among others. It was a politician's law, designed for manipulation by politicians, and it was forced onto the books through some hoary political strategy.

The leaders of the so-called Democratic Party in Alabama have seen clearly the results of passage of this type law. No little racial bitterness was stirred up, the law was wiped from the books, and Alabama still has no reasonable or just regulations for prospective voters.

Asking for statesmanship from a politician is a large order. But since the leaders of the dominant party in Alabama muffed the ball on voter registration once, it is possible that they can profit by their mistakes and do a better job next time.

34e(2) 1949

Boswell Admendment Held Unconstitutional

McCorvey Asks Amendment On Qualification Of Voters

Montgomery Advertiser

By ATTICUS MULLIN

State Democratic Executive Committee Chairman Gessner T. McCorvey, Mobile, has called for the adoption of another constitutional amendment relative to the qualifications of voters in Alabama.

The new amendment is necessary, McCorvey said in a letter addressed to the members of the state legislature, because a U. S. district court recently held that the Boswell amendment is unconstitutional.

Chairman McCorvey has submitted a copy of a statement he made to the legislative committee of the legislature, March 19, 1947. That was before the Boswell amendment was adopted and later declared unconstitutional The statement follows:

"I believe that we can greatly strengthen Section 181 of our Constitution by making some further amendments thereto. This section as now written is what is generally known as the 'Boswell Amendment.' I believe that by making the amendments I suggest, our Constitution will be more likely to be upheld in the courts, and I think it will give us a better and more workable provision.

His Proposal

"My suggestion is that we submit another constitutional amendment for the purpose of re-writing 181 of the Alabama Constitution of 1901 so that the same will read as follows:

"'Section 181. The following persons, and no others, who, if they are citizens of the United States over the age of twenty-one years and have the qualifications as to residence prescribed in Section 178 of this article, shall be qualified to register as electors provided they shall not be disqualified under Sectiton 182 of this Constitution: Those who can read and write any article of the Constitution of the United States and be able to understand the same, or give a reasonable interpretation thereof, and those who are unable to read and write, if such inability is due solely to physical disability, who shall be able to understand any article of the Constitution of the United States when it is read to them, or give a reasonable interpretation thereof; provided, however, that no person shall be entitled to register as an elector except those who are of good character and who understand the duties and obligations of good citizenship under a republican form of government; and provided further that only one registration shall be required and those persons who have registered as electors under the Alabama Constitution of 1901 shall not be required to register again.'"

"Section 178 of the Alabama Constitution, referred to in the proposed amendment, requires residence in the state for two years, in the county for one year, and in the precinct or ward for three months. Section 182 of the Alabama Constitution, referred to in the proposed amendment, disqualifies idiots, insane persons, and persons convicted of certain crimes.

"In drafting the foregoing proposed amendment to Section 181 of the Constitution I have combined the provisions of the 3rd paragraph of Section 180 of the Alabama Constitution of 1901, providing that prospective voters be of good character and understand the duties and obligations of citizenship under a republican form of government, with the suggestion contained in the "Boswell Amendment" as to ability to understand the Constitution of the United States, but I have also used the clause from Section 244 of the Constitution of the State of Mississippi requiring the prospective voter to be able to read any section of the Constitution of the State or be able to understand the same when read to him, or, in the alternative, be able to give a reasonable interpretation thereof—this provision of the Constitution of Mississippi being upheld by the Supreme Court of the United States in the case of Williams vs. the State of Mississippi, 170 U. S. 213.

"Under the Federal Statutes any foreigner seeking naturalization is required to make proof that he is a person of good moral character and attached to the principles of the Constitution of the United States. Certainly, our own electors should have, at least, the qualifications required of a foreigner seeking naturalization."

Ala. Boswell Act Outlawed

The Afro-American Baltimore Md.

Registration 'Test'

BLOW TO TALMADGE

Sat. 1-15-49

Ga. Assembly Plan Stymied by Ruling

MOBILE, Ala. — A three-judge Federal court, last Friday, ruled unconstitutional Alabama's infamous Boswell Amendment, as a stratagem to keep colored persons from registering, and thus knocked down another barrier in the way of granting the right to vote to all persons in the South.

The decision was unanimous.

The ruling, handed down by Presiding Judge Leon McCord of the 5th U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals, after a two-day hearing that ended here on Dec. 21, climaxed a two-year fight of a group of 10 colored citizens against the Montgomery County Board of Registrars.

The group, in litigation sponsored by the NAACP, alleged that they were denied the right to register through the use of the Boswell Amendment, which required that applicants "understand and explain" the Federal Constitution to the satisfaction of registrars.

The act now held illegal was passed by Alabama's Legislature two years ago, after Judge J. Waites Waring of the Federal District Court in South Carolina held the "white primary" illegal as a means of denying colored persons the right to vote. 1-15-49

The Federal Court ruled that the Boswell amendment appeared clearly to be a device "intended to be, and is being used, for the purpose of discriminating against applicants for the franchise on the basis of race or color."

U. S. District Judge Clarence Mullins of Birmingham wrote the 13-page opinion which was concurred in by Judge Leon McCord of the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals, New Orleans, and District Judge John McDuffie of Mobile.

The court added: "Therefore, we are necessarily brought to the conclusion that this (Boswell) amendment to the constitution of Alabama, both in object and manner of its administration, is unconstitutional, because it violates the 15th Amendment."

Old Law Revived

Knocking out the amendment revived Alabama's 48-year-old voter qualification law requiring only that an applicant be able to read and write any portion of the Constitution or own $300 worth of taxable property. The Boswell amendment did away with the property qualification and added that a person must "understand and explain" the constitution to the satisfaction of the board of registrars clause.

Reaction to the nullification of the harsh vote law was immediate and varied.

Gov. Folsom who fought adoption of the amendment, said that he would like to see the decision appealed to the United States Supreme Court for final consideration. He asserted: "I have no doubt that the amendment is dead and I don't think the Supreme Court will change its status." Newspapers generally hailed the court's erasure of the law. 1-15-49

Dixiecrats and "white supremacy" politicians sounded off for an appeal and for devising other vote restrictions to bar colored citizens. In this group were chiefly Black Belt politicians in counties where the colored population exceeds the whites.

New Law Suggested

State Senator Preston Clayton of Barbour suggested that new laws would replace the ones killed by the court. State Rep. Walter C. Givhan said that he would have a bill ready to substitute for the Boswell law when the State Legislature convenes in May. Former State Senator J. Miller Bonner of Camden saw in the decision only a first-round loss. 1-15-49

E. C. Boswell, former State Senator from Geneva county, father of the act and one of the defense attorneys, favored appealing the decision and passing a new law to prevent "mass registration of those not qualified to vote, whether they are black or white."

Assistant State Attorney General Silas C. Garrett, III, chief defense lawyer, said that the appeal rested with the Mobile Board of Registrars but State Solicitor Carl M. Booth of Mobile county was "certain there would be an appeal." State Attorney General A. A. Carmichael was in Washington when the decision came.

Ruling Definite

The court spoke out vigorously on the indefiniteness of the test standard: The Afro American

"If such a test or examination were provided to be administered to all prospective electors alike, then the board of registrars would have definite guides to control their judgment in determining whether or not an applicant 'could understand and explain' the provisions of the Constitution."

The administration of the Boswell Amendment by the defendants demonstrates that the 'ambiguous standard prescribed has, in fact, been arbitrarily used for the purpose of excluding colored applicants for the franchise . . . while it does not definitely disclose that it has been used to disqualify a single white applicant."

"It is further shown that as a rule the Boswell test of 'understand and explain' is required of colored persons while no such exaction is made of white applicants." Baltimore Md.

Spent State Funds

At the trial, George N. Leighton and David R. Landau, both of Chicago, representing the ten veterans introduced letters and literature circulating by the Alabama executive committee in support of the Boswell amendment as a design to prevent colored from voting. On this point the court said:

"The State Democratic Executive Committee spent its funds and led the fight to secure the adoption of the Boswell amendment in its endeavor to make the Democratic Party in Alabama the 'white man's party'." Wed. 1-15-49

Gessener T. McCourvery, one of the blueprinters of the Boswell amendment and carpenters of the Dixiecrat movement, gave a bitter "no comment" when interviewed on the death of the amendment.

Damages Denied

The court permanently enjoined the Mobile County Board of Registrars J. Milton Schnell, chairman; Mrs. D. C. Randle and E. J. Gonzales, associates from enforcing the amendment "in determining the qualification of any citizen who applies for registration." But the court denied the $100,000 damages asked.

The court pointed out that during the incumbency of the defendant board that more than 2,800 white persons had been registered and approximately 104 colored. Of the 230,000 population in Mobile, 64 per cent is white and 36 per cent colored.

The Mobile attack on the Boswell law was sponsored by the colored Voters and Veterans Association headed by J. J. Thomas. The association was scheduled to hold a mass meeting last Sunday to work plans for implementing the decision. The Afro American

Another Suit Pending

In Birmingham, the Rev. Eugene Otis Baxter, has a similar suit pending that attacks the validity of the Boswell amendment. Arthur D. Shores, attorney, intervied in Birmingham indicated that this case might be converted into a contempt proceeding should the Jefferson County Board of Registrars ignore the decision.

In ruling the Boswell Amendment illegal, last week, the Federal Court has nullified all the frenzied activity of Gov. Herman Tamadge's Georgia Assembly to pass similar legislation to bar colored persons from voting in that State. Baltimore Md.

Planned Biased Re-Registration

The plan contemplated by Talmadge and his cohorts was to pass legislation wiping the names of all voters, both white and colored, off the poll books and then requiring that they re-register under a proposed "education" measure which would enable registrars to deny most colored voters the right to "tests," so they could be re-registered their names back on the books.

It was pointed out plainly in pre-session legislative caucases that the majority of colored citizens in Georgia did not have schooling exceeding the 6th grade, so it would be easy to contrive "tests" for registrants that could not pass. Sat. 1-15-49

Ignorant whites, it was pointed out by "wool-hat" legislative leaders, need not be severely graded (if graded at all) on the test.

It was brought out at the recent hearing in Alabama in which the Boswell Amendment was outlawed that registrars there asked involved questions to minority group applicants on the U.S. Constitution and used their inability to answer the questions satisfactorily—as a cause for refusing to permit them to vote.

A surprise witness at the hearing was one of the members of the County Board of Registrars, E. J. Gonzales, who was permitted to testify over the objection of Assistant State's Attorney Silas Garett 3rd.

Gonzales testified that most colored applicants for registration are given tests on the Constitution but that he had never seen any white applicants tested.

Wouldn't "Go Along"

Garrett asked Judge McCord to bar Gonzales because, he said, he found out that the latter would not "go along" with the other two board members of the defense.

Fair Registrar Testifies

Gonzales, who had differed frequently with the other board members on matters of policy, said: "I cannot agree with the list of denials which they asked me to testify to in this suit."

Tuskegee Bar Lifted

Outlawing of the Boswell Amendment is expected to start the legal machinery for registering voters in Macon County, Ala., in which Tuskegee is located, whirring, after an eight months' holdup by the Board of Registrars there.

The excuse given by the board was that it had a heavy backlog of applications left over from its last meeting on April 18 and that there was little chance of new applications for registration being taken.

Its excuse that it would have to test the applicants under the provisions of the Boswell Amendment is no longer valid; so the registration of the thousands of would-be voters in the county is expected to be effected speedily.

New Voting Law Reported Sought

Birmingham News

MONTGOMERY, Ala., Jan. 8—(AP)—White supremacy leaders were looking toward new laws Saturday to plug the gap caused by a Federal Court decision nullifying Alabama's Boswell amendment.

The details are not yet clear, but several legislative sources confirmed that such legislation is being studied.

Birm. Ala. 1-9-49

While there has been a mixed reaction to the ruling by a three-judge court at Mobile Friday, most political leaders agree it should be appealed to the U. S. Supreme Court for final disposition.

Birmingham Ala.

The two-year-old Boswell amendment required prospective voters to be able to "understand and explain" the U. S. Constitution. Backers admitted it was aimed at restricting Negro voting.

IN ITS DECISION the Mobile court said it "clearly appears" the amendment was intended and has been used for the purpose of "discriminating against applicants for the franchise on basis of race or color."

The suit was brought by 10 Negroes who contended their constitutional rights were infringed by the wide discretion given registrars under the amendment.

Opinion on the possible effects of the court action ranged from that of Gov. James E. Folsom, who said he didn't believe it would matter one way or the other, to Black Belt legislators' views that immediate corrective laws are needed.

Gov. Herman Talmadge's administration in Georgia reportedly was going ahead with the plans for a renewed attack on Negro voting in the Georgia Legislature which convenes Monday.

The proposals call for wiping out all current registration lists and a new statewide registration under "tightened" regulations. A constitutional amendment on voter qualifications is also planned.

* * *

TWO ALABAMA legislators from Black Belt counties (which have heavy Negro populations) concurred in the opinion that new laws will be needed, if the Supreme Court upholds the verdict against the Boswell amendment.

Sen. Preston Clayton, of Barbour County, suggested that this year's Legislature put a statute on the books making boards of registrars judicial bodies and giving them discretion over who is qualified to vote in state elections.

Rep. Walter C. Givhan, of Dallas, announced he will have a bill ready to preserve, and perhaps strengthen, present voting requirements.

He said he has not yet worked out the details but would offer one which will "hold water" in the courts.

Birm. 1-9-49

At Camden, former State Sen. J. Miller Bonner, legal adviser to former Gov. Frank Dixon and a strong supporter of the amendment, stressed the "aboslute necessity" of carrying an appeal to the Supreme Court.

"We've lost one round," he conceded, "but we haven't lost the fight. This is such a serious question it must be taken to the Supreme Court for a final decision."

* * *

FORMER STATE Rep. E. C. Boswell, author of the amendment, agreed the decision should be appealed. He said there is also a need for a law to prevent "mass registration of those who are not qualified to vote, whether they are black or white."

Gov. Folsom, an opponent of the amendment when it was voted on two years ago, said he has not changed his mind about it, but also believed the court ruling should be taken on to the Supreme Court.

"I have no doubt that the amendment is dead and I don't think the Supreme Court will change its status," he added.

The governor said he felt agitation over Negro voting would cease once the barriers are removed.

Boswell Curb Steps Up Vote Drive As Diehards Seek Plan To Beat It

Chicago Defender

MONTGOMERY, Ala. — While Gov. James E. Folsom last week lauded the action of the United States Supreme Court in ruling the Boswell amendment unconstitutional, Alabama white supremacy diehards stepped up their plans to concoct a new disfranchisement measure for the 1949 legislature.

Meanwhile, Negroes, encouraged by the Supreme Court edict, threw into high gear their registration campaign. With no definite goal in mind, intention of leaders of the movement is to get every Negro on the voting lists.

One of the most encouraging factors is the attitude of Gov. Folsom himself.

The Governor, who advocates repeal of the poll tax in the state, opposed ratification of the Boswell amendment. He said in Montgomery that he was pleased with the decision of the nation's highest tribunal against the infamous law.

He commented, "I think the Supreme Court decided right.

However, the reactionary anti-Negro crowd, under the direction of Gessner T. McCorvey of Mobile, chairman of the state Democratic executive committee, is working frantically to prepare a substitute. The purpose of the new measure would be the same as the Boswell amendment—to curb Negro voter registration.

McCorvey said he thinks the substitute scheme should follow the line of the Mississippi voter qualification law. The law of that state requires the registrant to be able to give a "reasonable" interpretation of the state constitution.

Any new voter qualification law would have to be ratified by the people. The Boswell amendment was ratified by an 8-7 ratio.

Opposition to another disfranchisment measure would develop from among the liberal and fair-minded whites, as well as Negroes.

Another court battle seeking to outlaw a discriminatory law would certainly be instituted.

The Boswell amendment required applicants for registration as voters to be able to "understand and explain" any section of the United States Constitution to the satisfaction of county boards of registrars.

A special 3-judge U. S. District Court ruled last January 7, that the intent of the amendment and its effect in practice, was aimed against applicants for the franchise on the basis of race.

The United States Supreme Court on Monday March 28, reaffirmed the decision of the district court by an 8-1 vote.

Justice Reed dissented on a point of procedure but not from the decision itself.

U.S. Court Gets Test Case on Boswell Amendment

Afro American

MOBILE, Ala. — (NNPA)—A special three-judge Federal court last Tuesday recessed a two-day hearing on the constitutionality of Alabama's Boswell Amendment which requires persons who seek to register to vote to "understand and explain" the Federal Constitution.

Baltimore Md.

Presiding Judge Leon McCord of the Fifth U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals said a decision would be announced later.

The law was challenged by 10 colored persons who alleged that they were denied the right to register.

Sat. 1-1-49

Discrimination Practiced

Before the case was taken under advisement, a register testified last Tuesday that white and colored persons were treated differently when they apply to the Mobile County Board for registration to vote.

The witness, E. J. Gonzales, testified that most colored persons are given tests on the U.S. Constitution, but that he has never seen any white applicant tested.

The 10 plaintiffs contend that wide discretion which the amendment grants to registrars infringes on their constitutional rights.

The two-year-old amendment provides that applicants for registration as voters must be able "to understand and explain" the Federal Constitution to the satisfaction of the board of registrars.

Sat. 1-1-49

Seek to Bar Witness

The trial took a surprise turn at the outset when attorneys for the registrars asked the court to eliminate Gonzales, one of the three board members, as a defendant.

Assistant State Attorney General Silas C. Garrett 3rd said he had found out that Gonzales would not go along with the other members in their defense of the suit.

Gonzales, who had differed frequently with the other members on matters of policy, said, "I cannot agree with the list of denials which they asked me to testify to in this case."

Others Deny Policy

Preceding Gonzales to the stand were the two other board members, J. Milton Schnell and Mrs. D. C. Randle.

Both said the board had no set policy on handling applicants under the Boswell Amendment, and that generally white and colored persons who appear to be qualified are not given educational tests.

"If there was some doubt about their qualification from an educational standpoint, we would question them," Schnell said.

Girls Friendship Council for

34e(2) 1949

Boswell Admendment

Group Of Legislators Seeking Substitute For Boswell Measure

MONTGOMERY, Ala., March 19—(AP)—A small group of legislators had gone to work to find a substitute for Alabama's defunct Boswell amendment.

They met privately in a Montgomery hotel room, reportedly led by State Democratic Chairman Gessner T. McCorvey, of Mobile. Those contacted afterward were reluctant, however, to discuss the meeting.

McCorvey, at first, declined to talk about it, but commented later that nothing definite was agreed on at the meeting.

Sen. Silas D. Cater, of Montgomery, said McCorvey discussed "proposals for improving election laws" but that most of the group's talk centered on "regulation of voters."

The Boswell amendment, written into the state constitution in 1946, was designed to keep Negroes from voting. It required prospective voters to be able to "understand and explain" the federal constitution to the satisfaction of county boards of registrars.

Ten Mobile Negroes contested it and a three-judge Federal Court ruled the law unconstitutional. The decision has been appealed to the U. S. Supreme Court.

* * *

SEN. BRUCE HENDERSON, of Wilcox County, acknowledged he was one of those who attended the meeting. He said a replacement for the Boswell amendment was discussed among other things.

"Proposed new election laws," Henderson said, "something like the Boswell amendment, but on a broader basis, was one of the things discussed." He declined to elaborate.

Other legislators reported to have been at the meeting included Reps. Walter C. Givhan and W. P. Molette, of Dallas, and L. W. Brannan, of Baldwin.

None of them could be reached for comment. Henderson wouldn't say who attended.

"It was not my meeting," he explained, "and I don't know if those present want to be identified."

Boswell Amendment II

Montgomery, Ala. Examiner 7-14-49

It seems the Legislature is determined to put Alabama through the stress and bitterness of another experience with the Boswell Amendment.

Of course this new legislation will not be called the "Boswell" amendment, but everybody knows it is designed for the same purpose—to keep as many people as possible from voting. Most informed persons are convinced also that the new law will meet the identical fate of its predecessor—death at the hands of the U. S. Supreme Court.

Jnw. 7-14-49

How much more sensible if our lawmakers would follow the highly competent advice of local Attorney Richard T. Rives, who has proposed a voter law with clearly defined educational qualifications capable of fair and impartial administration. With such a law any sudden, mass movement toward the polls would be impossible, yet the educated, better qualified citizens would be granted the right of franchise about which we boast to other nations of the world.

The bill now receiving favorable consideration is an ill-advised stop-gap, and it will serve only one purpose: It will make necessary a hate-filled election this fall, and help to make the race issue paramount in the primaries next spring. That's politics for you—a certain brand of it—but it is not good American statesmanship.

34e(2) 1949

Boswell Admendment

Tells Federal Court How Race Is Kept From Using Ballot

Pittsburgh Courier

Pittsburgh Pa

Sat-1-1-49

(Special to The Courier)

MOBILE, Ala.—Before a Federal judge here last week a Mobile County registrar, E. J. Gonzales, admitted that he and his fellow-registrars had deliberately flouted the Constitution of the United States in practicing vote discriminations against Negroes who wanted to register to vote in this Dixie stronghold.

This discosure—not a revelation to would-be Negro voters in Alabama—was made during a Federal hearing in which the constitutionality of Alabama's infamous Boswell Amendment is being challenged. The amendment's obvious purpose is to provide a means of denying, by subterfuge or other devious connivings, the franchise to Negroes in this State.

UNDER HEAVY FIRE

Under fire from several quarters by determined Negro citizens, there have been a series of suits filed in United State District courts charging the denial of voting rights through racially discriminatory practices violates the Constitution.

The case currently heard was the suit filed by ten Negro veterans of World War II who had been refused registration privileges in this county by registrars whom, they said, required them to explain the United State Constitution without requiring white citiezns seeking to register to give the same explanations.

Sat-1-1-49

AFFIDAVITS BY WHITES

Several white citizen here made affidavits which told of having observed certain registrars in the act of following the discriminatory practice requiring Negroes to explain the Constitution.

Federal Judge John McDuffie held preliminary hearings and decided that a three-judge Federal panel should hear the arguments on Nov. 5. These hearings have continued intermittently, but with little in the way of startling disclosures until last Monday when registrar Gonzales frankly admitted that registrars required certain things of Negroes which were not required of whites.

ADMITTED PRACTICE

Sat-1-1-49

He said tests on the Constitution had been given to most Negroes, but that he had no knowledge of any having been given whites. Under the ~~Boswell Amendment~~ voters must be able to explain the Constitution to the satisfaction of the boards of registrars.

The Federal panel is expected to rule purely on the constitutionality of that law. Suits have been filed in Birmingham and another suit pends in this county.

County Demos Forbid Race-Hate Vote Appeals

Birmingham Ala News

Fri-1-28-49

By FRED TAYLOR

News Staff Writer

The way was clear today for early qualification of City Commission candidates, after an abortive attempt to delay municipal primaries until July or August.

Birmingham Ala

Jefferson County's Democratic Executive Committee, which followed custom in setting the city primaries for May 3 and May 31, struck out at racial hate and religious intolerance.

The party governing body unanimously adopted a resolution offered by Committeeman A. V. Simmons that declared in part:

"All candidates who directly or indirectly use, or knowingly permit the use of racial hate or religious intolerance in any way whatsoever during the campaign for which he or she has filed, shall be disqualified, debarred from party privilege within the jurisdiction of this committee."

Signing the resolution with Simmons were Committeemen Charles E. Howard, Bill Fex, J. E. Fleming and A. M. Romeo.

New Voter Curb Law Studied: Boswell Ruling Appeal Urged

Montgomery Advertiser

Montgomery, Ala.

White supremacy advocates are looking toward new laws to plug the gap caused by a federal court decision nullifying Alabama's Boswell amendment.

Sun-1-9-49

The details are not yet clear, but several legislative sources confirmed that such legislation is being studied.

While there has been a mixed reaction to the ruling by a three-judge court at Mobile Friday, most political leaders agree it should be appealed to the U. S. Supreme Court for final disposition.

The two-year-old Boswell amendment required prospective voters to be able to "understand and explain" the U. S. Constitution. Backers admitted it was aimed at restricting the Negro voting.

In its decision the Mobile court said it "clearly appears" the amendment was intended and has been used for the purpose of "discriminating against applicants for the franchise on the basis of race or color."

The suit was brought by 10 Negroes who contended their constitutional rights were infringed by the wide discretion given registrars under the amendment.

Opinion on the possible effects of the court action ranged from that of Gov. Folsom, who said he didn't believe it would matter one way or the other, to blackbelt legislators' views that immediate corrective laws are needed.

Gov. Herman Talmadge's administration in Georgia reportedly was going ahead with the plans for a renewed attack on Negro voting in the Georgia legislature which convenes Monday.

Sun-1-9-49

The proposals call for wiping out all current registration lists and a new statewide registration under "tightened" regulations.

A constitutional amendment on voter qualifications is also planned.

Two Alabama legislators from blackbelt counties (which have heavy Negro populations) concurred in the opinion that new laws will be needed, if the Supreme Court upholds the verdict against the Boswell amendment.

Senator Preston Clayton, of Barbour County, suggested that this year's legislature put a statute on the books making boards of registrars judicial bodies and giving them discretion over who is qualified to vote in state elections.

Representative Walter C. Givhan, of Dallas, announced that he will have a bill ready to preserve, and perhaps strengthen, present voting requirements.

He said he has not yet worked out the details but would offer one which will "hold water" in the courts.

At Camden, former State Senator J. Miller Bonner, legal adviser to former Gov. Frank Dixon and a strong supporter of the amendment, stressed the "absolute necessity" of carrying an appeal to the Supreme Court.

"We've lost one round," he conceded, "but we haven't lost the fight. This is such a serious question that it must be taken to the Supreme Court for a final decision."

Former State Representative E. C. Boswell, author of the amendment, agreed the decision should be appealed. He said there is also a need for a law to prevent "mass registration of those who are not qualified to vote, whether they are black or white."

Gov. Folsom, an opponent of the amendment when it was voted on two years ago, said he has not changed his mind about it, but also believed the court ruling should be taken on to the Supreme Court.

"I have no doubt that the amendment is dead and I don't think the Supreme Court will change its status," he added.

The governor said he felt agitation over Negro voting would cease once the barriers are removed.

Sun-1-9-49

Alabama Politics

Birmingham News

Modified Version Of Outlawed Boswell Amendment Up For Caucus Approval Of State Legislators In Montgomery

Birmingham Alabama Wed. 5-11-49

BY HUGH W. SPARROW
News Staff Writer

MONTGOMERY, Ala., May 11—Approval is scheduled to be given a so-called "modified Boswell amendment" during a caucus of senators and representatives tonight.

Final draft of the measure was being quietly passed around today among legislators who favor voting restrictions as strong as the United States Supreme Court will permit.

SPARROW

The caucus, to be held at 7 p.m. in a downtown hotel, will be attended by State Democratic Executive Committee Chairman Gessner T. McCorvey, Mobile.

McCorvey, who was at least the godfather, if not the lawful parent of the now invalidated Boswell amendment, is said to have had an active hand in preparing the proposal up for okeh tonight.

The bill is described by one of its chief legislative proponents as "slightly different" from the Mississippi restrictive voting amendment. That law which, incidentally, has been okehed by the United States Supreme Court requires as a condition for voting eligibility one's ability to "read and write" the Constitution of the United States.

"It has refinements that the Mississippi amendment does not have" explained a Senate member who intends to be present tonight.

* * *

Proposed Amendments

THE PROPOSED AMENDMENT is as follows:

"Section 181. The following persons, and no others, who, if they are citizens of the United States over the age of 21 years and have the qualifications as to residence prescribed in Section 178 of this Article, shall be qualified to register as electors provided they shall not be disqualified under Section 182 of this constitution: Those who can read and write any article of the Constitution of the Uinted States in the English language; provided, however, that no person shall be entitled to register as an elector except those who are of good character and who understand and embrace the duties and obligations of citizenship under a republican form of government; and provided further that only one registration shall be required and those persons who have registered as electors under the Alabama Constitution of 1901 shall not be required to register again."

Election on the amendment would be ordered for the first Tuesday after expiration of three months after final adjournment of the present session of the Legislature.

Birmingham News

Last One Setback

ACTION BY THE HOUSE in striking out a handicapping amendment to the bill limiting expenditures for temporary clerks to $3,500 a year and passing the bill by a top-heavy 72-27 vote was but one major setback suffered yesterday by Gov. Folsom.

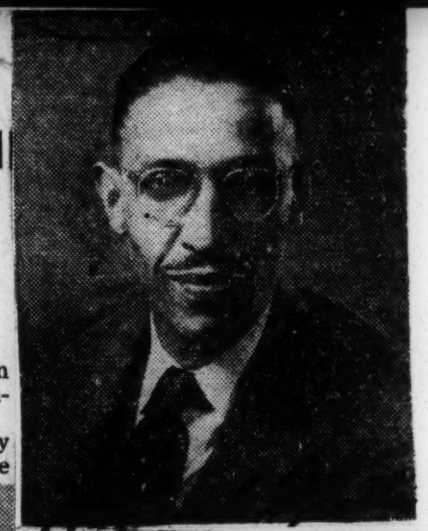
Another was the Supreme Court's advisory opinion, in effect holding that constitutional amendments must go to committees under rules set out by the Senate.

In the opinion of many it meant a death blow to the so-called "67 senator" amendment which Gov. Folsom had been strongly urging in his pre-legislative session campaign speeches. Wed. 5-11-49

But most rejoicing among the economy groups in both houses apparently was because the House in its vote yesterday had rebuked the governor for his heavy temporary clerk spending by such an impressive vote.

His Logic Defeated Boswell Amendment

George N. Leighton, Chicago attorney, recently performed a herculean job in prosecuting the case against Alabama's Boswell amendment for ten Mobile county Negroes. The case ended Jan. 8, 1949, when a three-judge tribunal ruled the two-year-old law was unconstitutional. Leighton actively entered the case last March after a brief, prepared by him, was filed in Mobile by a white Chicago lawyer.



Alabama Newspaper Comment On Boswell Law Invalidation

Montgomery Advertiser

Montgomery Ala.

(For Advertiser comment see editional page)

Alabama newspapers commented editorially on the Boswell ruling as follows:

Birmingham News — "by the court's decision an ill-conceived barrier to Negro voting in Alabama has been set aside.

"Lately in the South there has been a steady march, notably in rulings made by judges, toward a fairer basis of infranchisement for all our citizens."

Alabama Journal — The Journal described the decision as "a grievous disappointment," but said it is not likely that it will cause a flood registrations or an immediate "return to reconstruction election practices." The Journal added:

"The present laws served until two years ago to keep our electorate on a reasonably high plane . . . There is no reason why the same laws cannot continue to act as a bulwark against an untrustworthy electorate."

Birmingham Age-Herald — "This grant of authority to registrars (under the Boswell Act) was too broad, too indefinite, too subject to possible missusage, to serve justice and the rights of all citizens. The Age-Herald consequently is deeply gratified by this decision. . . .

"Sound voter qualification tests are of the utmost importance, but they should be clear, fair, reasonable and uniformly applied. The Boswell amendment falls far short of the requirements."

Mobile Press Register — "Alabama should prepare to protect itself in the likely event that the Supreme Court upholds the ruling of the lower court . . .

"The need for a well qualified electorate, one that can intelligently choose men and measures for the preservation of the Democratic form of government in the face of 'isms' and alien ideologies, is clearly apparent. The threats to good government and the democratic system are vicious enough as it is without opening the way for mass voting by unqualified persons . . .

"The Mobile Press Register suggests that state leaders consider a voter qualification law incorporating some of the provisions and phraseology of the federal law dealing with naturalization of aliens. Certainly such a law should be in accord with the U. S. Constitution.

"If an applicant for citizenship is required to have a 'fair knowledge and understanding of the fundamental principles of the Constitution and of our form of government,' then it certainly should not be out of line to require a prospective voter to know as much . . ."

Dothan Eagle—"The Boswell amendment, as we admitted when we urged its adoption in 1946, was designed to prevent mass registration of Negroes as voters . . . an attempt most certainly will be made to pass new legislation conforming to federal requirements and yet forestall a mass and easy registration . . .

"We would suggest that the framers of this new legislation be more naive and less blatant in their next try. Also write something that is complicated enough to make a court battle over it last more than two years. We in the South are fighting a rear guard action designed to ride out the storm.

"Since the storm is designed to blow for a while yet, our legislation must be able to withstand considerable wear and tear. The time that is required to take it apart in the federal court is the most essential element."

Anniston Star—"Justices Leon McCord, John McDuffie, and Clarence Mullins, all Alabamians, were of the opinion that the amendment was conceived for the sole purpose of disfranchising Negroes, but the color of a man's skin should not condition his right to vote for the protection of his property and the preservation of his liberties. This piece of legislation, however, together with the cumulative poll tax, had the effect of disfranchising white persons as well as Negroes and conferred tyrranous powers on registration boards.

"There also is an implied rebuke by the judges in this case to the Alabama State Democratic Executive Committee for the use of its funds to bring about the ratification of the Boswell amendment and we have believed all along that the use of those funds in the Dixiecrat campaign equally was illegal. Certainly it was unethical and should never be tolerated again without a test of the courts.

"As a matter of fact it is such measures as these that have brought upon us the troubles we now are facing in Washington by way of federal legislation that is aimed specifically at the South. And the sooner we all learn that we are living in a democratically organized republic that was conceived for the purpose of protecting the rights of every individual the better it will be for us all, white and black alike."

A Sound Registration Law

Birmingham News

What is to take the place of the Boswell amendment, now that it has been declared in conflict with the Constitution of the United States by a three-judge Federal District Court in a forthright decision handed down at Mobile?

Tues 1-11-49

The court held that the amendment was intended to be and was being used "to discriminate against applicants for the franchise on the basis of race or color." That decision, and others—as in the Texas and South Carolina cases—make it unmistakably plain that efforts to limit voting simply by racial discrimination will not stand up—as they should not.

Birmingham News

The authority which was granted to boards of registrars under the Boswell amendment provided that applicants must be able to "understand and explain any article of the Constitution of the United States in the English language." Such power is too broad, too indefinite, too susceptible of misuse.

* * *

In the Mobile opinion, written by District Judge Clarence Mullins of Birmingham, and concurred in by Circuit Judge Leon McCord and District Judge John McDuffie of Mobile, all outstanding Alabamians, it is declared: "No uniform, objective or standardized test or examination is provided whereby an impartial board could determine whether the applicant has a reasonable understanding and can give a reasonable explanation of the articles of the constitution (if, indeed the test were to be *reasonable* understanding and a *reasonable* explanation."

Further, Judge Mullins wrote: "To state it plainly, the sole test is: Has the applicant by oral examination or otherwise understood and explained the constitution to the satisfaction of the particular board? To state it more plainly, the board has a right to reject one applicant and accept another, depending solely upon whether it likes or dislikes the understanding and explanation offered. To state it even more plainly, the board, by the use of the words 'understand and explain,' is given the arbitrary power to accept or reject any prospective elector that may apply, or, to use the language of *Yick Wo vs. Hopkins,* 118 U. S. 356, 366, these words 'actually do confer, not a discretion to be exercised upon a consideration of the circumstances of each case, but a naked and arbitrary power to give or withhold consent. . . .'"

* * *

This penetrating opinion goes straight to the heart of the issue raised by the amendment.

Tues 1-11-49

It speaks out powerfully and unmistakably against tests which would deny equal protection of the law within the meaning of the 14th amendment and which would involve racial discrimination.

The Alabama Legislature meets again this Spring. A substitute for the misconceived Boswell amendment should and will be sought. Sound and reasonable qualification tests are required. They should be fair. They should be definite. They should be applied uniformly, as nearly as that is possible. A major task confronts the state in establishing such qualifications.

Alabama Press

Positive Approach Is Best

Birmingham News

(From The Huntsville Times)

The Supreme Court of the United States, as expected, made short shrift of the Boswell amendment. It had already been knocked out unanimously by a three-judge Federal Court, composed of Southern men, at Mobile.

Birmingham News

It was so patently discriminatory that even to a layman there seemed no chance for it. It was conceived in fear and malice; maybe even meant only as a stopgap.

The same group that drew the Boswell amendment is now at work on another amendment, or law, to take its place. It is studying a Mississippi statute which some believe will meet the test of the courts, and at the same time disfranchise most of the Negroes who wish to vote.

Mon. 4-11-49

Sponsors of this viewpoint approach the problem purely from the negative angle. They seem blind to the fact that, whether next year, or maybe a decade hence, there is going to be greater Negro participation in voting in Alabama. It's a tide that can't be resisted.

Much better, and more sensible, in our opinion, would be to take a positive approach on the question of registration and voting.

The fairest way is to raise standards, by requiring higher qualifications for voting, and enforcing them equally on white and black citizens alike.

This policy would eliminate the ignorant and vicious elements of both races from the polls, and provide a more intelligent electorate.

As long as the effort persists to pass discriminatory voting laws, it will come to naught in the long run. Courts will not sanction it, and public opinion is against it.

Lesson For Georgia

Birmingham News

(From The Atlanta Journal)

THE BOSWELL AMENDMENT to the Alabama State Constitution was adopted by the people in a special election in 1946. Its commonly understood purpose was to provide a means by which Negroes could be excluded from voting.

Thur 1-13-49

The means was this: Registration was put in the hands of a board of three in each county, appointed by the governor. The registrars were directed to register only those persons "of good character . . . who understand the duties and obligations of good citizenship under a republican form of government" and "who can read and write, understand and explain any article of the Constitution of the United States." The registrars were given complete authority.

Evidence is that the registrar utilized the immense scope of discretion given to them to deny the vote to many thousands of Negroes. For example, The Birmingham News several months ago cited the case of a Negro Baptist minister who sought to register. He was given a book from which to read. He does not know what it was except that it was a ponderous tome on some legal subject, not the constitution. He read one paragraph of complicated, polysyllabic language and was told to close the book and explain what he had read. He was not allowed to re-read the paragraph. He has never received his certificate of registration.

There is considerable evidence also that some boards of registrars applied their own whimsical standards to white persons known to be active in labor organizations.

The personnel of the boards was in many cases interesting. The chairman of the Jefferson County Board was house detective at a Birmingham hotel; his colleagues were local politicians.

The opportunities afforded under the Boswell amendment for the erection and manning of an all-powerful political machine are obvious and constitute an irrefutable argument against it, apart entirely from the main intention which was to deprive Negroes of suffrage.

* * *

Declared Unconstitutional

THE AMENDMENT was on Friday declared illegal by a distinguished federal bench, made up of three jurists born and reared in Alabama. They said it contravened the 14th and 15th amendments to the Constitution of the United States.

It was only a matter of course that they should reach that conclusion. The principle had already been decided in quite another jurisdiction—that of the Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals, consisting of Judges John A. Parker of North Carolina, Morris A. Soper of Maryland and Armistead M. Dovie of Virginia.

Thur 1-13-49

In affirming the decision of Judge J. Waties Waring in the South Carolina white primary case, these eminent jurists agreed:

"No election machinery can be upheld if its purpose or effect is to deny to the Negro, on account of his race or color, an effective voice in the government of his country or the state or community wherein he lives."

* * *

Such Schemes Doomed To Fail

ANY ATTEMPT IN THE SOUTH to set up a scheme like the Boswell amendment is doomed to failure.

The Talmadge administration has been dallying with the idea of putting some such scheme in effect in Georgia. Whatever form it may take, the intention is a coldly calculated evasion of the Constitution of the United States.

As we have said before, that is something the people of Georgia should reject as repugnant to their moral sense and a stain upon the honor of their state.

The Right to Vote

The Birmingham News

The Supreme Court is far ahead of the Senate in dealing with the Negro's problem. Where the Senate managed, perhaps to its own satisfaction, to get lost in the filibustering fog, the judicial branch demonstrates a gift for directness. We refer to the quick and undiscursive opinion on Monday upholding the lower court in outlawing the Boswell amendment to the Alabama state constitution. This is the little trick aimed to keep the Negro from voting by requiring that an applicant must "understand and explain" the United States Constitution to the "reasonable satisfaction" of registration boards. The point here was to see through to the intent of the law, and not conveniently look the other way. Although there was nothing said of color, the purpose and effect of the Alabama diversion were plain as daylight, and on the Negro's undeniable right to vote along with any other citizen the Supreme Court has repeatedly ruled in recent years with a highly practical grasp on reality.

After the many years of subterfuge, although one device after another has collapsed and the Democratic white primary is no longer sacrosanct, we are far from feeling that the Negro has now won the final struggle for the ballot. Georgia, where Talmadge still rules, is sieving its voting lists through a statutory quiz on government. The object is white supremacy. This project doubtless will also in time arrive before the Supreme Court, for the net effect of disfranchisement is Alabama all over again.

The Alabama decision, however, is a healthy reminder that correctives against discrimination rise not only in political program and legislation. Negroes made the protest, were sympathetically joined by a great cross-section of Alabama, and won in the courts throughout on merit. This was a victory to be appreciated, and we may be sure that the vote of the Negro, just the same as that of any other American, will ultimately make itself felt. From this free right to vote we can expect important progress by a rising race.

Another Veto Shames A Trick of Prejudice

The Courier Journal

Louisville, Ky.

Sun. 1-9-49

THE intrinsic trickery of laws to get around the Constitution, and by subterfuge to keep men from doing what they have a right to do, is once more laid bare. A Federal Court in Alabama says it is unconstitutional to apply a vague and capricious rule to keep Negroes from voting. And so the white supremacy school of Southern politics, which thinks up one device after another, will have to think again.

The opinion came in connection with Alabama's so-called BOSWELL Amendment. This provides that a person trying to register for voting must be able to "understand and explain" the United States Constitution. But a lot of law on the subject has been written by the Supreme Court since the LONNIE SMITH case in Texas in 1944, and the truth is becoming ever more plain as day. Supporters of the rule thought to make an arrant denial of discriminating against applicants for the franchise on the basis of race or color." In the bitter fight two years ago over the amendment is used "for the purpose of democracy constitutional by putting it in the State Statewide vote, nobody doubted that this was the point. Three judges find the obvious intent of the amendments were as plain as day. Supporters of the rule thought to make an arrant denial of democracy constitutional by putting it in the State Constitution. But a lot of law on the subject has been written by the Supreme Court since the LONNIE SMITH case in Texas in 1944, and the truth is becoming ever more

is here at last for the disfranchisers and the panderers of prejudice to accept the inevitable. Democracy is not a thing of many forms, varying according to sectional or personal notions. And rights are rights, American guarantees are guarantees, or this isn't America.

Boswell Law Blasted

Birmingham News

The News is gratified that a three-judge Federal Court in Mobile yesterday held the Boswell amendment to be unconstitutional. This paper opposed the amendment when it was submitted to the voters and ratified two years ago. It believed it to be undemocratic and essentially unworkable, inasmuch as it depended on personal interpretation and application by members of the 67 county boards of registrars. *The News* made an investigation of the way the amendment was working in Jefferson County last February and concluded that the way its provisions were being applied locally was highly unsatisfactory. It is not surprised that the court found it at variance with the constitutional rights of citizens.

Circuit Judge Leon McCord of the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals and District Judges Clarence Mullins of Birmingham and John McDuffie of Mobile permanently enjoined the Mobile County Board of Registrars from "enforcing the requirements" of the qualification law "in determining the qualification of any citizen who applies for registration as an elector."

* * *

The ruling specifically said that two Negroes "were refused registration as electors because of their race or color."

The decision added:

"The subject matter of the Boswell amendment is within state power, and its validity depends upon whether it squares with the 14th and 15th amendments. We think it does not. . . .

"The language (of the amendment) does not call for a simple, fair or reasonable understanding or explanation. It does not give any rule, guide or test as to the nature of the understanding or explanation that is required. . . .

"It thus clearly appears that this amendment was intended to be, and is being used for the purpose of discriminating against applicants for the franchise on the basis of race or color. Therefore, we are necessarily brought to the conclusion that this amendment to the Constitution of Alabama, both in its object and the manner of its administration, is unconstitutional, because it violates the 15th amendment."

Sat 1-8-49

The court noted that the Mobile board did not begin keeping records of rejected applicants for registration until after the suit was filed. After March 1, 1948, the judges set forth, 57 Negroes were rejected by the Mobile board, all because of their failure to satisfy the board on the basis of the amendment's requirement that they be able to "understand and explain" the federal constitution. During the same period 11 whites were rejected also, but the court said they were turned down for reasons other than the Boswell amendment.

Thus by the court's decision an ill-conceived barrier to Negro voting in Alabama has been set aside.

Lately in the South there has been a steady march, notably in rulings made by judges, toward a fairer basis of enfranchisement for all our citizens.

1,000 Mobile Negroes Register

Montgomery Advertiser

MOBILE, ALA., Feb. 1—(AP)—More than 1,000 Negroes were registered for voting in Mobile County in the 25 days since Alabama's voter qualification law, the Boswell amendment, was knocked out by a Federal court decision.

Wed. 2-2-49

The general registration period closed today.

Since the January 7 court ruling on the Boswell amendment, 1,035 Negroes and 494 whites have been registered.

More Negroes have been registered in the county since the voter qualification law was held unconstitutional than were registered altogether prior to that time. The official registration list issued last year carried the names of about 800 Negroes.

Only about 104 Negroes were registered under the 1946 Boswell amendment which required prospective registrants to be able to "understand and explain" the U. S. Constitution.

Board of Registrars here today.

Twenty-four were registered Saturday and Monday after Alabama's Boswell amendment was ruled unconstitutional by a federal court. Up until the ruling last Friday, 104 Negroes were registered under the two-year-old amendment in Mobile County.

The board reported eight more Negroes were being registered today. "We have an office full," an official said.

Applicants were asked only routine questions. None was questioned about the U. S. Constitution.

The Boswell amendment required would-be registrants to be able to "understand and explain" the federal constitution. It was called a barrier to mass Negro voting in Alabama.

Due to a special act of the state Legislature, the Mobile board is one of the few county Boards of Registrars in session now.

White-Poll Scheme Urged on Alabama

New York Herald Tribune

Would Set Up Democratic Party as Private Club

BIRMINGHAM, Ala., Jan. 25 (UP).—States Rights leader Horace Wilkinson urged Alabama legislators today to bar Negroes from the polls and place the responsibility for state government exclusively on reputable white people."

Mr. Wilkinson suggested a constitutional amendment to remove the primary election rules from the books and set up the Democratic party as aprivate club. He wrote to all legislators, urging the Legislature to seek a new barrier against the Negro at the polls after a Federal tribunal had ruled invalid the state's Boswell amendment.

The Boswell law required would-be voters to understand and interpret any section of the Constitution. The court held that it was discriminatory against Negroes because the test was not required of white applicants.

South Carolina Democrats previously tried to set up their party as a private club along the lines of Mr. Wilkinson's suggestion but United States District Judge J. Waties Waring ruled the plan illegal. Georgia also undertook similar legislation in 1947 but dropped it after the South Carolina ruling.

End To Boswell Ruling Brings Not Even Ripple

Birmingham News

Sun 1-11-49

Three Negroes Apply In Bessemer, None Here, Mobile Busy

Birmingham Ala.

The killing of the vote-restricting Boswell amendment apparently has not caused a ripple in Jefferson County.

The County Board of Registrars was in session in Bessemer yesterday and heard only three Negro applicants during the eight-hour session. Board members said that number was about average for a registration day in Bessemer.

At 10:30 today the board, in session at the Birmingham Courthouse, had not had a single Negro applicant.

* * *

OF THE THREE APPLICANTS heard in Bessemer yesterday one was registered to vote and two were turned down on technical grounds, a board member said.

Board Chairman J. G. Hosey said the board is still operating under the law as it did prior to the killing of the Boswell amendment by a three-judge Federal Court ruling in Mobile this week.

Hosey said that the board has received no official notification that the amendment has been declared unconstitutional.

Board Member H. A. (Gus) Thompson said the killing of the Boswell amendment will have little, if any affect on the conduct of registration in the county.

* * *

HE POINTED to Title 17, Section 33 of the Alabama Code of 1940 as giving the board discretion as to when an applicant is qualified to register.

The section referred to gives the board the right, apparently, to ask any questions they would deem necessary in order to fix the qualification of an applicant.

Hosey said he anticipated no influx of Negro applicants because of the Boswell amendment being declared unconstitutional.

MOBILE BOARD BUSY

MOBILE, Ala., Jan. 11—(AP)—Increasing numbers of Negroes were being registered as voters by the Mobile County

Where Do We Go From Here

Birmingham News

On Vote Issue; Registration Drive Planned; Opponents Eye New Strategy

Birmingham Ala

Sun 3-27-49

BY WALLING KEITH
News Staff Writer

A $64 question in Alabama today, all euphemism and legal phrases pulled aside, is: What will happen about Negro voting?

The Supreme Court of the United States has knocked down the Boswell amendment to the state constitution found to be aimed to keep Negroes from voting.

* * *

THE HIGHEST COURT in the land says Alabama cannot restrain Negroes from voting by the device of requiring voters to be able to "understand and explain" the Federal Constitution.

Hardly had ink dried on the Supreme Court decision before Negro leaders announced plans for a statewide campaign to register qualified voters.

But proponents of white supremacy in Alabama were just as quick to step forward with "new plans" to pass another law to restrain "mass Negro registration."

Both the pro-Negro voting move and the new white supremacy drive came from Mobile.

* * *

J. J. THOMAS, Mobile Negro leader, head of an organization which sponsored the test of the Boswell amendment, said a statewide campaign would get under way soon to register Negroes at the polls.

Gessner T. McCorvey, of Mobile, chairman of the State Democratic Executive Committee, announced that a new law would be introduced in the May session of the Legislature.

Ines. 3-27-49

McCorvey suggested that the new legislation be patterned after a Mississippi act requiring voters to give a "reasonable interpretation" of the state constitution.

Other white supremacy proponents were planning to call a quick strategy huddle, either in Montgomery or Birmingham, to decide on a course of action before the May legislative session.

All Alabamians, however, have not frowned on the Supreme Court decision knocking out the Boswell amendment.

* * *

GOV. JAMES E. FOLSOM who opposed the passage of the amendment, said he believed the Supreme Court "decided right."

Gov. Folsom also opposes Alabama's $1.50 cumulative poll tax which has been called a bar to Negro voting. The governor insists that the poll tax works a hardship on thousands of Alabamians, white people as well as Negroes.

Negro voters' registration has jumped in Mobile County in anticipation of the Supreme Court

n Jefferson County for elections in Je
rs—even including the many years—ev
e primaries. And for Democratic p ri
e have been several "Ne- years there have
cratic clubs" which have gro Democratic
istently under the "White voted consistent
" rooster symbolizing the Supremacy" roo
ocratic Party. state Democratic
Negroes have been voting in all

Boswell Amendment Invalidated

A three-man federal tribunal invalidated the two year-old Alabama's Boswell Amendment Friday, which it found to be in sharp conflict with the provisions of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the United States Constitution. Significant are the words in the ringing decision:

"The subject-matter of the Boswell Amendment," reads the decision, "is within State power, and its validity depends upon whether it squares with the 14th and 15th amendments. We think it does not." . . . The language of the amendment does not call for a simple, fair or reasonable understanding or explanation. It does not give any rule, guide or test as to the nature of the understanding or explanation that is required."

The decision was unanimous and forthright. Discrimination based upon race and color is unconstitutional, whether it exists in schools, in transportation and travel, or whether it is practiced at the ballot box. And day by day Negroes are beginning to come forward and insist that the provisions and guarantees of the United States Constitution be made to apply to them equally as much as they apply to white citizens of the United States. That is the meaning of first-class citizenship. Clearly, the Boswell amendment was a brazen scheme to limit and control the vote of Negroes in Alabama. It was conceived in sin and nurtured in iniquity. Its defeat removes a major cause of interracial ill will and misunderstanding in Alabama.

In Georgia, under the advocacy of Herman Talmadge and supported by his stalwarts, among whom is House Speaker Fred Hand, a similar scheme is being proposed. That scheme too, will go the way of the Boswell Amendment. So will all other schemes and tricks designed to circumvent the United States Supreme Court decision opening the primaries to all citizens, with regards to race, color, religion or national origin. And members of the Georgia Legislature would do well to think this through before they act, since they have an individual responsibility to promote harmony and good will among their constituents, white and black alike, and since Negroes, once they have succeeded in knocking down the last remaining barrier, will remember those who have shown a heart of decency and understanding and will not forget those who lacked the vision and courage to perform their simple civil obligations.

Crafty designs to trick the Negro voters out of the ballot failed to work in South Carolina. They didn't work in Alabama, and they won't work in Georgia.

U. S. Court Invalidates Boswell Law

Three-Judge Panel Says Amendment Is Intended To Bar Negro Voters

A three-judge federal court held unconstitutional Alabama's two-year old voter qualification law, the Boswell amendment.

The amendment required registrants for voting to be able to "understand and explain" the U. S. Constitution.

The court said it "clearly appears that this amendment was intended to be, and is being used for the purpose of discriminating against applicants for the franchise on the basis of race or color."

The defendant Mobile County Board of Registrars was permanently enjoined from enforcing the amendment "in determining the qualification of any citizen who applies for registration as an elector."

Supreme Court Appeal

In Montgomery Governor Folsom said that as chief executive of Alabama he is sworn to uphold the Constitution of the state. He said he probably would insist that the case be carried on to the U. S. Supreme Court in order to remove any doubt that might exist about the amendment's constitutionality.

But, Folsom added, "as just Jim Folsom I would be content to let the decision rest just where it is now." The governor actively opposed the adoption of the amendment.

Before he makes any announcement on what he will do, Folsom said, he will confer with Attorney General Albert A. Carmichael, who is now in Washington, D. C.

At Geneva, Rep. E. C. Boswell, author of the amendment, said he thought the ruling should be appealed, and that he planned an early conference with other defense attorneys on the matter.

State Solicitor Carl M. Booth, of Mobile, said: "I am certain there will be an appeal," but added he would have to confer with Boswell and Garrett before making an announcement.

Restores Old Law

Invalidation of the Boswell amendment restored Alabama's 48-year-old voting requirement that registrants own $300 worth of property and be able to read the U. S. Constitution.

Ten Mobile County Negroes who brought the suit contended the wide discretion which the amendment granted to the registrars infringed on their constitutional rights.

The court agreed, and commented in its opinion that the principal defect of the Boswell amendment was that it did not provide a "reasonable standard" by which applicants for registration could be tested on the constitution.

"If such a test or examination were provided to be administered to all prospective electors alike, then the boards of registrars would have definite guides to control their judgment in determining whether or not an applicant could 'understand and explain' the provisions of the Constitution," the opinion said.

The Mobile County Board of Registrars had contended it administered the law fairly to all applicants for registration without regard to race or color.

The court said that since the present board had been in office, more than 2,800 whites and only 104 Negroes had been registered. The estimated population of Mobile County was listed as 230,000, of which 64 per cent are white and 36 per cent Negro.

Reviewing the fight for adoption of the amendment in the 1946 general election, the court said:

'Democrats Lead Fight'

"The State Democratic executive committee spent its funds and led the fight to secure the adoption of the Boswell Amendment in its endeavor to make the Democratic Party in Alabama the 'white' man's party.'"

Committee Chairman Gessner T. McCorvey, of Mobile, one of the leaders in the fight for the amendment, declined to comment on the decision.

The court refused a petition for an award of $20,000 damages against members of the Mobile County board—J. Milton Schnell, Mrs. D. C. Randle and E. J. Gonzales.

Handing down the unanimous decision were Circuit Judge Leon McCord of the fifth circuit court of appeals and District Judges Clarence Mullins of Birmingham and John McDuffie of Mobile.

The Negro voters and Veterans Association of Mobile, which sponsored the successful court fight on the Boswell Amendment, called a mass meeting of all Mobile County Negroes for 2:30 p.m. Sunday.

Association President J. J. Thomas said the group would discuss the court ruling in the Boswell case "and other matters."

Thomas expressed appreciation "to our many white friends" throughout the state for contributions in financing the court fight.

'No Difference'

At the news conference where Folsom said as governor he probably would appeal the decision, he also stated he couldn't see where the ruling today would make any difference one way or another.

"I don't see any unusual developments," he declared.

He pointed out that "about 25,000 Negroes" are now registered in Alabama "and very few people realize it because there is no trouble."

Pointing to Montgomery County as an example, Folsom said the registrars in other counties should be like they are here because "they are registered here and you never hear of any trouble."

TUSKEGEE, ALA., Jan. 7.—(AP)—A federal court decision outlawing the Boswell Amendment may bring a flood of Negro voting applications in Macon County, where members of that race outnumber whites four to one.

A Negro spokesman, Charles G. Gomillion, predicted a "considerable" number of applicants show up at the next scheduled meeting of the board of registrars on Jan. 17.

Gomillion, dean of education at Tuskegee Institute, said 60 to 70 Negroes in all applied for registration when the board met last Monday for the first time in eight months. No new applications were accepted, however, because the registrars announced they were devoting all their time that day to a backlog of work left over from the previous meeting.

"I am sure there will be at least as many (Negroes) applying for registration at the next session of the board as there were at the last, possibly more," Gomillion commented.

He said "several" Negroes already had talked to him about prospects of starting a class in interpreting the constitution.

Court Decision On Boswell Act To Be Appealed

Author Will Carry Case To High Court As Vote Low Test

MOBILE, Ala., Jan. 17—(AP)—A decision to appeal the Federal Court ruling invalidating Alabama's voter qualification law, the Boswell amendment, was reached today in Montgomery.

Atty. Gen. A. A. Carmichael said the ruling would be appealed to the U. S. Supreme Court. E. C. Boswell of Geneva, author of the amendment, and the principal appeal attorney.

Carmichael said Gov. James E. Folsom's office had agreed to provide appeal costs.

Mrs. D. C. Randle, a member of the Mobile County Board of Registrars, said the board thought the case should be taken to the highest court "so that we can get a definite and final decision."

The amendment, requiring registrants for voting to be able to "understand and explain" the U. S. Constitution, was ruled unconstitutional here Jan. 7. The three-judge court said the amendment discriminated against Negroes.

Since the law was ruled out, 270 Negroes have been registered for voting in Mobile County. There was another long lineup at the board's office today.

Evils Of Boswell Amendment

To the Editor:

My sincere congratulations to The Birmingham News for your courage and perseverance in the defeat of the ill-conceived Boswell amendment. We need no further proof that The News is a great liberal newspaper serving the cause of American democracy under our constitutional system of government.

It is highly significant that The Birmingham News sees the ills of the Boswell amend-

ment and describes them without indulging in the usual political evasion, sometimes employed to escape the issues clearly implied. Let us all discard the "Mortimer Snerd" method of approach by which we insult the intelligence of an enlightened electorate and by which we never succeed except in grossly fooling ourselves.

Flouting the Federal Constitution is certainly no means by which we can advance the principles of liberal American democracy; neither will such a method ever succeed in securing for all the people a free and unfettered franchise. It is clear that the Boswell act sought to thwart the rights of individuals in open defiance of the constitution and in direct violation of the 14th and 15th amendments. The ill-fated Boswell act, while intended to set up a legal barrier against Negro voting, served as an impairment to the voting rights of all races and colors—lest we resort to the "Mortimer Snerd" method by which we half-heartedly contend that "Joe White" is qualified while "Tom Brown" failed. Brown was subjected to a "third degree" while White was permitted to pass without question.

Let us now strike a blow at the infamous poll tax which is a second cousin to the Boswell act, an evil provision standing in the path of our progress in realizing the unimpeded forward march of American democracy for all citizens. In attempting to establish a barrier to voting, for a certain class, we endanger the democratic rights of the majority. I appeal to the great conscience of Alabama. I appeal to all her citizens to stand up and be counted in all matters where our democratic principles are in jeopardy. Let us remove the smear of justified criticism coming from our great sister states. Let us prove to the world that Alabama is a great liberal state ready to march forward to the call of humanity. I congratulate The News for your forward approach to the evils of the act.

KYZER STEWART.

Talladega, Ala.

A Net Loss

The Boswell Amendment is now legal junk—a net loss. It was unnecessary and unworthy of the dominant white element of Alabama in the first place. It has inflamed and enlarged the very condition it sought to arrest and diminish.

The amendment was fashioned and sold to the state by a generally sincere but outmoded political leadership that lacked the flexibility to adjust to new conditions.

This same gentry is already announcing itself ready to throw up a new Boswell Amendment barrier to be called by some other name. This is no more than guerrilla warfare. It affords the satisfactions of defiance, but promises no solution of the problem.

The history of the Boswell Amendment, we believe, makes this clear. The specter of "mass Negro voting" was raised. There was no sign whatever of widespread efforts by Negroes to qualify for voting; now as then, Negroes appeared relatively indifferent to voting, which is not surprising when it is considered that campaigns are waged to prod and propel white voters to go to the polls.

Nevertheless, to prevent an anticipated "flood of Negro registrants," the Boswell Amendment was offered as a device by which Negroes could be denied registration.

The previous law was that to qualify, a citizen must have $300 worth of property and be able to "read and write" the constitution. This was an adequate dike, but something more was desired.

The Boswell Amendment provided that in addition to this requirement, an applicant must be able also to "understand" the constitution. Since the Constitution of the United States is perhaps the most debated document in the world, and since members of the Supreme Court chronically disagree on its meaning—even a legal scholar might be easily disqualified for voting for failure to "understand" the constitution.

It depends on who is giving the test for understanding. Thus, the county boards of registrars in 67 counties might easily have 67 different tests and disqualify anyone they chose.

It was an unreasonable requirement, and for that reason it was declared unconstitutional. It was designed—as its sponsors said with clarity and repetition—as a legal device for disqualifying Negro voters who could meet the tests as well as white applicants.

Such a left-handed practice is unworthy of the dominant white element.

Practically, we took the view that the Boswell Amendment changed nothing. Regardless of laws, the 67 county boards of registrars act in response to local opinion.

Therefore, the adoption of the Boswell Amendment was one thing—a declaration of policy and intent to repress voting by Negro citizens. That declaration of policy and intent only quickened the interest of Negroes in voting and bristled public opinion in other regions.

There are about 700,000 qualified Negro voters in the South. In the last election 35,000 Negroes voted in South Carolina. Possibly as many Negroes vote in Savannah, Ga., as vote in the State of Alabama.

There is growing pressure from the Supreme Court, congress and national public opinion to insure voting privileges to qualified citizens. An unyielding attitude, such as that expressed by the Boswell Amendment, only beckons to a disastrous battering against the walls.

What is clearly needed is a set of high requirements for voters—and liberal qualification for those who can meet them.

The Unlamented Boswell Amendment

(From The Brewton Standard)

The inevitable occurred in Mobile this week when a Federal Court held that Alabama's Boswell law was unconstitutional. The law was designed and put into effect chiefly as a means to prevent Negroes from voting in this state.

It is worthy of note that the Federal Court met in Mobile. The judges of that court are Alabamians all, men who have lent dignity and prestige to federal benches in this state. The three-judge court was made up of Circuit Judge Leon McCord of the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals, District Judge Clarence Mullins of Birmingham and District Judge John McDuffie of Mobile.

The judges specifically stated that two Negroes "were refused registration as electors because of their race or color."

In addition, the decision said, "The language (of the amendment) does not call for a simple, fair or reasonable understanding or explanation. It does not give any rule, guide or test as to the nature of the understanding or explanation that is required.

"It thus clearly appears that this amendment was intended to be, and is being used for the purpose of discriminating against applicants for the franchise on the basis of race or color."

Those are the words of Alabama judges speaking from a court held in one of the state's oldest cities. They clearly indicate the chief flaw in the Boswell amendment, the flaw that caused this paper to contend so bitterly against it.

In the face of this decision, the chief proponets of the law are strangely silent. There is some talk of an appeal to the United States Supreme Court, but at best such action would be only a futile, rear-guard action designed to achieve nothing but delay. Of course, those who favored the law once argued: "What if it is ruled unconstitutional? We will have kept the voting laws tight for a while until we can think up another law."

The War Between the States has left a terrible impression on some segments of the South. It is still considered to be more heroic and honorable to stage a successful retreat than to find a way to win.

The court in Mobile laid its finger squarely on the obvious defect in this law. Since the Boswell amendment is now on the way out, Alabama has an excellent opportunity to put on its books a law that includes the very things the Boswell act lacked.

Alabama needs a fair, equitable test for every person who wishes to qualify as a voter. There is no reason why every voter should not be required to read and write, and have certain basic knowledge of the government under which he lives. The law should be set up so that it would and could be administered on the same basis in Mobile and Lauderdale Counties, and from Lee County to Sumter County.

The Boswell law joins the ranks of some other late, unlamented pieces of legal work that were designed to be used for extra-legal purposes. The white voter in Alabama needs an honest voter registration law just as badly as the Negro does. With the Legislature coming into session soon, the state has an opportunity to do something about this problem.

Negro Registrations Show Gain In Mobile

MOBILE, ALA., Jan. 19—(AP)—An upsurge of Negro registration since Alabama's Boswell amendment was ruled invalid has sent Mobile county's list of registered Negro voters to about 1,300.

The Mobile County Board of Registrars reported that approximately 400 Negroes had registered here since Jan. 7, when a three-judge federal court here held the amendment unconstitutional.

Only 104 Negroes were registered here in the 14 months preceding invalidation of the Boswell amendment.

Negro Registrations Unchanged By Ruling

The Boswell court ruling has not caused any increase in Negro applications for voting privileges here, according to Mrs. Frank Nunnelee, a member of the Montgomery Board of Registrars.

Mrs. Nunnelee said that registration has been about the same for both races since the court declared the Boswell Amendment to be unconstitutional.

The Montgomery Board of Registrars has been meeting every day except Sunday this month.

State Treasurer Labels Measure As "Iniquitous"

Daily World Atlanta, Ga.

The state administration Friday was reeling under the impact of stiff blows over the controversial voters re-registration law, the Milledgeville hospital crisis, taxation and the failure of the proposed minimum foundation law.

Sat. 6-11-49

State Treasurer George B. Hamilton leveled a new attack against the voters re-registration law, enacted by the Talmadge-dominated Legislature in charging that the measure will disfranchise more white people and result in the registration of more Negroes than ever before.

The administration suffered a major setback when State Welfare Director Jack M. Forrester and Deputy Director Thomas A. Dechman resigned after 13 doctors walked out at the Milledgeville State Hospital. The doctors were back Friday following the resignations.

Roy Harris, who in recent weeks has been reported at odds with Talmadge over the proposed Minimum Foundation Law, failed to breach the gulf in demanding the firing of Forrester and Dechman, who until their resignation, had "firm backing" from the governor. Harris has reportedly been in the thick of criticism involving the State Board of Education. 6-11-49

COOK CRITICAL

Atty. Gen. Eugene Cook has been critical of new proposals for increased taxation and has repeatedly attacked the Administration for not advocating new tax laws.

Hamilton's address before the Albany Kiwanis Club was one of the most effective indictments of the vote scheme pushed by Talmadge as a means of halting "bloc voting." Hamilton labeled the new law as "the most iniquitous, foolish, asinine legislation in the history of the state."

Hamilton's attack on the re-registration law was the latest verbal challenge to the constitutionality of the measure. The Georgia Supreme Court will receive in a few days an appeal from a Superior Court decision in Augusta, Ga. in which registrars won a decision over the Chatham County treasurer who had denied them pay. Refusal of payment was based on "doubt of the constitutionality" of the law. A similar case is awaiting hearing in Brunswick.

The vote law has been challenged in Atlanta by Rep. Muggsy Smith and former State Senator Everett Millican. Atty. Gen. Cook has refused to comment on the law in the belief that he will have to defend it.

A NAACP spokesman in Atlanta said the act passed by the General Assembly was "being studied" and no action was planned until it is put into effect in most of the counties.

Atty. Gen. Cook in a flashback to the failure of the Minimum Foundation Law continued his fight for more revenue. He said the Administration could obtain upward from $12,000,000 to $20,000,000 through tax revision. Talmadge has pledged that no new taxes would be adopted without the consent of the people. 6-11-49

The resignation of Forrester and Dechman was viewed as a "face-saving gesture" for Talmadge. The two men in bowing out eased the pressure from the Administration over the doctors' resignation. Talmadge accepted the resignations.

Several counties in the state have assailed the new registration law as "unworkable and too expensive." In Brunswick, Ga., Talmadge saw one of the strongest features of the new vote law virtually voided when "the Courthouse registration at the office of the tax collector" was interpreted by a judge as meaning any site selected by his (the collector's) office. The tax collector has only "to designate any building or structure" as an "extension" of his office and would be within the framework of the new law. Talmadge-supporters had believed Negroes would not seek to register at county courthouses.

Reregistration Begins At Slow Pace In Fulton

Daily World Atlanta, Ga.

What was expected to be a huge task of re-registration turned out to be virtually a holiday from work for Fulton County registrars as voters re-registration under the new law got underway Tuesday morning.

Chief Deputy Registrar Howard Mashburn said only 50 persons had registered at noon time. He commented that the re-registration required by the voters qualification act passed by the last session of the Georgia General Assembly "is a slow go."

Wed. 6-29-49

The chief deputy explained that the registration process takes up an average of five minutes a voter. He said that new registrants (persons who have not registered to vote before) must go through the registration procedure at the registration office, located at 165 Central Avenue, S. W., next door to the county juvenile court. 7-6-49

The registration gets underway at 8:30 a. m. Monday through Friday and will close at 5 p. m., and at noon on Saturday.

Deadline for registration in order to vote in the 1950 general election is May 1, 1950. 7-6-49

Reregistration To Cost Bibb $5,000, Official Predicts

Atlanta Daily World Atlanta, Ga. 4-19-49

MACON, Ga.—(SNS)— According to Charles M. Cork, chairman of the Board of Registrars of Bibb Country, Robert Epps failed to pass the voters' qualification test and was disqualified as 20 signed up in a test run here, Thursday.

The re-registration of Bibb Co. voters is now underway and a County official estimates that it will cost at least $5,000 in the first case alone.

A bill passed by the General Assembly killed the permanent list of some 1,200,000 voters, requiring registration of all voters under new qualifications. 4-19-49

The new law, sponsored by the Talmadge administration was designed to prevent "so-called bloc voting." It provides that the voters read and write a section of the State and United States Constitution or answer correctly 10 of 30 questions.

According to Chairman Cork, Mr. Epps could not write legibly and was sent to the registrars for a test on the 30 questions set up in the new law. Ten correct answers were required to pass and he was able to answer correctly only eight.

Registration Bogged Down In Bibb County

Daily World, Atlanta, Ga.

By Marion E. Jackson

MACON, Ga.—(SNS)— Georgia's new voters re-registration law which is the fulfillment of a campaign promise made by Gov. Herman Talmadge "to stop bloc voting" is in the third month of operation here in Bibb County and only 3,534 Negroes have qualified under it. A total of 10,694 Negroes were qualified under the old law.

Bibb County is one of the first counties to put into effect a law passed by the 1949 Georgia General Assembly and signed into law by Gov. Talmadge on February 25, 1947. Wed. 6-29-49

Bibb County Tax Commissioner Dan D. Dunwoody put the law into operation April 15, 1949. At that time 32,694 persons were registered in Bibb County. Today, the total is 17,395. Of this number 13,861 are whites with the remaining 3,534 Negroes. Wed. 6-29-49

Members of the Board of Registrars are Cecil Whittaker, Luther Bloodworth and Charles Cork.

SEE UNCONSTITUTIONALITY

Registration officials say that under the law which requires prospective voters to read or write a section of the U. S. Constitution or answer a set of questions which were set forth in the Registration Act. Only a small number of voters are availing themselves of the opportunity to do so. Many believe the new law is unconstitutional.

The apathy of Negro voters in qualifying means that many will be dropped from the voting lists. The new law requires all persons to be struck from the books and unless they qualify and register again they will be ineligible to vote in the next general elections.

A whole lot of education on the requirements of the new law will be needed here in Bibb County. Section four of the re-registration law states that the registration provided for in this act shall be permanent, but electors shall be required to maintain their status as qualified voters by exercise of the franchise at least once in every two years as provided. If a voter fails to vote in two years, his name is struck off the list.

Macon's civic and political leaders launched an impressive drive when the books opened for qualifying under the new re-registration law. Yet in recent weeks registration officials say not a dozen Negroes have been in to register. They insist that of the 240 persons sent notices under the new Registration Act only 14 failed to answer the questions. Wed. 6-29-49

POWER BALANCE LOST

Yet the small number of Negroes qualifying under the new law means that the balance of power in city and county elections will be lost in future elections.

It is significant that the official tabulation of votes cast in city elections held here last Thursday Negroes evinced a greater interest than whites. Kenmore Burns, Sr., chairman of the Democratic Executive Committee revealed that 8,064 white persons voted and 2,666 Negroes. Of the registered white persons one-fourth voted and of the registered Negro vote fifty per cent cast ballots.

If Macon's Negro political leadership could get sufficient Negroes aroused to register and qualify under the Talmadge-sponsored re-registration law some concessions could be wrangled from elected officials in regards to parks, schools, community centers, libraries, etc.

While the picture, isn't too bright here in smaller counties surrounding Bibb County it is worse. Vote intimidation and admitted intent to disfranchise Negro voters possibly will see a token registration in the large cities and even worse or none in the small counties.

One thing is admitted by Negro politicos and that is classes in answering questions which the new law requires of illiterates have bogged down. A new theme of registering Negroes must be developed.

Voter Bill

Editor Constitution: The bill which proposes a second [illegible] requirement in Georgia for voting aimed mainly at Negroes. There are some well-trained Negroes in [illegible] whites who would [illegible] meet an honest educational test. There are some major would condemn the block voting that the Negro has done. More over, such a person would condemn the entire South which has voted in a block since the Civil War. The bill proposes to rectify block voting. The Negro has voted in a block because he had no other alternative. His block voting has been [illegible] against candidates who were prejudiced against process of education for both whites and Negroes. Any intelligent, Christian political science in political democracy to stop the South from voting but not all voting in a block.

What we need is not an educational requirement to stop block voting among Negroes but a

WILLIAM HOLMES BORDERS,
Pastor of Wheat Street Baptist Church.
Atlanta.

Mon. 7-11-49

Remember 1945?

Citizens Proudly Vote In Primary

Atlanta Ga. Daily World

BY WILLIAM A. FOWLKES

Remember the city primary Wednesday, September 5, 1945? The situation was quite different on Wednesday, September 7, 1949! Thurs. 9-8-49 34E (2) Ga.

On that election date four years ago, hundreds of Negroes were turned back at the polls, being told that they could not vote "because it is a white primary" and "for white people only."

I remember it full well because, in company with others set on testing the local authorities for their attitude and "orders" on Negroes voting in the city election, I was turned back at my polling place, the J. C. Harris school on Lucille Avenue.

CHANGED ATTITUDES

This time we were greeted with cordiality and interest. Over 22,000 Negroes were registered and eligible to vote, as they should have been long ago, for their choice of city rulers — the mayor and members of general council. This time there was no one to tell them that they could not vote for those who handle their taxes, make their laws, service them in health and sanitation, provide opportunity following one of the hottest elections in the city's history, one which took on heat in the stretch of the campaign. A record vote was cast, although in some respects the vote was light as compared to the total vote.

The aged and infirm as well as the young and sprightly were in the lines. The principal Negro vote was at E. R. Carter School, polling place of Ward 3, precinct B, at Walker Street School, polling place of Ward 3, precinct A, and the David T. Howard School, headquarters for Ward 5, precinct H. However, there were heavy race tallies in several other localities, including the Lee Street, Forrest and Harris Schools, located in white neighborhoods, but into which a considerable Negro population is gerrymandered.

VOTERS GRATIFIED

There were smiles of gratification and civic pride as the votes were cast in the tantamount election for the first time in modern history of Atlanta. There were those who recalled other days when the vote was withheld, solely because of race and color. There were those who envisioned a more progressive city, since virtually every candidate, including those who had no opposition, had attended the campaign rallies held in every section of the city and had promised to respect the aspirations and satisfy the needs of the citizens in return for vote-support. There had been considerable competition and mud-slinging of the old political type.

The September 7 vote was not entirely a gift from fate. It took tremendous work, time and money to secure a victory and the privilege to be met with cordiality and consideration at the polls, rather than with a scoffing reminder that the primary belonged "only" to others.

When on September 5, 1945, the ballot was refused city dwellers, there had been litigation over the matter of the supply of names of Negroes to Democratic poll managers.

The Convention closed with a very impressive communion service conducted by President Long and eight [illegible] men.

Talmadge, George Lean to Re-election, Others May Reveal Plans After January

Constitution Jun. 10-30-49

By CHARLES BARRETT
Associated Press Staff Writer

Governor Talmadge and U. S. Senator George were reported yesterday to be leaning toward re-election drives next year to try to keep their present jobs.

A flurry of off-season political maneuvering and speculation has followed the line that the veteran George might retire and Talmadge would seek a Senate seat.

Close frends and advisers of the Governor say Talmadge has been coying for some time with the idea of running for the Senate, even at the point of battling George if the present Senator sticks in the race. Atlanta

Now, these same sources say, Talmadge has shifted his thinking somewhat and is looking more to re-election as Governor. But he hasn't definitely decided.

George, who will be 72 in January, has said several times he will run again for the Senate, where he has served since 1922, if his health permits and the people of Georgia want him.

He expects to make a definite announcement in a few weeks. Most politicians and friends who have called at his Vienna home since George's return from Washington have pictured him in good health.

If George and Talmadge seek re-election, the biggest question for many observers is the role of former Gov. Ellis Arnall next year.

Arnall has hinted he might oppose Talmadge for Governor. There is even some talk that Arnall might be a liberal-labor candidate for the Senate. Labor is out after George.

But Arnall, after starting speculation he would run for Governor, has given little further indication of his plans. Some sources say the tipoff may come if Arnall resigns as President of Independent Motion Picture Producers.

This would give him more freedom for political fence-building in Georgia.

If Talmadge doesn't run for Governor, State Auditor B. E. Thrasher looms as a potential non-factional candidate for the State office. The idea being talked is that Arnall, Talmadge and other factional leaders woud agree not to oppose Thrasher.

Thrasher insists he will never run if he has to become embroiled in Georgia's long-standing feud between Talmadge and anti-Talmadge forces. He has many friends on both sides.

Observers busy with back-stage talk looking to next year say big issues in the race for Governor will be taxation, schools, reregistration, a proposed amendment to extend the county unit system to general elections, the State liquor probe, and various highway reorganization plans.

They expect the political picture to remain clouded with a lot of "ifs," especially until after the Legislature tackles most of these problems in January.

Also reportedly looking for a chance to run for Governor are former Gov. M. E. Thompson, Augusta political leader Roy Harris, Atty. Gen. Eugene Cook, State Treasurer George Hamilton and Lt. Gov. Marvin Griffin.

Ten Must be Correct
VOTE QUESTIONS FOR ILLITERATES

As a public service we publish below the thirty questions that are contained in the new voters' qualification and reregistration law passed by the 1949 Georgia legislature and signed by Governor Herman Talmadge in an effort to stop what he called "bloc voting by Negroes."

Persons who are able to read or write are not supposed to be asked these questions. The questions are to be asked to those persons who CANNOT read or write. Correct answers to 10 of the 30 questions would entitle an applicant to be registered and qualified to vote.

The right to vote is important to every citizen and especially Negroes who suffer special citizenship limitations because of race and color.

It is suggested that teachers, professional groups, civic and business leaders of each community set up citizenship schools to aid the registration of persons eligible to get registered vote.

Below are all thirty questions and answers for Fulton Countians.

1. Who is President of the United States? HARRY S. TRUMAN.
2. What is the term of office of the President of the United States? FOUR YEARS.
3. May the President of the United States be legally elected for a second term? YES
4. If the President of the United States, dies in office who succeeds him? THE VICE- PRESIDENT
5. How Many Groups compose the Congress of the United States? TWO-THE SENATE AND HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.
6. How Mnay United States Senators are there from Georgia? TWO.
7. What is the term of office of a United States senator? SIX YEARS.
8. Who are the United States senators from Georgia? WALTER F. GEORGE AND RICHARD B. RUSSELL.
9. Who is the governor of Georgia. HERMAN TALMADGE.
11. Who is the chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Ga? HENRY DUCKWORTH.
10. Who is the lieutenant Governor of Ga? MARVIN GRIFFIN.
12. Who is the chief judge of the Court of Appeals of Ga? I.H. SUTTON.
13. Into what two groups is the General Assembly of Georgia Divided? SENATE AND HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.
14. Does each Georgia county have at least one representative in the Georgia House of Representative? YES
15. Do all Georgia counties have the same number of representatives in the Georgia House of Representatives? NO.
16. In what City are the laws of the United States made? WASHINGTON? D.C.
17. How old do you have to be to vote in Ga? EIGHTEEN YEARS OLD.
18. What City is the capital of the United States? WASHINGTON, D.C.
19. How many statea are there in the U.S? 48
20. Who is the commander in chief of the United States? THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.
21. In what Congressional District do you live? 5th.
22. Who represents your Congressional District in the National House of Representatives? JAMES C. DAVIS.
23. In what State Senatorial District do you live? 52nd.
24. Who is the State Senator that represents your Senatorial District? ROY LECRAW.
26. Who Represents your County in the House of Representatives of Georgia. If there are more than one representative, name them? JESSE WALTON? M.M. SMITH, LUTHER ALVERSON.
27. What is the name of the county seat of your county? ATLANTA.
28. Who is the Ordinary of your County? EUGENE GUNBY.
29. Who is the Judge of the Superior Court of your circuit? If there are more than one, name one additional judge? FRANK HOOPER, E.E. POMEROY, VIRLYN B. MOORE, RALPH PHARR, WALTER C. HENDRIX, BOND ALMAND, E.E. Andrews.
30. Who is the Solicitor General of your Circuit? PAUL WEBB.

Daily World
Thurs. 7-7- 49
Atlanta, Ga.

70,000 QUALIFY, 10,500 OF THEM NEGROES

Less Than 15 Pct. of Ga. Voters Re-Register, With 9 Months to Go

Constitution Thurs. 8-4-49 Atlanta, Ga.

MACON — (AP) — The Macon News said yesterday a survey showed that less than 15 percent of Georgia's 1,200,000 voters had qualified again under the new re-registration law.

With only nine months remaining in which to qualify voters for the 1950 general election, the News said not more than one-third of the State's 159 counties had even started the re-registration task.

The News noted, too, that the law was failing to reduce the percentage of Negroes on the qualified list.

The News said it had information that 33 counties had begun re-registration and that officials in 65 other counties had replied to questions.

These replies indicated, said the News, that about 70,000 persons have re-registered, including 10,500 Negroes.

With Negroes making up about 15 percent of the total re-registration, the News noted that only 13½ percent of the voters on the old list were Negroes.

The News said there was no evidence of discrimination against Negroes in the replies from the 30 counties. So far in these counties, the newspaper continued, 263 persons have been disqualified for all reasons—171 Negroes and 92 whites.

Georgia's re-registration law was adopted by the 1949 regular session of the General Assembly. It requires that all applicants be able to read or write portions of the State or Federal Constitution legibly or intelligently in the opinion of registrars.

Should an applicant fail this test, he must be able to answer 10 of 30 questions dealing with Federal and State Government.

State Supreme Court Hears Richmond Case

Daily World Atlanta, Ga. 7-14-49

Constitutionality Of Vote Law Comes Up For First Test

Georgia's new re-registration law deprives all of the state's 1,200,000 voters of the right to vote without due process of law.

That's the opinion of Attorney Frank H. Pierce, of Richmond County. Pierce's attack on the constitutionality of the vote law came in an appeal case before the Georgia Supreme Court Wednesday. He represented David F. Franklin, chairman of the Richmond County Board of Roads and Revenues. The case came up when Franklin refused to pay voter registrars of Richmond on grounds that the re-registration law is unconstitutional.

Pierce charged that the re-registration law violates both the federal and state constitutions by taking away a property right without a due process of law. He said that the right to vote is a property right and anybody who had already qualified as a voter under either the 1877 or 1945 state constitution cannot have that right taken from him by a legislative act.

CITES POSSIBILITIES

7-14-49

Said Attorney Pierce: "If this re-registration law is upheld and the legislature is permitted to put other and different requirements into the constitutional requirements for voting, then we may have to reregister in Georgia every year. The time might even come when only redhaired women and one-legged men would be qualified voters in this state."

William Congdon, another Augusta attorney, challenged Pierce's right to raise the question of constitutionality and defended the law, which the Talmadge administration pushed as a means of stopping "Negro bloc voting."

Congdon contended that Chairman Franklin had set himself up as a final arbiter on the legality of the re-registration law and had no right to raise a constitutional question, since he had not suffered any harm from the law.

The attorneys were given five days in which to file supplemental briefs.

MAYS

Georgia's New Vote Law Is Solely to Disfranchise Race

BY BENJAMIN E. MAYS

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier. — The Editors.)

I THINK certain elements in Georgia love and enjoy unfavorable publicity. It is first one thing then another. It is a Ku Klux Klan parade, a lynching, or the passing of a new registration law for the obvious purpose of taking the ballot away from Negroes. In 1946, the Federal Court gave the Negroes of Georgia the ballot by declaring the white primary unconstitutional. Certain Georgia politicians boasted at the time that they would seek other means to keep the Georgia Negro from voting.

Dr. Mays

When South Carolina passed a law making the Democratic party a "private club" in an attempt to bar South Carolina Negroes from voting, some of the democrats in Georgia said that they would follow South Carolina. But before the Georgia Legislature could follow South Carolina, the Federal Court had declared the "private club" party unconstitutional. Georgia then turned to Alabama where the Boswell Amendment had become law.

It was an educational test designed for the sole purpose of either barring Negroes in Alabama from the Democratic primaries altogether or of reducing the Negro voters to a negligible number. Before the Georgia Legislature could act, the Federal Court had declared the Boswell Amendment unconstitutional. But despite this fact, the Georgia Legislature has passed a law whereby voters must meet an educational test based on Federal and State Governments.

* * *

THE NEW GEORGIA law scrags the old registration list of approxmiately 1,200,000 voters. Of this number about 150,000 are Negroes. Everybody must register in order to be qualified to vote. Those who cannot read and write must be able to answer correctly ten out of thirty questions having to do with the State and Federal Governments.

According to the Atlanta Constitution, Talmadge forces say this is to prevent bloc voting by Negroes. Those who can read and write must be able to write an interpretation of any section of the Constitution that the examiners may see fit to ask. Every four years the voters must renew their registration. Regardless of what they say to the contrary, this is tantamount to re-registration every four years.

The first bill passed by the Georgia House contained fifty questions which were so complicated that some State representatives, State senators, and Georgia lawyers flunked the examination. The Senate then set about to make it easy so there would be at least a few people eligible to vote in Georgia. Let us now predict the outcome of this new law and discuss the motive behind it.

* * *

MY PREDICTION IS that the new Georgia law will reduce the voters' list by half. If there are 600,000 voters on the new list by the time the next governor is elected, it will surprise me. Voting is at a low ebb in Georgia and the South. This is an obstacle placed in the way of the voters; so, many of them will not re-register.

The motive behind the new law is clear. Though nowhere expressed in the bill, it is aimed at the Negro. Its objective is to reduce the Negro vote to such a negligible number that the Negro strength in any election will be impotent. The Negro will catch it at top points. There are more illiterate Negroes in Georgia per hundred thousand than there are whites.

This has to be so because of slavery, poverty, and the poor educational opportunities for Negroes in comparison with those for the whites. So the percentage of Negroes who will be disqualified will be much higher. The second point is obvious. The examiners will hardly be fair. They will probably be Talmadge men and I believe every effort will be used to qualify the whites and to disqualify the Negroes.

* * *

IF THEY INTENDED to be absolutely fair in the re-registration, there would be no need of re-registration. Its sole object is to get around the decisions of the Federal Courts which say that Negroes in Georgia have a right to vote. Negro haters in Georgia have said since 1946, that they would find a way to take the ballot from Negroes.

One Negro hater declared that if one device failed to disfranchise the Negro others would be designed. This new law was born in sin and conceived in iniquity.

It is wicked to strike at the Negro this way. The Negro is no threat even now. For every one qualified Negro voter in Georgia, there are eight or nine qualified white voters. It is for reasons like these that I must believe in sin and evil.

* * *

WHEN MEN DELIBERATELY plan ways and means to circumvent the highest law of the land; when they methodically design ways and means to defeat the proper functioning of democracy; and when they devise ways and means to further retard the progress of a weak and helpless people, there is no word in the English language to explain it except the word sin.

But they will not succeed. The law will not be administered justly and this means that the whole thing will be tested in the United States Supreme Court.

Senate Body Okays Bill Despite Attacks

Yelling Women Cause Hearing To Adjourn In Uproar

BY WILLIAM A. FOWLKES.
World Managing Editor.

The Georgia Senate state of republic committee Wednesday unanimously voted to pass the Talmadge administration's voters qualification law, already given favorable House action.

The action, which automatically sends the measure to the Senate floor, came following a public hearing in the Supreme Court chambers of the State Capitol. The hearing ended in an uproar when two white women interrupted a speaker, shouting "Talmadge and the Ku Klux Klan have got us" and "my heart is broken." The intermingling cries of "Poor Negroes" and the "Klan's got us" led to a quick adjournment of the hearing, which thus far had proceeded with a degree of orderliness.

Senator Howard Overby, chairman of the committee, had allowed William Stafford, secretary of the People's Progressive Party, time to speak against the measure, although the period for those opposing the bill had been consumed earlier. The women's cries broke out shortly after Stafford had begun denouncing the proposed measure, pointing out that white people as well as Negroes were being disfranchised. Their shouts continued until Senator Overby and the committee adjourned. Senator Jim Dykes made the motion for adjournment and other committee members agreed after a page was seen to deliver a message from a rear door.

ELOQUENT OPPOSITION.

The 30 minutes allotted opponents of the proposed Talmadge administration measure were eloquently used by four Negro leaders, the Georgia League of Women Voters and a white Gainesville minister.

Attorney A. T. Walden, representing the Georgia Association of Citizens Democratic Clubs, the Georgia Teachers and Education Association and the Georgia Conference of NAACP branches, pointed out:

"Negroes oppose this bill on higher grounds than its unconstitutionality. They oppose it because of the motivations back of its advocacy. Every honest person will admit that the primary object, purport and intent of its sponsors is the total emasculation of the political rights of the Negroes of Georgia who constitute one-third of its citizenry."

Stating that the world was watching America for the workableness of alleged democracy, Walden said: "The million loyal Negro citizens of Georgia deplore the fact their state seems determined to disfranchise them, the admitted objective of the new Voters Qualification Law —— Negroes of Georgia feel that since they have given their best, including their lives, for their state and country in peace and war, it is morally indefensible for their state to reward them by denying them the most fundamental right of citizenship — the ballot, and that, too, in defiance of the letter and spirit of the fundamental law of the land .... The legislature of Georgia may pass this bill because it has the power, but not the moral right, to do so. In doing so it will bruise hearts and chill the spirits of the Negroes of Georgia....."

BORDERS HITS STEP.

The Rev. William Holmes Borders, pastor of Wheat Street Baptist Church and chairman of the Georgia Citizens Defense Committee, while representing Baptists and Methodists of the state, traced the development of freedom and liberty in America and deplored the move in Georgia to take a backward step. Asked the brilliant minister:

"Shall Georgia, because of prejudice, go backward in this fight for freedom? Will Georgia, an original of the thirteen signers of the Constitution, violate her first love and retard the democratic ideal? Will Georgia weaken our beloved America in our fight to teach the world the democratic way, stab God's heart and wreck our political life? Shall Georgia, in the face of the Primus E. King Case and the failure of the Boswell Act, turn the clock of political freedom back 830 years? Shall Georgia prove to the dark races comprising two-thirds of the world's population that she does not believe in democracy? God forbid that Georgia, the Empire State of the South, should attempt to destroy freedom guaranteed by democracy by the Constitution, by decency, by the moral order of the universe and by God!"

SCOTT BLASTS SPIRIT.

C. A. Scott, editor and general manager o fthe Atlanta Daily World, pointed out his opposition to the proposed reregistration bill on the grounds that "the announced intent and purpose ... is undemocratic in spirit," that the measure is mainly directed at Negro citizens solely on the basis of race and color; "that county registrars would be given discretionary and arbitrary powers" which federal courts have ruled is unconstitutional; that there is no need for a reregistration bill because voters' rolls recently have been purged and the present law makes provision for automatic purging of the lists, making reregistration an unnecessary waste of taxpayers' money; and finally that "this bill, if passed, will practically leave the Negro citizens of this state politically defenseless."

Mr. Scott pointed out in conclusion that "in view of the unstable world situation, with democracy being challenged by other ideologies, it is most essential that democracy be strengthened and not weakened. Democracy must become more workable and more inclusive here in the United States if our nation's position of leadership in world affairs is to be strengthened.

RECOGNITIONED ASKED.

J. W. Dobbs, president of the Georgia Civic-Political League and grandmaster of Prince Hall Masons in Georgia, appealed to the committee to recognize "the one million Negroes who reside in the state of Georgia and against whose right to vote this bill is principally aimed." Pointing out that the Negro qualified voters did not threaten or imperil the political rule or control of white people and that there were no such motives or intentions, Mr. Dobbs asserted:

"The Negro in Georgia is poor. owning about 3 per cent of the state's wealth. Nevertheless, the Negro, in Georgia is a citizen and cannot afford to surrender his right to vote. The ballot is his only buckle of defense. Without the use of it, he is less than a citizen. This fundamental right to vote must be protected. The test of the majority group's right to rule should be its willingness to protect the rights of the minority group over whom they have the controlling power. Gentlemen only so long as you do that which is just and right will the Almighty God allow you to continue in power and prosper in the ways of peace and prosperity."

The opposition statements were opened by Miss Johnnie Hilburn, of Augusta, representing the League of Women Voters. Miss Hilburn's statement pointed out that there are sufficient laws on the statute books to keep voters' lists up to date and that only enforcement was needed. One of the main opposition statements pointed out that greatest safeguard."

CLAIMS BILL NEEDED.

Principal proponent for the Talmadge voters' bill heard at the session was J. M. Wallace, white, well known for his leading fight against

Negro housing area expansion on the Westside. Wallace claimed he acted as a voting precinct official and was approached by many Negroes who did not have the intelligence to vote and who brought selected slates to the polling place. In a rambling harange, Wallace defended white supremacy and claimed that white people did not hate Negro people, as he said some speakers had inferred. Wallace said that bill was needed to stop bloc voting by Negroes and slandered several Negro leaders in attempting to make points to the gathering.

The Rev. Warren Robert, white of Gainesville, also spoke in opposition to the pending measure.

The heckling by the two white women started while Wallace was delivering his talk for the Talmadge bill. Chairman Overby restored order at this time, but was unable to do so when their shouts that "Talmadge and the Ku Klux Klan have got us" interrupted the presentation of Progressive Party Secretary Stafford, white. Thun 2-3-49

The women, identified as Misses Leah Young and Annie Mae Leathers, told reporters they were textile workers. The Textile Workers Union of America, CIO, said, however, they had no connection with the union. Giving a Rawson Street address as their home, the women said they were members of the Progressive Party.

First indication that the public hearing would not be "open to every one who wants to speak" came Wednesday morning when those who had applied for permission to appear were informed that they must have their statements in writing and that they must be limited. Consolidation of representations followed.

Airtight Vote Ban Asked By Talmadge

Atlanta Daily World

Before a joint session of the Georgia Legislature Tuesday Gov. Herman Talmadge, among other things, called for a stringent voter's qualification law that "would withstand attack in any court."

Atlanta Georgia

Basing his advocacy on the "hazard of bloc voting," the governor adroitly bypassed specific references to the Negro voter, but alluded "In all elections, state, county, and municipal, we have seen the dangers of bloc voting. We have seen the dangers of marked ballots. We have seen the dangers of one so-called 'free holder' standing at the polls and voting several hundred ballots during the course of a day. We have seen the dangers of votes being blindly cast on orders handed down by the communistic and radical element of the East."

It was generally known that Gov. Talmadge and his staunch supporters favored a law to minimize voting but many were speculative as to what approach he would make toward it since the shattering federal court ruling which decreed the Alabama Boswell Amendment unconstitutional because of its disfranchisement of Negroes.

"SUBTERFUGE LEGISLATION".

The governor told the assembly that his administration "would not sponsor any so-called 'subterfuge' legislation."

Admitting that his calling for a complete registration of voters met with opposition to some newspapers Gov. Talmadge declared "several reasons have been advanced but I do not think any of them are worthy of consideration. Certainly, there can be no valid objection on the part of anyone to a plan whereby our registration procedure is materially strengthened and then require a complete registration of voters. This would insure that all persons then on the qualified voter's list would be really qualified. We all know that such is not the case today."

Calling attention that he did not use the word "education" in calling for such a law, the governor said there are many people unable to read and write who do "possess a degree of wisdom and common sense necessary to understand the duties and obligations of citizenship."

OTHER ADVOCACIES.

The governor also urged:

1. Increased protection and development of forestry and soil conservation. Wed-1-12-49

2. Industrial harmony maintained within the state and the respective rights of labor and capital guarded and protected.

3. Ample provisions for education, particularly vocational education.

4. Support to the "Minimum Foundation Program of Education."

5. Fair disbursement of old-age pensions.

6. A long range highway plan.

7. Establishment of a Civil Service System within the State Highway patrol for pensions and death benefits. Wed-1-12-49

8. Effective cooperation by the state toward GI's and their Bill of Rights.

9. An appropriation bill apportioning the revenue collected by the state and determining for what specific purpose that it shall be spent.

10. A strengthening and implementation of the county unit system.

Registration At State Cost Is Proposed

The Constitution

By CHARLES BARRETT
Associated Press Staff Writer

Gov. Talmadge proposed yesterday that the State dig in its own pocket to pay back counties for the vast task of registering all their voters. Atlanta, Ga.

Talmadge thus answered one of the hottest issues of his administration. County officials have howled against cost of the re-registration bill, which Talmadge forces pushed through the last Legislature to curb Negro "bloc voting."

More than 1,200,000 names were wiped off registration lists by the new law. It requires a completely new registration of voters in every county under tightened procedure, with the counties footing the bill.

Talmadge said he would ask the next Legislature to refund the cost to counties, if it can be done legally.

Apparently the Governor wanted to give a shot in the arm to the mammoth re-registration process. Only a few counties have begun the job. Some have refused because they said they didn't have the money. Sun. 6-19-49

Talmadge hoped that now, with the promise of a refund, the task would be speeded and most of the criticism stilled. Voters have only until next May to get on the lists for next Summer's primary.

Only this week the Board of Managers of the Georgia County Commissioners' Association urged Talmadge and local officials to halt the re-registration because of the "prohibitive cost."

The county officials said they didn't object to the purpose of the bill, but they were concerned with how to pay for it.

Talmadge opponents have charged the re-registration will cost more than $2,000,000 and that most of the money will be wasted if courts declared the law unconstitutional.

The Governor said yesterday estimates of the cost have been "grossly exaggerated." He said he had an estimate from one rural count ythat it could complete the job at a cost of $300, and he thought this was typical.

Attorneys have reported to the county officials and to other organizations that they believe the law is constitutional. Sun 6-19-49

Talmadge made his comments just before leaving for the National Governors' Conference in Colorado City, Col. He said he had no estimate of the total cost of re-registration but he was confident that many estimates are "much too high."

Atty. Gen. Eugene Cook said this week the new law puts counties in a desperate situation. He urged a special session of the Legislature to clarify it or repeal it. He said the law was "probably constitutional."

Elbert Tuttle, of Atlanta, Republican leader, charged the purpose of the new law is to extend the county unit system to general elections. He said Talmadge forces want a small registration next year so they can pass a constitutional amendment to extend the unit system. The system, which keeps power in rural counties, now applies only to primaries.

34e(2) 1949

Georgia

Senate Okays Voter Test And Registration Bill as Enemies Cry 'Sabotage'

Atlanta Constitution

Atlanta Georgia

Fri. 2-11-49

(34e(2))

By ALBERT RILEY

The Georgia Senate voted, 29 to 17, yesterday to wipe out the State's voter-registration lists, require re-registration and qualification of all voters and renewal of registration every four years.

The action was taken as the Senate passed a substitute to a House-approved voters reregistration and qualification bill, strongly backed by Talmadge forces as a measure to end Negro bloc voting in Georgia.

The substitute bill will go to the House today for approval and transmission to the Governor.

As administration leaders pushed the measure through the Senate, they did so in the face of warnings they were passing a bill to "sabotage Democracy," and one that eventually would prove the "undoing of the present Governor."

Opponents also charged the bill would put an unnecessary burden of expense on Counties, and predicted it would be ruled unconstitutional by the U. S. Supreme Court.

Sen. Spence Grayson, of Savannah, led the fight for passage of the bill, aided by Sen. Crawford Pilcher, Talmadge floor leader from Warrenton, Sen. Carl J. Ayers, of Oglethorpe, and Sen. Tom Rich, of Bainbridge.

The administration triumph came only after spirited debate, however, with Sen. Walter Harrison, of Millen, spearheading vigorous opposition to the bill. Joining Harrison were Sens. Claude Pittman, of Cartersville, Frank Lunsford, of Leary, Henry W. Davis, of Jefferson, and Roy LeCraw, of Atlanta.

Grayson told the Senate the bill was needed to purge the State's voter lists to "keep people from voting from cemeteries," and Pilcher said it was a fair, simple bill providing for educational requirements for voting, similar to North Carolina's law.

Grayson pointed out that a controversial list of questions to be asked illiterate applicants as a voter qualification test had been revised, made easier and the answers included, so that any illiterate really wanting to vote could qualify by learning the answers.

Harrison charged, however, the bill's sole purpose was to disfranchise Negroes, "in violation of the principles of the Constitution of the United States."

"When you restrict the rights of the voters of this State, you are sabotaging democracy," Harrison declared. "Democrary is on trial throughout the world, and yet you men are willing to stand up here and say that you are passing a law in the interest of democracy and fair play. I deny it!"

Harrison predicted that passage of the bill would some day "re grounds of illiteracy and failure to properly interpret the Constitution. He held the measure as now written is "illegal" and would be abrogated by the U. S. Supreme Court.

Sen. Davis

Sen. Ayers

"If this bill passes," he declared, "Gov. Talmadge, like Jeremiah of old, will be calling for help in getting out of the dungeon."

Sen Rich argued, however, there was a need of bringing the voting lists up to date and the bill would serve this purpose.

But Sen. LeCraw pointed out that Fulton County purges its voter list every year and that other counties could do likewise under present laws.

"As a lawyer, I believe this bill is unconstitutional," LeCraw said, and he warned that if it were passed, "we will end up once again the laughing stock of the Nation."

Two Senators quoted from the Bible, Sen. Pittman in opposition to the bill, and Sen. Ayers in favor of the measure.

Ayers said the bill would result in greater education for the people, and said, "our Governor knows what he is doing."

Harrison first tried to get the bill postponed indefinitely, but failed, and then was beaten down when he attempted to amend it to death. The Senate adopted several other minor amendments, however, and LeCraw managed to get through an amendment to preserve Fulton County's present system of voter registration.

Sen. Claude Pittman, of Cartersville, quoted passages from the Bible and the Constitution of the United States, as he opened the fight on the bill.

After offering four amendments to the measure, Pittman took the floor to speak against it, and said the bill was contrary to the word of God and to the principles of liberty proclaimed in the Constitution "by our forefathers."

Pittman vigorously attacked the language of the bill, declaring it would permit county registrars to use wide discretion and enable them to disqualify any voter applicants they didn't like. He especially criticized provisions of the bill calling for test questions to be asked illiterate voter applicants.

The Senator charged the bill was patterned after Alabama's Boswell amendment that was outlawed by the Supreme Court, and he warned, "This bill will not measure up to the Constitution." Other States—Texas, Louisiana and South Carolina—had failed to sustains similar legislation against court attacks, he added.

Sen. Frank Lunsford, of Leary, followed Pittman with an attack on the bill which, he charged would eliminate from the voting lists "one half of the element commonly known as 'wool hat' boys who always supported Talmadge.

The bill, Lunsford declared, "will disqualify 10 times as many good, hard working white farmers and industrial workers in my section, and I believe all over our farming sections, as it does disqualify sorry, good-for-nothing Negroes."

The voting laws on the books are adequate, he said, "this bill will not stop bloc voting." Lunsford charged the bill "was drawn by slick barristers; it is dynamite, and we can't get away with it."

In opening debate on the measure, Sen. Spence Grayson argued its passage, because " the thing we need in Georgia is a purge of our registration lists." Such a purge, he said, "has been advocated throughout Georgia for the past two years."

Sen. Harrison fired a question at him, asking Grayson if he would not "frankly tell us that the sole purpose of this bill is reduce Negro registration?"

"That I deny," Grayson replied.

The Savannah Senator said that two years ago people were clamoring for legislation to "stop people from voting from cemeteries," and charged that the same people now were opposing the re-registration measure.

"If it was right several years ago," Grayson said, "it is right today."

Grayson contended the measure was a "clean bill and a fair bill," and defended it against the criticism of provisions requiring re-registration in gubernatorial years. "Any person who values his right of suffrage will be clamoring to vote in election years."

POP QUIZ TOO TOUGH

Red-Faced Lawmakers 'Flunk Out' On Voter Qualification Questions

Atlanta Constitution

Atlanta Georgia

BY ALBERT RILEY

A number of Georgia's lawmakers themselves missed the answer to many of 50 questions that have been propounded as the basis for a voter qualification test, in the event a vote applicant cannot read and write the Constitution.

The questions are included in an amendment tacked on by the Senate's State of the Republic Committee to a House-approved voters re-registration and qualification test.

Under the amendment's provisions, voter applicants unable to read or write would be asked 20 questions out of a list of 50. If the applicant could answer 10 of the 20 correctly, he would be qualified to vote. County registrars would select the 20 at random from the

A trio of Senators missed 11 of questions in their combined answers to the entire list. That is, either one or all of the trio failed to answer 11 of them. They were Sen. Lee Purdom, lawyer from Blackshear; Sen. W. R. McCoy, doctor from Folkston, and Sen. W. B. Cochran, Jr., businessman from Thomasville.

As a lawyer, Senator Purdom was able to answer more of the questions than his colleagues.

Many House and Senate members were there in the House of Representatives of the United States."

Most of those interviewed said they didn't know. A few lawyer members answered correctly at 435; other answers ranged from 205 (the number in the Georgia House of Representatives) to 700.

Another question was: "Who is the Chief Judge of the Georgia

Even the author of the voter qualification bill in the House, Speaker Pro-tem George Smith, of Emanuel County, muffed some of them. Embarrassed, Smith said he prefers the bill as passed by the House—calling for a central State board to prepare ques-

pointing out that the list was obviously drawn up by a lawyer and that members of the legal profession ought to be able to answer them, whereas other people might not.

Sen. McCoy called the list "unfair to laymen" and said that "many intelligent people won't be able to answer them." Sen. Cochran agreed that he thought the questions would be "unfair to a lot of people."

In the House, the reporter selected only three or four questions from the list of 50 and asked a number of red-faced Representatives for the answers.

One question was: "How many

Court of Appeals?" Only the lawyer members knew that he is Judge I. H. Sutton. Some guessed Judge Hugh McIntyre; some guessed Judge "Red" Townsend; some said Judge Henry Duckworth (The Chief Justice of the Supreme Court); most said they didn't know.

The Georgia Supreme Court has seven Justices, while the Court of Appeals has only six judges. There were a wide variety of answers to these two questions—ranging from three members each to nine each.

Few would attempt to guess what committees in the National Congress their own particular representative serves on.

Most of those questioned agreed that the Vice President succeeds the President in event the President dies. In event the President is unable to perform his duties, one solon expressed the belief that the Secretary of Interior would assume the Presidential duties.

Facetious replies included one answer of "Roy Harris" to the question of who is Governor of Georgia, and the answer of "Talmadge and anti-Talmadge" to the question of the names of the two branches of the General Assembly.

Another comment was that "if people are intelligent enough to answer all those questions, they are too intelligent to vote for the people running for office."

Some of the questions are misleading, and one would be hard to answer correctly. It reads "How many other judges are there on the Supreme Court of Georgia" They are not judges but justices.

Georgia Offers a Study In Political Controls

Courier Journal
Louisville Ky.
Mar 3 1949

IN THE classic view of States' Righters, what one State does about its internal affairs is of no concern to the others. But people everywhere should take alarm at the deep reaction and rape of democratic processes which another TALMADGE is visiting upon Georgia. A political dynasty is being forced upon that State through the device of a controlled legislature which resembles that of HUEY LONG at the height of his ruthless sway in Louisiana.

The latest move in the TALMADGE organization's campaign to perpetuate itself in power is a bill, now passed by both houses of the General Assembly, to purge voters' lists and require reregistration—after a test. Voters must register periodically after that.

Years of effort by progressive groups in Georgia—who now and then prevail against the TALMADGE mentality—resulted not so long ago in a standard law of permanent registrations. The State's largest county, Fulton (Atlanta), has had one for 15 years or so. But as the lists have accumulated, Negroes have qualified and also thousands of youngsters under 21, who became voters by a reform in the phenomenal ARNALL administration. These are two groups that certainly don't incline toward TALMADGE. Nobody doubts that the purge was aimed at them, that the "educational tests" which were written for qualification hereafter were made for their confusion—if necessary.

It is of a kind with the undertaking, already approved by the Georgia Senate, to nullify the State Constitution on the point that a Governor may not succeed himself. Riding the crest of power, followers of HERMAN TALMADGE have contrived two bills to this effect. One says the party executive committee, which HERMAN controls, is to say who is qualified; the other gives the legislature sole right to pass on the eligibility of the party's nominee for Governor. HERMAN, with his eyes on running again in 1950, gets himself set for another *coup d'etat* like that of 1947.

Mon - 2-14-49

This comes on the heels of a punitive revision of the newspaper libel laws only last week, which the legislature all but admitted was aimed at what the late GENE TALMADGE referred to as "them lyin' newspapers," meaning all that opposed him (which was just about all) It was aimed particularly at *The Atlanta Journal*, owned by former Governor J. M. Cox of Ohio, which is relentless in calling TALMADGE and the Klan by their names. And when one takes into account also the TALMADGE plan, already partly carried out, to end popular elections by substituting the county-unit system for all other referendums; and when one considers the continuing capture of State boards and commissions by young HERMAN TALMADGE'S new administration, the call for national attention becomes more insistent.

ATTENDED VOTER BILL HEARING—This group of leaders, citizens and students, constituted part of the large body of Negro citizens who jammed the Supreme Court chambers of the State Capitol Wednesday in opposition to the Talmadge administration's proposed voters qualification law.—(Perry Photo).

34e(2) 1949

Georgia

Constitution Atlanta Ga. Sat. 2-3-49

Constitution Staff Photo—Pete Roton

QUESTIONS PUZZLE SOLONS—Three members of the Georgia Senate ponder over a list of 50 questions included in the voters' reregistration and qualification bill up for Senate action. Under the terms of the bill, county registrars would select 20 questions to ask a vote applicant. If the applicant answers 10 correctly, he is supposed to be qualified to vote. Eleven stumped either one or all of this Senate trio. Left to right: W. R. McCoy, Folkston; W. B. Cochran, Jr., Thomasville; Lee Purdom, Blackshear.

Revised List of Questions For Proposed Voter Test

Atlanta Constitution Atlanta Georgia

Here is the revised list of questions and answers to be used as a qualification test for illiterate voter applicants under the terms of an amendment to a Senate substitute to the House-approved voters' reregistration and qualification bill.

Originally the amendment included 50 questions, some of which Senators and Representatives found difficult to answer. The revised list includes only 30 questions, with the answers listed beside them.

The Senate will begin debate today on the substitute bill and the amendment, which provides that a voter applicant be asked all of the 30 questions in order, until he has answered 10 correctly.

The questions and answers:

1. Who is President of the U. S.? Harry S. Truman.

2. What is the term of office of the President of the U. S.? Four years.

3. May the President of the U. S. be legally elected for a second term? Yes.

4. If the President of the U. S. dies in office who succeeds him? Vice President.

5. How many groups compose the Congress of the United States? Two. The Senate and House of Representatives.

6. How many U. S. Senators are there from Georgia? Two.

7. What is the term of office of a United States Senator? Six years.

8. Who are the U. S. Senators from Georgia? Walter F. George and Richard B. Russell.

9. Who is Governor of Georgia? Herman Talmadge.

10. Who is Lieutenant Governor of Georgia? Marvin Griffin.

11. Who is Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Georgia? Henry Duckworth.

12. Who is Chief Judge of the Court of Appeals of Georgia? I. H. Sutton.

13. Into what two groups is the General Assembly of Georgia divided? Senate and House of Representatives.

14. Does each Georgia county have at least one Reperesentative in the Georgia House of Representatives? Yes.

15. Do all Georgia counties have the same number of Representatives in the Georgia House of Representatives? No.

16. In what city are the laws for the U. S. made? Washington, D. C.

17. How old do you have to be to vote in Georgia? 18 years old.

18. What city is the Capital of the U. S.? Washington, D. C.

19. How many states are there in the U. S.? Forty-eight.

20. Who is the Commander-in-Chief of the U. S. Army? The President of the U. S.

The following questions require a different answer according to the localities in which the applicant lives. The registrars in printing this list will insert under a column headed "Correct Answer" the correct answer to each question.

21. In what Congressional district do you live?

22. Who represents your Congressional district in the national House of Representatives?

Thu. 2-10-49

23. In what State Senatorial district do you live?

24. Who is the State Senator that represents your Senatorial district?

25. In what county do you live?

26. Who represents your county in the House of Representatives of Georgia? If there are more than one Representative, name them.

27. What is the name of the county seat of your county?

28. Who is the Ordinary of your county?

29. Who is the Judge of the Superior Court of your circuit? If there are more than one, name one additional judge.

30. Who is the Solicitor General of your circuit?

Screams Slow Hearing On Bill Directed At Georgia Negro Voters

Feb. [illegible] Wild screams of two white women against "Talmadge and Ku Kluxers" disrupted a Georgia legislative hearing Wednesday on a bill aimed at bloc voting by Negroes.

The demonstration came during a public hearing on a re-registration bill backed by Gov. Herman Talmadge. It would require Georgia's 1,200,000 voters to re-qualify every four years.

Afterwards an anti-Talmadge senator cried: "This is all they need to nail it down."

There was little doubt that the demonstration against the governor and the Ku Klux Klan would be used in arguments on the Talmadge-dominated Senate floor to obtain passage of the bill. The bill has drawn considerable opposition in both houses.

* * *

THE WOMEN, who said they were People's Progressive (Wallace) Party members, started screaming and waiving their arms just as William Stafford started a speech against the bill. Stafford, secretary of the Progressive Party, left the room when the women began to scream.

Their shouts almost overshadowed a moving plea from Negro leaders and the League of Women Voters that the bill be killed. So eloquent were the Negroes' speeches that several white women in the room began crying.

The two women interrupted their shouting and arm waving long enough to talk calmly with reporters. Both were asked if they were members of the Communist Party. One, who identified herself as Leah Young, parried, "This is a free country, ain't it"? The other, who said she was Annie Mae Leathers, turned her back without answering the question.

The committee members listened to the shouting a few minutes, then adjourned the hearing and went into executive session. The bill was approved by the obviously angry committee.

SCREAMS OF TWO WOMEN DISRUPT GEORGIA HEARING

The Union Cincinnati, Ohio

Atlanta, Ga.—Wild screams of two white women against "Talmadge and Ku Kluxers" disrupted a Georgia legislative hearing yesterday on a bill aimed at bloc voting by Negroes.

The demonstration came during a public hearing on a re-registration bill backed by Governor Herman Talmadge. It would require Georgia's 1,200,000 voters to requalify every four years.

Afterward an anti-Talmadge senator cried: "This is all they need to nail it down." Thu. 2-22-46

There was little doubt that the demonstration against the governor and Ku Klux Klan would be used in argu-

The Constitution

Those who are so quick to condemn the voter-qualification bill sponsored by the Talmadge Administration inevitably overlook two factors.

First, since the Boswell decision there are no legal qualifications whatever for voting in Georgia today except as to criminal record and residence require-

Let's Argue Only the Merits of the Issue

ments. Atlanta, Ga.

Second, Herman Talmadge won the last election by a considerable majority. If he were, as his opponents have been so vigorously suggesting, eager to build a foolproof political machine for the coming years, it would be only logical for Gov. Talmadge to wish to retain present voting lists which elected him rather than abolish them and start anew. Sun

It is because some Georgians seem to have a predilection for getting mired in political controversy before the facts of an issue are ascertained that we mention these things. 1-23-49

We would like for the voter-qualification bill to be aired on the floor of the General Assembly on the basis of what will be best for democracy in the State instead of which political faction or which political figures may gain from any change in the present system.

The Constitution is committed to the belief that qualifications for voters not only are desirable but necessary if we are to preserve the essence of democracy. But we are equally convinced that qualifying tests must be administered impartially, without regard to color or personality. We believe the latter not merely because the Boswell decision makes it mandatory, but because to do otherwise is morally wrong.

If we are correct in our preliminary interpretation, the qualifications set forth in the substitute bill are amazingly lenient. In fact, literacy plus the normal requirements of residence and freedom from criminal record actually comprise the sum total of its stipulated qualifications. For those who are illiterate provision is made for a standard test, the answers to which are to be written down and preserved and which may be used should the registrars' decision be questioned in the courts. The Constitution

There will be much dissent over the provision requiring re-registration at specified periods, however. Atlanta, Ga.

The bill will not pass as it now stands. Debate will bring compromise and will reveal possible flaws. We hope this debate will be confined to the merits of the bill and not be allowed to wander down the blind alley of partisan politics. Sun 1-23-49

Test Of The New Vote Law

Atlanta Daily World, Atlanta, Ga.

An Atlanta group, headed by Representative Moggsby Smith and former State Senator Everett Millican, has announced its intention to attack the constitutionality of the State's new voter registration law.

The law, passed by the last General Assembly, has been under constant attack from many sources. Several counties have balked at the idea and great expense in setting up new voters' lists. The most recent of these is Hancock County registrars, because of their fear that the law will not pass a court test.

At McDonough, Georgia M. B. Rodgers, writing to an Atlanta paper during the past week, made the suggestion that registrars in counties now carrying out the new law, keep preserved a copy of their old lists, since it is a certainty that the new law will be declared unconstitutional when it is taken before the United States Supreme Court. In the opinion of many I have talked with, this new voter qualification law will be killed, he said. Adding: Sat. 5-28-49

"The law is designed not to help the people as a whole but to serve a special group in setting up a 'Huey Long' type of political machine, whereby they can control the great state of Georgia by dictatorial power for years to come. The cry bloc voting is just a sham — pull back the curtain and see the main motive."

That, it seems to us, is the size of the new law. In the Georgia House, the Talmadge forces feel that they can sell any bill of goods, however faulty they may be, if they can tie it around the necks of Negroes. That, they did in the matter of the new vote law, by saying it was proposed to break up bloc voting. And it was amazing that certain daily white papers of the state which should have known better, have taken up the baseless charge. But little by little, the people are beginning to see the light. Many of them thought it was aimed at the Negro, and as such, they did not need to bother about it. But the full force and effect of it is coming to light and now they must do something about it. Sat. 5-28-49

Let us say to the credit of the Atlanta group, they have been the most outspoken against the measure from its beginning. Former Senator Millican made a notable impression upon the colored people of the state by his opposition to this as well as other phases of the Talmadge white primary scheme. We commend them and repeat, Georgia is getting a bad name indeed, all because of its record of treatment toward the Negro.

For Reasonable Voter Qualification

Atlanta Constitution

We were gratified to learn that Talmadge forces are engaged in an intensive study of the Federal Court decision on Alabama's Boswell Amendment before pressing for action on a voter-qualification bill for Georgia. Sun. 1-16-49

As The Constitution pointed out last Sunday, the court decision in this case offers what should serve as a foolproof guide to drafting a measure that will be fair and impartial and stand up in the highest tribunal.

The main theme of the Boswell decision is that only fair and undeviating standards may be established for determining the qualifications of voters. It must not remain within the discretion of a local board, or any other body, to determine, without firm criterion, the fitness of a prospective voter. Standards must be so fixed that judgment does not rest upon opinion, but upon measurable qualifications. And administration must be utterly impartial.

Once these precepts are firmly accepted we do not believe the General Assembly will have any difficulty agreeing on a voter-qualification law.

There no doubt are any number of methods by which the desired objectives can be attained. But the one which recurs to our mind most frequently, and which we believe should be considered, calls for completion of a specified grade in school or passing a standard education test administered by the State Department of Education.

If, for instance, the prospective voter had passed the fifth grade he would be registered without further ado. But many persons who not only are intelligent but also may be well-educated might not have had that much formal schooling. For their benefit the school system could, at regular intervals, hold tests designed for one who has completed the fifth grade, or whatever grade the completion of which automatically qualifies one as a voter.

Georgia law at present allows owners of property to a certain value to vote regardless of their other qualifications. That is a wise provision and should be retained. Sun. 1-16-49

We do not believe any court could find fault with such a program.

Georgia Re-Registration Law Under Court Attack

Journal & Guide

Norfolk, Va.

By NNPA News Service

Sat. 7-23-49

ATLANTA, Ga.—An attack on the constitutionality of Georgia's new voters -re-registration law was heard by the State Supreme Court last Wednesday in a suit from Richmond County Superior Court.

The law is under attack by registration law. The registrars brought suit in Richmond trars brouht suit in Richmond county to force the Board of Roads and Revenues to pay their salaries. The lower court ruled in favor of the registrars and the board appealed.

In a brief, submitted by County Attorney Frank H. Pierce, Franklin argues that the law violates two provisions of Georgia's Bill of Rights and the Fourteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution, which holds that no citizen shall be deprived of his right to vote on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude.

Franklin's brief delared that under the re-registration law Board of Registrars could become "czars who could banish every citizen of Georgia they may choose to the frozen wastes of a political Siberia and to cap the climax compel every taxpayer to pay them for doing so.'

New Ruses Would By-Pass Decisions Of Supreme Court

Pittsburg Courier
Pittsburg Pennsylvania
34e(2)
Sat-2-5-49

(By Special Correspondent)

ATLANTA, Ga.—With backs to the wall, two of Dixie's leading "white supremacy" States—Georgia and Alabama—fought bitterly this week to legally take away the right to vote from more than two million Negro citizens by enacting laws in their State Legislatures and thus circumvent decisions by the U. S. Supreme Court outlawing the "white primary."

Georgia's House of Representatives last week passed Governor Herman Talmadge's "Voter Qualification Bill" and sent it on to the Georgia Senate where it was expected to encounter little difficulty in its plan to deny more than a million Georgia Negroes the right to vote.

GEORGIA'S PLOT

Under the Talmadge law all Georgia voters must re-register and would be required to write legibly and read intelligently or explain with satisfaction sections of the Georgia and United States' Constitutions. Its primary aim is to "end bloc voting by Negroes in Georgia," Governor Talmadge declared, and make the "white primary as white as possible."

Embittered by the decision of a three-judge Federal court which had ruled the infamous Boswell Amendment unconstitutional, Alabama's "white supremists," led by rabid race-hating Horace C. Wilkinson, a Birmingham lawyer, proposed a three-facet anti-Negro scheme to keep Alabama's 983,290 Negroes from voting.

ALABAMA'S SCHEME

Wilkinson's plan envisioned a new jigsaw plot to keep Alabama's politics "white" by means of a constitutional amendment by the State Legislature, statutory regulations and use of the Democratic party convention to force Negro voters outside the Democratic party.

Sat-2-5-49

Wilkinson is one of the founders of the States' Rights party and sponsor of the "Southern White Supremacy League." He has sent copies of his proposal to members of the State Legislature and the Alabama Democratic Executive Committee.

Meanwhile, Gessener T. McCorvey, chairman of the Alabama Democratic Executive Committee, has suggested that Alabama enact a voter-qualification law modeled after that of Mississippi.

GEORGIANS FIGHT BACK

Georgia's Negro leaders rallied to the fight to protect their voting rights and sent a telegram to Lieut. Gov. Marvin Griffin, president of the Georgia Senate, and resolution to Governor Herman Talmadge and members of the Georgia Legislature, scoring the voter re-registration measure and urged that they be given an opportunity to appear before the Senate committee to express their views on the bill.

Their resolution pointed out that Negroes "have given their best, including their lives for their State and country in peace and war . . . it is morally indefensible for their State to reward them by denying them the most fundamental right of citizenship—the ballot . . . Georgia is sabotaging the efforts of our Nation in its desire to claim and preserve the moral leadership of the world in the councils of mankind."

Among those signing the messages were Atty. A. T. Walden, president of the Georgia Association of Citizens' Democratic Clubs; J. W. Dobbs of the Georgia Civic and Political League; C. A. Scott, editor and general manager of The Atlanta Daily World; R. R. Reed, executive secretary of the Georgia Negro Chamber of Commerce; the Rev. W. H. Borders, president of the Georgia Missionary Baptist and Educational Convention, and W. M. Boyd, president of the Georgia Chapters of the NAACP.

Latest census figures show that there are 5,956,684 persons in Georgia and Alabama, and 2,068,217 of them are Negroes.

Let's Find a Fairer Yardstick

Atlanta Constitution

It already is obvious that the proposed "50 questions" test for Georgia voters is an unfair yardstick and probably an illegal one.

34e(2)

Members of the Legislature themselves have failed at answering many of them. Obviously drawn by a lawyer, they will baffle most citizens not familiar with the set-up of courts and elections. Had an artist drawn them and based them on identity of painters, musicians and sculptors produced in Georgia, or had a minister arranged them and asked questions relating to the identity of the Methodist Bishops, the organization of deacons, elders and so on, in the various churches, the same unfair test would have resulted.

Atlanta Georgia
Sun-2-6-49

We don't want a bill which will be nullified by the Supreme Court with consequent unfavorable national publicity. But that is what we will be inviting if we go ahead with this one.

We were not surprised to find the Communists and those of pro-Communist sympathies working to assist in the adoption of a bill which will allow them to ride it through legal and publicity channels. While William Stafford, head of the Communist-dominated United Public Workers Union of America was speaking against the proposed voters' qualifications bill, two of his workers staged a demonstration to disrupt the committee hearing.

That is right in the pattern.

Pro-Communists will do what they can to pass the bill. Hence their tactics against it. They figure the bill will bring about more discontent and provide, if passed, more opportunity for anti-Southern agitation among Negroes. It also will provide their organization with grist for soliciting funds. So, to make sure the bill passes is but a natural desire of the organization behind the demonstrations.

It also is significant that Homer Chase, the local Commie organizer, who isn't in very good graces with the powers that be but who is back on a sort of probation basis, has been distributing literature against the bill.

The Communists want it to become law—figuring it will help them, as it probably will.

34e(2)

The Georgians who wrote the State Constitution of 1877 solved it all very simply. They said anyone could vote who had paid his taxes six months in advance of the election. That served well until the depression when it was changed to read poll tax. It was that change which led to various county machines buying up poll tax receipts and making that tax a prerequisite to voting. The poll tax now is eliminated.

Sun-2-6-49

The proposed bill now seems to us sure to be knocked out by the Supreme Court, if adopted as recommended. The reregistration proposal isn't good and could be solved by a substitute proposal dropping persons from the lists after two successive failures to vote. Now and then you long for the simplicity of the boys of '77 who solved it all by saying that a man who had paid his taxes and thus supported the functions of his government, was entitled to vote.

NEW VOTER LAW IS PROVING QUESTIONABLE

Journal, Atlanta, Ga.

The new voter qualification and re-registration law as passed by the Georgia General Assembly during its recent session is proving as questionable as a deck of cards with four jokers, according to Atty. Gen. Eugene Cook, who is studying the measure pending the signature of Gov. Herman Talmadge.

Atty. Gen. Cook is confused as are 1,200,000 voters in the state who will be called upon to qualify under the law passed by the Talmadge dominated legislature to fulfill a campaign promise of the chief executive "to stop bloc voting."

The law requires prospective applicants to be able to read or write the Constitution "intelligibly or legibly" or answer 10 of 30 questions correctly.

The whole confusion stems from the plight of the administrators of the law who must answer (1) When is registration to begin under the new law; (2) When is "immediately" as prescribed under the new law; (3) in the legal phraseology of the law what is meant by "moral turpitude" (4) How often is the registrars required to meet under the law.

These were only a few of the questions involved in putting into effect the wordy and complicated technicalities of the Administration's No. 1 piece of legislation.

"UNFUNNY JESTER"

While the bill is playing the role of an "unfunny jester" the governor has yet to sign it. Under Georgia law the chief executive has five days to sign a bill after it is presented to him, but the Clerk's office can hold it up for 30 days.

Jn. 2-25-49

Even after it is signed it requires 30 days before Secretary of State Ben T. Fortson's office can distribute it to all counties.

After that the tax collectors have to have printed new re-registration cards on which the registrars cards printed such information of names, ten, save ages, answers, etc.

?cepting applications six months before a general election.

Other questionable aspects of the new voter involves registrars, their tenure of service, can the old registrars serve meanwhile, and the manner of the new registrars selection.

The bill says the registrars (six) are to be selected by a grand jury and presented to the superior court judge who will select three.

INDEFINITE MOVE

Even after they are selected there

This clause eliminates for such counties the use of grand juries and court judges in the naming of registrars.

Sat. 2-5-49

Voices In The Distance

Daily World. Atlanta Ga. 340 (2)

We like the frankness, not to say boldness, with which Jenkins County Judge J. L. Renfore, approached the question of Georgia Re-registraton Vote Law Monday, as he addressed members of the May Term of the Grand Jury.

Judge Renfore criticised the law and called it a device "to get rid of Negroes." He said that it is "foolish" for white citizens of Georgia to become apprehensive over Negro voting, since no more than about a tenth of them are voters. And concluded that the law will not probably stand up under a court test, saying further that "if you want to be honest, we know some whites who have no business on the voters' list." Sat. 5-14-49

This wise admonition coming from men like Judge Renfore, Judge J. M. S. Townsend and others, will not be heard in the immediate future. At present, they are only whispers amid the wild clamor to disfranchise the Negro. They are but mere voices in the distance. But eventually, all of Georgia is going to have to come to a realization of the blunt fact that artificial restrictions placed upon Negro voting simply can get us nowhere.

The new Georgia vote law is so clearly and specifically designed to disfranchise Negroes that even the most stupid among us will not be fooled. And thus, it is heartening to find those who are willing to stand up against public opinion and voice disapproval. Such leaders are rendering a great public service to the state and to its people. Daily World

Moreover, this practice of denying to the Negro his constitutional rights not only impedes his progress and embitters his spirit, but it weakens the confidence of the young white children of the State who simply cannot harmonize the attitude of their elders toward the righteousness and justice they preach and teach from classroom and pulpit with that they accord to Negroes. It simply does not make sense to them to hear their parents and Church School teachers plead for poor chinese Coolies against Russian Communism in foreign lands, when right at their doors they fight for the right to rob Negroes of justice and equality.

Atlanta, Ga. Sat. 5-14-49

It does not square with their Bible teachings to hear a minister preach glory to the Ku Klux Klan in one breath and Glory to God in the other. In hurting the Negro they hurt their children, too.

All Doubts Removed

Daily World, Atlanta, Ga.

Governor Talmadge has now removed all doubts as to why he labored so long and hard to persuade the Georgia Legislature to enact a Voters' Qualification Law. Speaking before the annual Association of County Commissioners Tuesday at Savannah, Mr. Talmadge criticised certain politicians for opposing the law because they hoped to profit from the "bloc vote." He pointed to the fact that there are some 150,000 Negro voters on the registration roll of the state and that the "only way we can remove them from the list to strike the old list in its entirety and start over."

340 (2)

Thus, he has spoken for the record. The alpha and omega behind the new reregistration law is to get Negroes off the voters' lists and make it next to impossible for them to get back on. This can be done only through the appointment of Registrars in each county who will apply a certain test to Negro applicants for registration and another for whites who apply. To be sure they will follow the same set of questions prescribed by law. But they will interpret them very different. It was done in Alabama under the so-called Boswell Amendment and the United States Supreme Court ruled that it was illegal. And it is going to be struck down in Georgia no sooner than a test case can be built up under the ill-advised legislation. Thu. 4-21-49

Small wonder the counties are slow to enter into such a scheme. They have enough common sense to see that it is a waste of money to enter upon such a wild scheme that will lead nowhere and yet set them back for years in terms of confidence and respect among their Negro neighbors. For view it as we may. when white citizens of a community league together legislate and hold back the legitimate proghess of Negroes, they do untold harm to the cause of mutual trust and loyalty among their Negro neighbors.

Judge Howell Brooke, charging the April term of the Cobb County Grand Jury Monday said: "I don't know whether it is a good law or not. I know one thing, it's going to be costly." Yes, it's going to be costly to the counties, which undertake it. It is going to be costly to the prestige and influence of the state which enforces it. And it is going to be costly for Negroes to finance the fight against it in the courts. But the Constitutional right to vote without artificial restrictions, is worth fighting for, paying for and dying for. it the latter becomes necessary.

Negro Issue Dominates Upper Chamber Debate

Daily World, Atlanta, Ga. Fri. 2-11-49

340 (2)

By C. W. GREENLEA

The Talmadge-sponsored measure to make the Georgia Democratic primary "as white as possible," moved a notch closer to realization Thursday when the Voters Qualification and Reregistration Bill passed the State Senate by a narrow vote of 29 to 17. The measure calls for reregistration of voters and sets up educational qualification .

Encumbered with eleven different crippling amendments, tacked on after impassioned arguments by Senator Claude Pittman and witty coaxing of Senator Walter Harrison, of the Seventeenth District, the vote bill was then sent back to the House of Representatives for summary consideration. It is expected that the Talmadge-dominated House will quickly pass the measure. Talmadge forces have said the voter bill is an administration "must".

Several Senate amendments were defeated, but among those that became port of the Senate measure were: an amendment to attach 30 questions and answers to the questions, which must be answered by persons unable to read or write any portion of the Georgia or U. S. Constitution designated by the registrars; registrars must keep records of answers to questions on file with the registration cards; the tax collectors of each county or their employees must take with them at all times a supply of application blanks for the literacy tests and allow citizens to apply for tests at any time; and eight other amendments that watered down the bill somewhat from its original form in the House of Representatives. 2-11-49

ARGUMENT DISCREDITED.

Senator Pilcher, speaking for passage of the bill argued that its purpose was not that of disfranchising Negroes, but to create a more intelligent electorate. He maintained that the bill did not place arbitrary power in the hands of registrars, but this argument was discredited by opponents. Fri. 2-11-49

Senator Pittman pointed out that prospective literate voters will not only have to pass the test by "understanding" the Constitution, but also must "explain" a section to prove that understanding. "How will an unfriendly registrar classify an explanation — satisfactory or unsatisfactory?" he asked. A Talmadge supporter answered him by saying that "We cannot change the Constitution — nothing is left to discretion of that registrars."

Senator Pittman declared that "Every one of these 30 questions is illegally drawn. Why didn't you ask them something that applies to agriculture or religion? Why ask strictly questions pertaining to the legal profession? Why not ask — 'When a cow gets a calf how long does it take for a calf to be born?"

"We've tried this thing before," Senator Pittman continued, "but it won't work; the Supreme Court will knock it down every time. We tried it in Texas, in Louisiana, in South Carolina and in Alabama. You have sworn to uphold the Constitution!"

ADMITS DOUBT Fri. 2-11-49

Senator Harris of the 9th district self styled "wool hat-boy", admitted that "I don't think we can get away with it — I certainly wouldn't want to be a registrar, taking a chance on going to the federal peneteniary for violating U. S. laws." He added that the bill would do more than anything else to stimulate voting interest among Negroes "The first thing a little colored boy will learn will be to look forward to voting some day — his 'Pa' will beat it into him!"

One other opponent of the bill argued that the word "legible" alone would make the bill unconstitutional. The bill as drawn states that literate persons must "legibly read or legibly write" a part of the Constitution. "Who can say whether my writing is clear or not?" it was asked.

Negro leaders contested the vote bill last week when the Senate committee on State of The Republic held public hearings. They argued that the bill was undemocratic, unChristian, illegal, and unnecessary. The Senate committee had recommended the measure over their opposition however, and the Senate's action Thursday, brought the measure closer to law.

OPPOSITION REGISTERED

In his appearance before the Senate State of the Republic Committee, Attorney A. T. Walden hit the primary object of the Talmadge bill, to disfranchise Negroes and warned that should it pass it would "bruise the hearts and chill the spirits of the Negroes of Georgia.

Rev. William Holmes Borders, pastor of Wheat Street Baptist Church, deplored the fact that Georgia appeared backward in the fight for freedom.

C. A. Scott, editor and general manager of the Atlanta Daily World, pointed out that the proposed registration bill should not be passed because it is "undemocratic in spirit and that there was no need for passage because the voters' rolls had been purged and there existed laws providing for automatic purging of the lists.

J. W. Dobbs, president of the Georgia Civic-Political League and Prince Hall Masons, appealed to the committee to recognize the Negro citizens who reside in Georgia and give him his rights, as a first-class citizen.

On the Whole, It Was a Good Job

Atlanta, Ga. Mon.

In that strange hush and quiet calm that seems to hover o'er a State Capital city when the Legislature has departed, it is possible to examine the work of the Georgia Assembly. 2-21-49

When all of this is added up the total seems to tilt the scales heavily to the progressive side. This is especially true if one views the results in the light of pre-session expectations.

Atlanta Constitution

The Voters Qualification Bill, which first was introduced as a severely restrictive and undemocratic measure requiring re-registration every two years and providing harshly discriminatory "tests," all but disappeared. The final bill calls for re-registration to begin immediately after the Governor signs the bill and extends the period for such registration to May, 1950. After that registration is permanent. The qualification "tests" were reduced to 30 simple questions to be asked only of illiterates, who must answer any 10 of the 30. The fact the questions are published and classes or individual study can be employed to learn them, makes them readily available to any person able to talk. We do not regard the bill as necessary or perfect, but it is a surprisingly good compromise and is acceptable. If its purpose is to restrict the number of voters, that purpose can be nullified by the will of the voter to register.

An appropriations budget was passed at an all-time high total. It provides for $108,574,026 in the regular budget and $45,985,000 in the contingent budget to be financed by new taxes if the people vote to so tax themselves. The people will vote on this subject April 5. With the State income for 1949 estimated as probably $6,000,000 to $10,000,000 less than 1948, and with a crisis approaching in the State university budget, we earnestly recommend to every civic and educational organization to arrange for discussions of the budget between now and April 5. This we regard as imperative. Mon.

A part of the appropriations bill is the Minimum Foundation Bill for Education. None disputes the fact our educational system is acutely in need of more financial support. The people must keep this in mind as they discuss the budget and prepare to vote. 2-21-49

We would be less than honest if we did not call to the attention of the public, school officials, and the Legislature, that the Federal courts have ruled that States may have separate school systems for Negroes but that they must be equal in library and other technical equipment, as well as in playgrounds and sanitary facilities. Suits to require counties failing to provide separate, but equal facilities, are sure to come in the future if the irregularities are not remedied. Let us not wait until the suits are filed and the angers aroused by them obscure reason and facts, to face this problem—upon which we have insisted—that we have separate, but equal, facilities. This is a most important problem, requiring action, not delay. 2-21-49 Mon.

While the two bills giving to the Legislature and the State Democratic Executive Committee statutory control of party primaries and eligibility of candidates, undoubtedly were introduced for the purpose of clarifying the right of Gov. Herman Talmadge to be a candidate for a full term of four years if he desires to run, they nevertheless bring the elections and the candidates closer to the people and are a furtherance of the meaning of popular government. They will hardly be repealed in future years. No statute can contradict the State Constitution and remove the courts from power to act, and these do not and cannot. There is almost unanimous agreement on the part of attorneys that the Governor is eligible to run without the new laws.

Heavily on the constructive side are:

—The secret ballot. That this bill, sponsored by John Greer, an anti-Talmadge member of the Legislature, should have passed so overwhelmingly, is an all-the-more-remarkable feature of the splendidly progressive decision.

2—A pre-marital examination law, long needed in the interests of public health and decency, and to slow down, at least, the greedy machinations of the notorious marrying squires. The Constitution

3—Decisions to provide further time to study of the problem of operation of Jekyl Island and the creation of a State Highway Board. Atlanta, Ga.

There was another side. A fair provision of a newspaper libel bill covering honest mistakes, was stricken out. The bill to ban wearing of masks was defeated in a shocking support of the Ku Klux Klan, an action which aroused reaction from the State's religious organizations as well as civic groups. There is before the people, as a constitutional amendment, a bill to apply the county unit system to general elections, a proposal which has as its admitted purpose the disfranchising of residents of urban centers. Mon.

These decisions mar the record.

But, on the whole the Legislature did a good job. Since one must keep in mind that any assembly of elected representatives of the people, mirrors the best and the worst in us, we take the results of the legislative session just concluded as indicating that Georgia has progressed in its thinking and that the protest power of the people is more articulate and influential than ever before. Let us face the future determined to continue the progress made. 2-21-49

Hummon's Gift To Harry

Montgomery Advertiser

Not the least influential support being given to the Truman Civil Disturbance program is that of Herman Talmadge, governor of Georgia.

A Federal court has just struck down Alabama's Boswell Amendment which was designed to disqualify qualified Negroes from voting. 34e(2)

Months before the Talmadge element had been looking at the Boswell Amendment as a likely tool for use in Georgia. Nor were they daunted when the court smote the Alabama scheme.

The Talmadge smoothies, now seeking a means of disfranchising Georgia voters, have decided that Georgia can succeed where Alabama failed by the slick use of words.

That is, in their law they will use the language of the court in striking down the Alabama law by providing that applicants for registration must "explain in a simple, fair and reasonable manner" the Constitution.

In short, Talmadge will make all of Georgia's 1,200,000 voters re-qualify. The undesired voters can then be barred for failure to give what is considered an adequate explanation of the Constitution.

Talmadge and his leaders are as forthright and candid about their poll pogrom as though the 81st Congress wasn't considering Truman's Civil Disturbance program against the South's plea to be let alone to work out its own problems in good faith. The administration will not likely fail to exploit the Talmadge windfall.

Quite possibly Talmadge, an alert and comprehending operator, recognizes that plainly. But the agitation and effort wins favor from his crowd. Perhaps Talmadge is like Senator Bilbo of Mississippi, who on his death bed mocked his dupes by confessing he actually always believed in civil justice for the Negro but had to bellow otherwise in order to beat his peckerwood enemies. Mon. 2-21-49

WHITE SUPREMACY TEST

New York Times

The absurdities to which the "white supremacy" advocates in some parts of the South ascend, or descend, is illustrated in the fifty questions that are proposed for prospective voters in the Voters' Qualification and Registration Act that is now before the Georgia Legislature. They were carried in a story from Atlanta that appeared on Page 7 of this newspaper Saturday morning. New York Times 2-21-49

Governor Talmadge, and his fellow sufferers from an inferiority complex, have propounded questions that probably not one of ten of them can answer, with the obvious if unavowed intention of keeping Negroes in that state from

qualifying as voters. They are questions that probably not one voter in a hundred in the United States could answer. For instance, how many residents of New York, or New Jersey, or Georgia, know how many Congressional districts there are in their states, or whether Congress has the power to abolish all courts except the Supreme Court, or how many judges there are on their state Court of Appeals? Those are three of the fifty questions from which Georgia county registrars could select twenty to put to the prospective registrant. If he was a Negro attempting to register it is easy to guess he would get the twenty most difficult ones.

No one can object to literacy qualifications for voters, nor to reasonable questions that would show a working knowledge of government organization and indicate a voter's ability to cast an intelligent ballot on questions relating to organization and operation of his government. An enlightened electorate is essential to democracy. But many of the questions on the Georgia list go far beyond any reasonable limit. They become even more absurd when it is recalled that Governor Talmadge and his late father had their strongest following among the so-called "wool hat" boys of the Georgia canebrakes who probably, as a group, could not answer over half a dozen of the fifty proposed questions. The Talmadges carried on no campaign to educate anybody—not even their own followers.

Whether the questions will be upheld by the courts as legal it would be presumptuous now to guess. Any intelligent reader, however, will conclude that they are absurd on their face. Their enactment by the Georgia Legislature will not add to the dignity of that body nor to that of the white man in the South. Journal 1-6-49

Talmadge Aids Moving to Void Negro Vote Gain

Herald Tribune Sun 1-2-49

Back New Registration in Georgia, With Stress on Education Qualifications

By Henry Lesesne

ATLANTA, Jan. 1.—The setting up of "fair" educational qualifications for voting, administered on a non-racial basis, is being widely discussed in the Deep South, but in Georgia, where Negroes vote in relatively big numbers, the Talmadge forces are hatching a program openly intended to nullify the gains in Negro suffrage.

And in South Carolina, a state which resisted Negro suffrage most stubbornly and was not compelled to allow the Negroes to vote until 1948, the setting up of educational requirements for voting is a very lively subject, though no definite "program" has crystallized to the extent it has in Georgia.

In some of the other states of the Deep South—Alabama, for instance—the Negroes are restricted to some extent from voting because of a heavy poll tax and a requirement that applicants for registration "interpret" the Constitution to the satisfaction of the local registrar or registrars—all white men.

However, the requirement to "interpret" the Constitution is being contested in the Federal courts in Alabama, a state where this device was adopted only two years ago. The Talmadge forces once advocated this plan for Georgia, but have now abandoned it in favor of an educational requirement.

Qualifications Loose

They say that their plan will hold water, from a constitutional standpoint. Georgia has no poll tax, it having been abolished in the Ellis Arnall administration. The constitutional qualifications for voting are loose and county authorities are given wide discretionary powers, with the result that in some counties Negroes vote in considerable numbers and in others scarcely at all.

Governor Herman Talmadge and his legislative leaders have already decided on a plan for submission to the Legislature which convenes Jan. 10. No opposition to it developed at a pre-session conference of seventy-five legislators, which would indicate that the program has a good chance of adoption.

It is intended to eliminate all present voters' registration lists from the books, then order a complete new state-wide registration, with the emphasis on the educational qualification of voters. Talmadge leaders estimate it will bar probably 80 per cent of the Negroes from voting.

Georgia has about 150,000 registered Negro voters in a total registration list of about 1,200,000. The present Negro vote is largely concentrated in the urban counties and does not count for much under Georgia's unique county-unit system of voting. The Talmadge followers are afraid large-scale Negro voting may spread to the small rural counties that have always been Talmadge strongholds. Sun 1-2-49

"The Atlanta Journal" calls the Talmadge plan a means of denying the vote to the Negro and enfranchising the ignorant white man, and adds:

"An educational or literacy test would be legal, and perhaps the part of civic wisdom, if its standards be not set so high as to restrict the electorate to a sort of aristocracy. But any educational test would retain its legality only if it were administered honestly. And that is not the intention (of the Talmadge plan)."

Complain of Bloc Voting

The Talmadge forces complain of large bloc voting by a mass of "ignorant Negroes." But obviously, with white supremacy an issue in every Talmadge campaign, the Negroes have had no choice but to vote against him. In some county elections in Georgia, where there was not a racial issue, the Negroes have tended to divide their vote pretty much as the white voters did.

In South Carolina, where the white supremacy issue has never been raised so blatantly as in Georgia, but a state that is nevertheless a Dixiecrat stronghold, the legislature convening in January must write new laws governing the Democratic primary, the state's only real and meaningful election.

The laws governing primaries were wiped off the books four years ago in a desperate, last-ditch move to prevent Negroes from voting. The Federal courts later held the South Carolina Democratic party could not hold a "private" primary, excluding Negroes and that qualified Negroes should have a part in party affairs.

It is to be expected that some means will be sought to restrict Negroes voting in South Carolina, which has an even heavier Negro population than Georgia, but there are many who contend that if the same laws applying to the general election were made to apply to the Democratic primary a fair system would prevail.

It requires the ownership of $300 worth of property or the ability to read or write any portion of the Constitution. This sort of educational qualification can be determined on a factual basis. Admittedly, however, there is ground for criticism of "tricky" provisions which enable registrars to reject applicants on arbitrary grounds.

Talmadge Bills For White Rule Up in Georgia

New York Herald Tribune

Foe, Says 4-Point Poll-Tax Plan Would Set State Back Half a Century

New York Times

ATLANTA, Jan. 12 (AP).—Governor Herman Talmadge's forces introduced a four-point white supremacy program in the Georgia Legislature today, including a revival of the poll tax.

To curb what Governor Talmadge has repeatedly denounced as "Negro bloc voting," his legislative lieutenants submitted a series of measures which would revise Georgia voting machinery completely. The 1945 Legislature repealed the old poll tax law.

Thurs 1-13-49

The program, which brought warnings of "machine domination of Georgia" by one lawmaker, called for:

1. Wiping out the state's complete current list of 1,200,000 registered voters, including about 150,000 Negroes.

2. Undertaking a new registration under tightened machinery and procedure. Voters would be required to register again every two years—permanent registration lists would be abolished.

3. Each egistration would require a one-dollar fee from the prospective voter or he would be disqualified.

4. An amendment to the Georgia constitution inserting a requirement that applicants to vote must "explain in a simple, fair and reasonable manner" any section of the state or Federal constitution.

Secretary of State Ben Fortson, who administers present registration laws, said the program would cut Georgia's voting list more than half.

Representative Charles Gowen, an anti-administration leader, charged the proposals "would set Georgia back half a century. By reducing the number of voters to a minimum, they would pave the way for machine control of the state for many years."

Another measure from the Talmadge camp would extend Georgia's unique county unit voting system to the general election. It now applies only to Democratic primaries.

The system is similar to the national electoral college in that each of Georgia's 159 counties is assigned a certain unit vote, the candidate winning a majority of popular votes in the county gets all that county's unit votes.

Legislature Lists Alone, State Told

Chicago Sun 1-13-49

ATLANTA — Gov. Herman Talmadge's four-point plan to restore white supremacy in Georgia last week, was met by a strongly worded resolution from the Atlanta Business and Trade Association, calling on all government officials to take no steps to disfranchise Negroes.

The resolution, signed by J. R. Henderson, president of the association; A. Chester Christal, president-elect, and five others, declared that the organization is opposed to legislation designed to abridge the rights of Negroes to vote. Sat 1-22-49

It pointed out that the registration laws were revised in 1945 when the poll tax was repealed, and stated that there is no need to change those laws again. The resolution also opposed such legislation on the ground that national unity and good race relations in the U. S. are imperative at this time.

Governor Talmadge's program, introduced in the general assembly last Tuesday, was attacked by white opponents as paving the way for machine control of the state. Sat 1-22-49

Its main provisions are:

1. Wiping out the current registration lists of 1,200,000, including 150,000 Negroes.

2. New registration procedure which would require recertification every two years.

3. A compulsory payment of one dollar at each new registration period.

4. A constitutional amendment requiring applicants to interpret the state constitution to the satisfaction of the registrar.

Georgia House, Senate Pass Voter Re-Registration Bills

Atlanta Constitution

ATLANTA, Jan. 25 — (AP) — The House eliminated a proposed $1 registration fee.

Earlier the Senate approved, 46-8, a constitutional amendment extending the county unit system to the general election.

The requirement for registration every four years in the House bill was a retreat by the Talmadge administration from its original position that registration should be required every two years.

A flood of amendments, around 60 in all, was offered by opponents of the House measure but were beaten by successfully the Talmadge task force.

The House measure was designed to carry out the governor's pledge to end bloc voting. Talmadge has said Negroes are the only group in Georgia to bloc vote.

If the House adds its approval to the Senate proposal, the extension of the county unit system will be submitted to the voters in the general election of 1950.

Fee Eliminated

The House bill erasing all present registration lists and requiring new registration every four years sped through 146 to 56.

Both measures vitally affect the franchise of every Georgia citizen and in both chambers they were described by opponents as "threats to democracy."

The bitter floor fights stirred by each were silenced with word that both represented campaign pledges of Gov. Herman Talmadge. Sat 1-26-49

Primary-Vote Results In All Precincts To Be Rechecked by County Commission

Courier-Journal Wed. 8-10-49

34e (2)

Republicans Urge Recount

Ky.

Judge Franklin S. Fitch, Republican member, yesterday said the County Election Commission will recheck results in all races in all precincts in the August 6 primary—both Republican and Democratic.

Courier-Journal

Fitch said the recheck probably would be started at 9 a.m. Friday in the voting-machine room in the basement of Jefferson County Armory. He expects it to take at least two full days.

Leaders of both Democrat and Republican Parties pledged support here yesterday to the proposed salary-increase amendment to be voted on in November, a story on Page 9 says.

Candidates have until 4 p.m. today, 96 hours after the closing of the polls Saturday, to ask for a recheck, although that is not necessary now that the commission has decided to have one.

Republicans Ask Recheck.

Fitch said several Republicans had asked for the recheck and that Lawrence J. Mackey, unsuccessful candidate for the Democratic nomination for County judge, had suggested it was the commission's duty.

Mackey, a member of the commission for 10 years, told Fitch that the tabulation at the Armory Saturday night was of the vote certified by election officers who took it from the backs of the machines.

Fitch and Mackey agreed this made for possible errors and that any that might have been made in transferring results from the machines to the certificates to tabulating sheets could be corrected.

10 Candidates On List.

Edwin C. Willis is Democratic member of the commission and Dr. Paul Osborne, County coroner, is acting for Sheriff Rees H. Dickson who was disqualified by the fact he was a candidate in the primary.

Fitch said a recheck had been asked by or for 10 unsuccessful candidates in the Republican primary. Harris W. Coleman, one of the leaders of the defeated faction asked for a recheck for these losers:

Commonwealth's Attorney Frank A. Ropke, for Mayor; County Judge Horace Barker, for renomination; County Clerk Louis J. Geiser, for County clerk; W. Howard Clay, for County attorney; Stanley Briel, for prosecuting attorney of Police Court, and candidates for constable in three districts, Clarence Buddhu, Archie Hornback, and Fred Clark, Sr.

34e (2)

To Wait 96 Hours.

Requests also were made by Maurice LeJeune, candidate for County clerk on the William B. Ferguson for Mayor ticket, and Robert O. Logsdon, who lost the race for the nomination for State representative from the 40th District by 13 votes.

Courier-Journal

Courier-Journal 8-10-49

Fitch said he first thought it possible to start the recheck tomorrow morning but that after discussing the matter with Willis, it was decided to wait until the 96 hours had expired before sending notices to candidates of the time and place. The County clerk's office expects to have all machines back in the armory by this afternoon.

Election of Dr. Devane to City Council Proves Hard Work the Only Answer

The Afro-American
Baltimore, Md. 5-21-49

Winner Backed by Hard Work, Not Words; Apathy in Raleigh Rewarded by Defeat

By DOUGLASS HALL

FAYETTEVILLE, N.C.—The exhibition of the citizens of Fayetteville at the poll on May 3 in electing Dr. W. H. Devane to the City Council should prove to other North Carolinians that little can be obtained by bedding down in a cloak of complacency and listening to the old song of how liberal and progressive the State is.

The progressive principles attributed to the State by both colored and white leaders should be put to the acid test.

The people of this State should be made to put up or shut up. Colored persons should sit on City Councils in every major city and even a few should finally trickle into the Capitol at Raleigh.

Not in Special Units Either

Every phase of city and State government should and can have colored representatives — not merely in some appointed "special unit," but in an elected position as a bona-fide representative of the people.

This will be done as soon as other cities learn well the Lesson of Fayetteville.

Citizens of Fayetteville are no different than those, let us say, in Raleigh. Both had capable men running for city council. The two cities are about 50 miles apart.

However, if you measure the distance by the political activity that has taken place during the past month, the separation is much greater.

By merely browsing through the records of activity, you will learn why one city won the election and the other lost.

Little People go to Bat

Since the time that Dr. Devane's name was put up for the post, there has been considerable unrest among citizens.

This unrest was not caused by reading a newspaper or hearing of the selection but by the efforts of honest, sincere, hardworking folk who realized that the key to successful politics is unlimited hard work.

Housewives informed their working "halves" that they would have to eat out for a while, and the men, realizing how that would help, agreed to do so.

No home was too high or humble for them to enter, no person was too big or small for them to approach. With the zeal of a religious fanatic, they peddled their wares in the true "Fuller Brush Salesman" style and refused to take no for an answer.

Movement Became Obsession

The movement became an obsession, and even the men were aroused to action. Barbershops, pool halls, street corners were filled with soapboxers.

They pointed out the advantage of voting, the need of breaking the lily-white regime at the city hall, the dangers of political complacency, the type of man involved, and, most of all, they appealed to the racial pride of citizens.

The men went to work. No straw bosses drove them onward yet they worked until they "fell out" from exhaustion. Some went without food for a whole day simply because they were too busy "to think about eating."

Any number "laid" off from work and tackled a task that demanded of them devout devotion and unrelenting labor.

Aloofness in Raleigh

In Raleigh there was a political aloofness. There was little enthusiasm and almost no interest. I questioned "political leaders" and they "didn't know." I talked with John and Mary Doe and they simply had "not heard."

I was assured, however, that I was in for a pleasant surprise. I was not told that the colored candidate would draw fewer votes than one in a previous election.

In Fayetteville, the people, not the politicians, put things over. They did not go to libraries to learn how to get votes. They went to people's homes. They could name few political authorities, but they could rattle off a dozen names of folk whom they had contacted that day. One man could write his name but, well that leads to a story that will reveal the Spirit of Fayettevillians on election day.

Overcame Real Handicap

As I said, he could write his name but he could not read. He feared that he might make "the terrible mistake of not voting for his choice."

He had hoped that persons who had voted would be able to tell him the exact spot that he desired and he would only have to count downward from the top to make his selection.

But election officials foresaw this man's predicatment. And there were several different ballots with the names changed around. But the man's face brightened as he looked at a copy of the AFRO AMERICAN. He smiled and entered the balloting booth.
the balloting booth.

It took him an unusually long time to vote. Finally, he came out still smiling.

"Did you vote for the right man?"

"Yes."

"But you said that you could not read. Why are you so sure that you voted for your man?"

"Oh that," the old man smiled proudly, "I took this paper and found the picture of Dr. Devane. I looked under it and there was his name. I kept looking on that ballot until I found a name that matched the one in the AFRO and then checked it off."

Political Watchmen

Then too, citizens made themselves watchmen. It was at this point that racial pride reached its zenith.

As I sat in Dr. Devane's waiting room which had been converted into a political headquarters, very often someone would rush in with distressing news—a colored person was seen talking with a rival (white) candidate.

Sometimes they called the information in. At one time, one of the "traitors" was persuaded to come in.

When he stated that he was not in favor of a "block vote" the only possible way that Dr. Devane could have won, he was denounced as a traitor to the cause of political success.

There are several hundred tired and weary people in Fayetteville. But they are happy and proud because the payoff was a man in their city government.

Local Paper Still Upset

A local paper, in an effort to discount the story that Dr. Devane was offered $10,000 to withdraw from the council race, implied that he would have little voice in the city government because the white folk would always be protected by a 4-1 majority.

"At best," the paper stated, "he can only be the pleader of a cause."

It was this local paper that first raised the race issue in the campaign by alarmingly reporting that colored persons were out-registering the white.

As a reminder to the Fayetteville Observer, there are many causes to be pled in this Fort-Bragg-side city. One cause occurs right inside your editorial room.

If someone will successfully plead the cause of editorial justice to the colored people of the city, an important milestone will have been reached.

Try Fair Reporting

Go into the morgue and look at your old sheets and you will note that most of your front page news about colored persons concerns those who have committed a crime or the like.

There are more newsworthy colored persons in town than those who get "high" and blow their "tops." In the colored community where you send your newsboys for nickels but seldom your reporters and photographers for constructive and helpful stories, there are the same type of individuals that make news in other parts of the city. Occasionally, it's front page.

"Pleader of a cause," well maybe.

Sat. 5-21-49

A Wise Choice, Too

The citizens of Fayetteville used quite a bit of care to select a man who can, if such is the case, serve as "a pleader of a cause." Dr. Devane has one of the best medical practices in this city.

Almost half of his practice is white. Says the doctor, "Many of these white kids around here are my babies. I brought them into the world."

Then too, much of the Indian population will swear by the medico. "They are some of my best customers," he said. And as has been proven colored persons are behind him almost 100%.

Dr. Devane is well known for his outspoken fairness on issues affecting the city life of Fayetteville. He is heard and respected. Whatever the cause, he is capable of "pleading it" and what is more, there are many who will listen.

Diplomatic and Trained

Militant and outspoken, the doctor is also diplomatic and trained. He has an excellent command of English, is quick on the verbal draw, and has an appearance that adds much to the cause.

Perhaps one of the strongest efforts that was made here to keep the doctor out of office was made by a group who based their argument upon the grounds that "Fayetteville is a growing city and has opportunity to attract many businesses and persons."

"They will hesitate to set up in Fayetteville if they know that we have a colored man on the city Council," the statement asserted.

The three-page single-spaced letter was sent to all candidates except Dr. Devane.

Voting Suit Filed In Warrenton, N. C.

Pittsburgh Courier
Norfolk, Va. 34 e (2)

WARRENTON, N. C.—Leroy P. Cheek brought a mandamus suit in Superior Court here on Tuesday charging election officials with refusing to register Negroes for a bond election June 4.

Sat. 6-4-49

In the action that named J. Perry Twitty and David Limer, registrars of Shocco Township defendants, Mr. Cheek set forth that he can read and write any section of the Constitution demanded by law and that he is qualified to register in all other respects.

Registration Bias to Court

WARRENTON, N. C.—Filing for a writ of mandamus in Warren County Superior Court last week, Atty. Herman L. Taylor of Raleigh, N. C., seeks to compel registers to permit qualified Negroes to register. They are being arbitrarily denied this voting prerequisite, Attorney Taylor charged in his petition. Leroy Cheek and other Negroes are plaintiffs in the action which is scheduled to be heard within the next ten days.

34a(2) 1949

Pennsylvania

Political Picture

Dems Nominate Homer S. Brown

Courier 9-24-49

PITTSBURGH, Pa.—Compiling a total of 186,455 votes in last Tuesday's primary elections, State Representative Homer S. Brown outstripped his opponents to become the first Negro in Pennsylvania ever nominated by a major party for a county judgeship. 34a(2)

Running on both Republican and Democratic tickets Mr. Brown polled 137,916 party ballots and 48,539 Republican votes. Pittsburgh, Pa.

Mr. Brown will face Judge Harry P. Jones, incumbent Republican, in the November general election. As against Mr. Brown's impressive 186,000 votes Judge Jones picked up 116,000 on both party tickets.

34e(2) 1949

South Carolina

Party Officials File Brief in S.C. White Primary Case

RICHMOND

A brief giving four "reasons" and asking reversal of a ruling by Judge J. Waties Waring outlawing "white primaries" in South Carolina was filed last week-end in U.S. Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals on behalf of State election officials.

Filed on behalf of W. P. Baskin and other Democratic party officials in South Carolina, who contended that the South Carolina primary is a "private club" affair and, thus not subject to Federal regulations, asks reversal of the Waring ruling for the following reasons:

1. Judge Waring should have proceeded no further after an affidavit was filed by John E. Stansfield, a member of the Democratic State Committee, charging that Judge Waring was prejudiced in favor of the appellee.

"Limited Enrollment Valid"

2. Provisions of the rules limiting enrollment and voting in the party to those who subscribe to the party's principles, as declared by the South Carolina Democratic State Convention, were valid (these included an oath to uphold 'white supremacy' and advocacy of jimcrowism).

3. David Brown, Beauford, S.C., colored man, who brought the action, by his own admission, was not eligible to enroll and vote under these rules.

4. The party primary was a voluntary political activity of citizens associated together for lawful political objectives, was not State action within the meaning and application of the Constitution and statutory provisions relied on by Mr. Brown.

URGES S. C. NEGROES TO VOTE IN 1950

FLORENCE, S. C.—(ANP)—John H. McCray, editor of the Lighthouse and Informer and chairman of the Progressive Democratic party, in a speech to the state NAACP convention, emphasized the need for organization and leadership in increasing the Negro vote at the 1950 polls.

McCray pointed out that the NAACP workers should prepare their local voters so that they will know how to register and vote.

Ind. 10-28-49

A goal was set for the state NAACP to have at least 200,000 registered voters at the polls.

Continuing, McCray urged the elimination of all Negroes who "sell their votes from the organization and from the Progressive Democratic party."

During the discussion period following the speech, representatives from various chapters agreed to carry out the policies set forth.

34e (2) 1949 Virginia

Baptist Pastor Makes Impressive Bid for House Seat in Virginia Primary

Afro American, Sat. 8-13-49

34e

Dr. Ransome Gets 8,355 Votes in Richmond; 4 Losers Given 13,000 State-Wide Ballots

Baltimore, Md.

RICHMOND, Va. — (NNPA) — Four colored candidates who sought nomination for seats in the Virginia House of Delegates polled 13,117 votes in the primary on August 2.

Though all were defeated, one of them, Dr. W. L. Ransome, prominent Baptist pastor and civic leader of this city, rolled up an impressive total in the balloting.

Dr. Ransome polled 8,355 votes. The voting was so heavy, however, that, although he was supported by practically all colored voters and some whites, he placed twelfth in the field of 17 candidates here.

The winning candidate who was at the bottom of the list of the seven who won, received 13,187 votes.

Originally there were 19 local candidates for the House of Delegates.

Norfolk Lawyer Trails

One of the white candidates died during the campaign, and Lynwood E. Smith, young colored lawyer, was disqualified when it was discovered he had not paid his 1947 poll tax.

The elimination of Mr. Smith threw more support to Dr. Ransome, who it was felt, had a good chance to win one of the seven seats. He was supported by the Richmond Civic Council of which he is president.

Afro American

In Norfolk, C. Arnett Bibbins, attorney, polled only 2,777 votes. Unlike Richmond, Norfolk did not become aroused over primary issues and the campaign for Mr. Bibbins was not as vigorous as that in Richmond for Dr. Ransome.

Mr. Bibbins was the second colored candidate in Norfolk to seek a seat in the House of Delegates since Reconstruction days. The other was Victor Ashe who ran in the 1947 primary.

Baltimore, Md.

New Trend in Portsmouth

Candidates with the most liberal platforms walked off with the highest totals when election ballots were counted in Portsmouth.

Although Francis P. Miller, the anti-Byrd organization gubernatorial candidate, lost in the Statewide count, the former Army officer carried Portsmouth handily with 3,315 votes.

John S. Battle, the Byrd organization candidate, received only 1508 votes in Portsmouth.

Minister Carries 2 Wards

Dr. Harvey N. Johnson, pastor of Ebenezer Baptist Church, only colored candidate among five seeking Portsmouth's two seats in the House of Delegates, placed fifth with 1369 votes.

It was significant that Dr. Johnson led the field in two wards.

In Jackson Ward, his home district, the pastor drew 173 votes as compared to 152 for R. Winston Bain, who was in second place but won the nomination.

White voters outnumbered the colored voters almost two to one in Jackson Ward.

Harrison Ward gave Dr. Johnson an impressive 340 votes. Bain was second with 181. There are slightly more colored voters than whites in this ward.

400 Fail to Vote

Dr. Johnson made a good showing in Lee Ward where he polled 156 votes—nine less than Bain's 165. Washington Ward gave the pastor 202 votes, the second largest he received.

There were 2,145 colored citizens qualified to vote in Portsmouth. According to the best estimates, only about 1700 went to the polls.

Unofficial surveys showed that a big majority of the colored voters favored Miller for Governor and Bain and Johnson for the House of Delegates.

York County Aspirant

The fourth colored candidate in the House race was Dr. Charles S. Franklin of York county who polled 616 votes.

He was one of the opponents of Paul Crocket, incumbent, who won the race with 1980 votes. Mrs. Catherine C. Blow, the other York county candidate, received 1021 votes.

Judge Waring Vote Opinion Further Upheld

Memphis World

Memphis, Tenn.

34e

Appeals Court Rules Against Vote Denial

5-30-49

RICHMOND, Va. — (SNS) —District Judge J. Waites Waring's opinion in the South Carolina Primary Case was upheld Tuesday by the United States Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals.

The noted South Carolina jurist had enjoined the Democratic Party of South Carolina from denying Negroes full participation in the Party on the account of race.

The ruling in this latest court action to prevent wholesale voting by Negroes in the state was handed down by Judge John J. Parker and sustained an opinion of Judge Waring that certain party rules set up to determine qualifications of party members were aimed solely at exclusion of Negro voters from primaries in South Carolina.

NO ADDITION NEEDED

Tue 5-30-49

The Circuit Court jurist cited a decision in the case of Rice vs. Elmore and said "little need be added to our opinion that disposes of every question that is presented.

The opinion mentioned held that primaries under modern elections are a part of the election machinery of the State and that a State cannot by allowing a political party to take over its election machinery avoid the provisions of the Constitution forbidding racial discrimination in elections.

9,462 Negroes Registered In Richmond, Va.

The Defender

34e(2)

RICHMOND, Va. (NNPA) — A total of 9,462 colored persons here have paid their poll taxes and presumably are qualified to vote provided they have registered.

The figure was obtained last Tuesday from City Treasurer Walter B. Gentry's office by Amos Clark, field secretary of the Richmond Civic Council.

Clark predicted that there would be 10,000 colored persons qualified to vote in this year's elections, counting those who recently have become 21 or who will become 21 this year, and whose names are not shown on the tax list.

Chicago Ill.

The figure of 9,462 includes persons who have paid their poll taxes for the past three years and who thus definitely are qualified to vote if they are registered, but it also includes some who conceivably might not be qualified from the poll tax standpoint.

Included in this latter category are persons who were not assessed for all three years, but who have paid for the one or two years for which they have been assessed. In making up the list of eligible voters, it is assumed that, because of age or other reasons these persons were not subject to the tax during the years for which no payments were made.

Sat. 5-28-49

Clark said that the number of colored persons who have paid poll taxes in Richmond this year is an all-time high.

Registration Drive For Voters On In Richmond

The Journal and Guide

Norfolk, Va.

RICHMOND, Va. — A city-wide drive is in progress in Richmond to get all of the 9,462 colored citizens who have paid their poll taxes to register in time to vote in the August 2 primary. The project is being conducted by the suffrage committee of the Richmond Civic Council under the direction of Amos C. Clark, field secretary.

During the poll tax drive affiliates of the council in all sections of the city were active in their efforts to get colored citizens to pay their poll taxes in time to vote in this year's elections. Although the goal of the drive was 20,000 poll tax payers, Mr. Clark considers the work of his committee a success.

Sat. 6-4-49

The last phase of the drive has two objectives: To get all the people who have paid their poll taxes but have not registered to register in time vote on August 2 and to contact all young people becoming 21 before Nov. 2 to register by July 2.

34e(2)

COMMITTEE ANXIOUS

Mr. Clark explained that those who fail to register by July 2 can still register from August 3 to October 2. The committee is anxious, however, to get all to register by July 2.

Young people who became 21 years old in 1948 may qualify to vote in the elections by paying the 1949 poll taxes in advance and registering, Mr. Clark said. Every person who can qualify should do so at once.

6-4-49

Aside from the nomination and election of a governor this year, members of the Virginia House of Delegates and the atttorney-general, there will be several offices to be filled much closer to the people of Richmond. These include city treasurer, commissioner of revenue and city sergeant.

CONTEST CLOSED

The contest in which a number of organizations and groups participated during the suffrage campaign also closed on the 7 of May. Much activity was evidenced in this area. It had been previously understood that the prizes going to the winners in this contest would be awarded on the 17 of May at the Richmond Civic Council's monthly meeting.

It was, however, discovered that this arrangement would not allow enough time for the participants to make up a correct record of all the persons they had qualified in time for the judges to examine them and make the proper awards. Therefore, the prizes in this contest was to be awarded on the 31 of May at Fifth Street Baptist Church at 8 p. m., at the meeting of the "Ransome for the House of Delegates of Virginia" committee.

McCorvey-Wilkinson Amendment Gets State Supreme Court Nod

The Examiner

Montgomery, Ala.

Four members of the Alabama Supreme Court this week placed their stamp of approval on the McCorvey - Wilkinson proposed substitute to the defunct Boswell Amendment. Two others of the seven dissented. Thu. 6-9-49

The seventh member, Chief Justice Lucien Gardner, has been ill for several months and did not participate.

The majority, composed of Associates Justices Joel B. Brown, Arthur B. Foster, J. Ed. Livingston, and Davis F. Stakely, said that the amendment "does not impinge the rights guaranteed" under the 14th and 15th Amendments.

Furthermore, they said "on the face of the Amendment as a whole, nothing is manifest of an intention to discriminate against anyone in violation of the 15th or 14th Amendments, or any freedom of citizenship in the United States."

Lawson Dissents

Mr. Justice Lawson wrote a brief dissent as follows:

"I am of the opinion that the proposed amendment does not meet the objections pointed out in the recent case of Davis v. Sahnell, ... wherein the so-called 'Boswell Amendment' was held violative of the 14th and 15th Amendments to the Constitution of the United States."

Mr. Justice Simpson, while assuring the Legislature of his "deference and respect," wrote that the inquiry "in essence asks us to divine what future construction the U. S. Supreme Court might accord the Legislation. We do not have the powers of divination and I do not think we should attempt it. Our opinion on such a question would be entirely theoretical, and would not have the slightest authoritative or governing effect and would be invading a field beyond our prerogative and place such opinion in the realm of utter conjecture." Thu. 6-9-49

Up To Committee

Next move in the matter is up to the Constitution and Elections Committee, which is expected to approve the McCorvey-Wilkinson proposal to the House.

The Examiner

A substitute proposal for a voting law based on definite educational qualifications, as presented by Richard T. Rives, of Montgomery, has received statewide attention but apparently is not being considered by the House committee. Montgomery, Ala.

Registration On Character Basis Proposed

Advertiser

Montgomery, Ala.

Bill To Be Presented Both Houses Tuesday Drafted By McCorvey

5-12-49 Thu

A proposal to base voter registration upon character and citizenship will be introduced in the Alabama legislature Tuesday.

This was agreed upon here last night at a meeting of more than 20 senators and representatives. The Advertiser

The measure, in the form of a constitutional amendment, will be introduced simultaneously in both Houses under a motion made by Rep. W. L. Doc Martin which carried unanimously.

The proposed amendment was drafted by Chairman Gessner T. McCorvey, of the State Democratic Executive Committee, and is proposed as a replacement for the invalidated Boswell Amendment. Montgomery, Ala.

The Boswell Amendment admittedly was aimed at restricting Negroes as voters.

McCorvey's proposal would add the following to the present registrations: Thu. 5-12-49

"No person shall be entitled to register unless he be of good character and understands and embraces the duties and obligations of citizenship under our republican form of government."

The proposal would continue requirements that the prospective registrant be able to read and write any article of the U. S. Constitution.

No Re-Registration

Under McCorvey's proposed bill, persons already registered would not be required to re-register.

The Boswell amendment, which has been ruled unconstitutional by the U. S. Supreme Court, required registrants to be able to "understand and explain" the Federal Constitution.

While his proposal would continue to vest discretionary powers in boards of registrars to determine qualification of voters he said he believed it would stand a constitutionality test.

The basic principle, he said, follows the line of the U. S. naturalization act. The naturalization act says "an applicant for naturalization is required to demonstrate that he has a fair knowledge and understanding of the fundamental principles of the Constitution and of our form of government. Thu. 5-12-49

The Key Word

The word "embraces" in the proposed new qualification is a key one, he said, because it requires the registrant to be loyal to our democratic form of government.

Several legislators have said they would support a new constitutional amendment to tighten up on voter qualifications, but no definite plan has been disclosed. The Advertiser

Earlier, McCorvey had suggested that the Boswell substitute be patterned after Mississippi's law. Under the Mississippi statute, applicants for registrations were required to give a "reasonable" interpretation of the Constitution.

McCorvey said he had abandoned this plan, since he believed his new proposal was more workable.

Among those attending were: Senators Quarles, Henderson, Gulledge, Russell, Coleman and Adams; Representatives Malone, Givhan, Taylor, White, Stone, Ingalls, McCord Gillis, Martin, Johnston and Speaker Beck.

Givhan, who presided, urged "as many as possible" to sign the bill as co-sponsors in each house and suggested that the proposed amendment be submitted in an election called solely to decide its fate.

Negro Leader Criticizes New Voter Law In Mobile

Montgomery Advertiser

Montgomery, Ala.

MOBILE, ALA., May 30.—(AP)—Alabama's proposed new voter qualification law was criticized by a Negro leader tonight as "twice as vicious" as the recently invalidated Boswell amendment. Adv. 5-31-49

The new proposal, now pending in the Alabama legislature, would require prospective registrants for voting to "embrace the duties and obligations of citizenship" under the federal and state constitutions.

J. J. Thomas, president of the Negro Voters and Veterans Association, said this was a "vague" qualification and might be easily misinterpreted."

"They (the proponents) want everyone to swear that they embrace the duties and obligations of citizenship but they don't say specifically what they are," Thomas said. Adv. 5-31-49

"How can anyone take an oath to embrace something when they don't know exactly what they are swearing to?"

Thomas spoke at a mass meeting of Mobile County Negroes called to discuss the new proposal. His organization sponsored the test of the Boswell amendment which resulted in it being knocked out by a three-judge federal court here last January.

The Boswell amendment required voters to "understand and explain" the U. S. constitution. 5-31-49

The new proposal also provides for a uniform questionnaire to be used by boards of registrars in examining prospective voters.

Thomas said boards under this would still be given too much discretion in rating answers to the questionnaire.

He said he believed the present voter qualification law requiring registrants to be able to read and write the constitution and own $300 worth of property was "adequate."

"We are for any reasonable law that is fair and square to everyone," he said, "but we are against any law purposely set up to keep one group or another from voting." 5-31-49

Thomas, 56, is a Mobile contractor. A resident of Mobile more than 40 years, he formerly was president of the International Longshoremen Association (AFL) local here.

34f 1949

California

HOUSEWIFE IN COUNCIL RACE

(34f)

California Voice

Oakland, Calif.

In order to protect the interests of your home, vote for Mrs. Clarice A. Soeth, for Councilman-at-Large, at the election Tuesday, April 19th.

Vol. 41-18-49

Mrs. Soeth, who is a successful business woman, as well as a capable mother and housewife will protect the interests of your home. She will see that unnecessary taxation does become a burden to the working people, affecting adversely your family budget.

34f

A vote for Mrs. Soeth is a good investment say her many friends and supporters in this coming election.

34f 1949 Ohio

Pretty Negro girl elected president Ohio Girls' State

COLUMBUS, O. — Seventeen-year-old Joan Rankin, running on the "Idealist" party ticket, defeated her white opponent on the "Realist" party ticket to become the first Negro governor of the Buckeye Girls State here last week. She was installed by the Chief Justice of the Ohio Supreme Court.

The Buckeye Girls State was organized by the Women's Auxiliary of the American Legion to give the girls a practical knowledge of the workings of government.

Miss Rankin, a pretty high school senior, told a cheering crowd at her inauguration:

"My election as governor of Buckeye Girls State confirms my belief in democracy. You all know I am a Negro. In many places, even in Ohio, Negroes are still considered the underdog. The girls at Buckeye Girls' State are on an 'island' in Ohio. Nobody here pays any attention to whether you are a Negro, or Jewish or a Catholic. I never thought of having a chance to be elected. But when the girls wanted me to run, I started ringing doorbells. I visited every room, and asked the girls for help in making my platform.

"You see, being a Negro didn't matter. It all seems to depend upon how each individual acts whatever his race."

Demonstrating unusual political acumen, Miss Rankin chose her cabinet from the defeated candidates.

11th Ward First to Give Negro Woman Seat in City Council

Cleveland, Ohio, Gazette

Sat, 11-12-49

JEAN CAPERS GIVES ONLY UPSET IN CITY'S LARGE OFF-YEAR ELECTION TURNOUT

With Councilman Harold T. Gassaway, of the 18th Ward, "barely making it by the skin of his teeth," (as one political observer put it) ; Councilman Charles V. Carr, of the 17th, being returned by a comfortable margin, Jean Murrell Capers, in the 11th Ward, turned in the biggest upset of our recent councilmanic race history when she defeated Augustus G. Parker, the incumbent there.

34f (Women in)

Mrs. Capers, a daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Edward E. Murrell, of 2380 E. 40th Street, and a graduate of Western Reserve University School of Law, was formerly an assistant police prosecutor. It was her third time to make a bid for being the first woman of color to hold a seat in this great metropolitan city's body of lawmakers—and she won by a substantial majority.

Mrs. Capers, a Democrat, took an early lead over her Republican incumbent, which she never relinquished. Unofficial tabulations early Wednesday, brought comment from policital observers that her majority might run better than 600 votes.

The stereotyped Wards, 12th and 16th, ran true to form, Finkle, winning by a vote, it is hardly ever necessary to count, and Russell, in the 16th, by at least 7 to 1.

Incumbent Mayor Thomas A. Burke, won probably the easiest victory over his Republican opponent, Franklin A. Polk ever recalled. As early as 10'55 p. m. the youthful school board member conceded the election to his Democratic opponent, in the most dramatic spirit of good sportsmanship and fair play ever before known in this city's history.

As we went to press, Ralph W. Findley was making a gallant try for it in the school board race, but the Board of Elections said it was far too early to hazard a guess as to what might be the outcome.

The two issues of statewide importance, colered Oleomargarine, and the Massachusetts ballot proposals, won by comfortable margins, but because of a technical clause in the law, the ballot measure may have to be finally decided by the courts.

First Race Woman Wins Cleveland Council Seat

Cleveland Journal and Gazette

CLEVELAND, Ohio—The 36-year-old former prosecuting attorney, Mrs. John Capers, became the first colored woman in the city's history to win a councilmanic seat when she unseated Councilman Augustus G. Parker, of the eleventh ward in an upset and exciting off-year election last week.

Mrs. Capers had put on a whirlwind campaign to defeat Parker, the top housing expert in the Council, who had held his seat for eight years.

Sat 11-12-49

Voting in the eleventh ward brought police from several precincts to quell disturbances.

Mrs. Capers won by a vote of 3,036 to 2,321 for Parker.

In the Eighteenth Ward Councilman Harold T. Gassaway trailed his opponent, Ermer L. Watson, for a short time but Gassaway took lead oward morning as returns from an all-white precinct came in. The final vote was 3,078 for Gassaway and 2,921 for Watson

SCHOOL BOARD RACE

Ralph Findley, president of the Cleveland Branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, waged an amazing campaign for membership on the school board but lost out for one of the four seats by less than 6,000 votes. He polled 98,410 votes. Findley's campaign was managed by William O. Walker, editor of the Cleveland Call and Post.

Democratic Mayor Thomas A. Burke, campaigning on his record of fair play during his administration, defeated his Republican opponent, Franklin Polk. Polk a school board member, had promised a colored person a seat in his cabinet but for four years he had stalled on backing liberal measures to improve the city's school system.

Burke held a two-to-one lead in the Central Area, which normally is a Republican stronghold.

Assistant city law director Charles W. White, became one of the fifteen members of the Board of County Commissioners by placing tenth in a field of thirty candidates.

She's One of Ohio's Two Councilwomen

Mrs. Esther M. Archer, who was re-elected Nov. 8 at Canton, is one of two councilwomen in Ohio. Mrs. Jean Capers, who was elected in Cleveland, is the other.

34f 1949

New York

Ruth Whaley Appointed Commissioner's Secretary

By CONRAD CLARK

NEW YORK—(ANP)— Mrs. Ruth Whitehead Whaley, who resigned her $8,000 a year position as executive assistant to Welfare Commissioner Raymond Hilliard on October 31, was appointed by Commissioner Hilliard as his secretary last week.

The position was expected to pay $6,000 per year, but on November 17, the Board of Estimate met and voted an increase of $2,000 to Mrs. Whaley, giving her the same salary a she had previously received as executive assistant.

Originally appointed by Mayor O'Dwyer to the position of deputy commissioner of housing in the Summer, 1948, replacing Raymond Jones. Jones was reappointed to the job later and Mrs. Whaley received another appointment as an executive assistant to the commissioner in the Welfare department. This appointment was a provincial one, and was always under fire by the Civil Service Reform association.

The state Civil service contended that Mrs. Whaley's job was not an exempt one, as requested by Hilliard, and that the office should be filled from the Civil service's competitive list.

Last month, the association filed a suit against the major and the treasurer of the city to stop her salary payments, and the case was to be settled by the State Supreme court, when Mrs. Whaley resigned on October 17, effective on the last of that month.

The first Negro female attorney to practice law in the state since 1925, Mrs. Whaley is a staunch member of the Democratic party, and resides in Harlem with her son and daughter.